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ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCHES

RESPECTING

THE RED MAN OF AMERICA.

INFORMATION

RESPECTING THE

HISTORY CONDITION AND PROSPECTS

OF THE

INDIAN TRIBES of the UNITED STATES:

Collected and prepared under the
direction of the **BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS** per act of Congress
of March 3rd 1847.

BY HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT L.L.D.

Illustrated by
S. EASTMAN. CAPT. U.S. ARMY.

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Part V

PHILADELPHIA:
J.B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

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INDIAN TRIBES OF THE UNITED STATES:

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BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,

PER ACT OF CONGRESS OF MARCH 3D, 1847.

BY HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT, LL.D.

ILLUSTRATED BY CAPT. S. EASTMAN, AND OTHER OFFICERS, U. S. A.

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PART V.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & COMPANY.
1855.

TO THE

HON. WILLIAM L. MARCY,

SECRETARY OF STATE.

SIR:

In dedicating this work to you, I indulge an appreciating sense of your original approval of its plan and prosecution; and your friendly consideration in placing the investigation in my hands.

The "poor Indian" has been the theme of poets and philanthropists for centuries. Europe has vied with America on the subject. It has been the aim of one class of writers as much to exalt his character *above*, as of another to depress it *below*, the proper standard. But, as in all other themes, whose advocates have contented themselves with the expression of wishes and sentiments, the Indian has, in the meantime, lived on in his position of *overrated glory* and *underrated misery*, till time has brought him to the middle of the nineteenth century, with increased claims, as he has shown an increased title, to sympathy.

The *jus civile* and their territorial right are not here alluded to, having ever been inviolate under the Constitution. It was not, however, till the twenty-ninth Congress, under your administration of the War-Department, that inquiries into their mental and moral character, industrial means, and social position and prospects, were publicly instituted.

Many questions of high political moment were presented to that CONGRESS. The invasion of the rights of Texas; the determination of the boundaries of Oregon; and the overthrow by armies of volunteers, of the ancient empire of Montezuma, were the subjects of warm discussion and grave consideration. And if the present theme be infinitely small, compared with acts that tried the energy of statesmen, and the valour of warriors, there is some gratification in thinking that the crisis threw the minds of exalted men in our public councils with increased intensity on the ancient and widespread Indian race,—a race who were the normal sovereigns of the country, and of whose fate and fortunes no good man, certainly, can reproach himself for having thought kindly, or acted generously.

I have the honor to be,
Most respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
Henry R. Schoolcraft.

FIFTH REPORT.

To the Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior.

Washington, *June* 30, 1855.

Sir:

I very respectfully submit the fifth report of my investigations under a provision of the act of 3d March, 1847. By this act the Department is directed "to collect and digest such statistics and materials as may illustrate the history, the present condition, and the future prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States."[1]

To attain objects which are at once so definite and comprehensive, from so large a geographical area, and such a diversity of tribes, required an amount and felicity of research which could hardly be supposed ever to fall to the lot of a single individual, however favourably situated, without concurrent aid of inquirers in the field. Each of the forty families of tribes who occupy the American continent, north of the mouth of the Rio Grande del Norte, between sea and sea, have more or less claims to nationality in history and languages, condition and prospects.

There are many traits of manners and customs, and their physical and mental aspects, in which the tribes agree. But differences of climate and the countries they inhabit, and modes of procuring subsistence, create diversities which, without referring to those of language, demand notice, in any comprehensive view of them. Not to denote these tribal developments in the generic stocks which spread over such vast spaces of latitude and longitude, would be to disappoint expectation, even where such expectation is not directed to the higher requisitions of a peculiar and characteristic race. To discriminate between the large and small, the important and unimportant, the near and remote tribes, requires attention. Generally, those tribes whom we have longest known, and who have most appreciated civilization, require fuller notices;

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[1] Acts 29th Cong., Wash. C. Alexander, p. 137.

while the attempt to give prominence to unimportant and barbarous tribes, with whom we have scarcely opened any relations, would not commend itself. At Rome, Paris, or London, those generic traits of a North American Indian, which satisfy an ethnologist or a philologist, may seem all that is required; but to the American statist, historian, or moralist, not to discriminate between the traditions, history, languages, or tribal organizations of an Iroquois, a Cherokee, a Chickasaw, a Choctaw, a Chippewa, a Shawnee, Shoshone, or Delaware, would be to leave the knowledge that is sought without precision.

In the preceding volumes, (I, II, III, IV,) a body of information has been published, entirely authentic in its character, and vital in its purport. Research has been concentrated on the several topics into which the subject naturally divides itself. Their manners and customs, tradition, religion and language, have been kept separate. In the present volume, the digest and generalization of these topics is commenced. If the Indian character has not heretofore been understood, it is apprehended to have resulted from the fact that there has been no attempt at elementary investigation. His character has not been analyzed. He has been regarded only in the concrete.

Nothing has had so great a tendency to reveal the tangled thread of his history as the study of the aboriginal languages. Mr. Jefferson, in 1787, called attention to this subject. "A knowledge of their several languages," he observes, "would be the most certain evidence of their derivation which could be produced. In fact, it is the best proof of the affinity of nations which ever can be referred to. How many ages have elapsed since the English, the Dutch, the Germans, the Swiss, Norwegians, Danes and Swedes, have separated from their common stock? Yet, how many more must elapse, before the proofs of their common origin, which exist in their several languages, will disappear?"

It is to be lamented, then — very much to be lamented, that we have suffered so many of the Indian tribes already to extinguish, without our having previously collected and deposited in the records of literature, the general rudiments, at least, of the languages they spoke.[1] Were vocabularies to be formed of all the languages spoken in North and South America, preserving their appellations of the most common objects in nature — of those which must be present to every nation, barbarous or civilized, with the inflections of their nouns and verbs, — their principles of regimen and concord, and then deposited in all the public libraries, it would furnish opportunities to those skilled in the languages of the old world, to compare them with those now, or at any future time, and hence to construct the best evidence of the derivation of this part of the human race."[1]

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[1] The first general efforts in this direction appear to have been made in 1703, by the Empress Catharine II., who directed vocabularies to be collected in barbarous languages, which were published in Paris in 1715. Since this period, the topic has engaged philosophic minds, particularly in Germany.

The modern history of the United States' tribes it is, indeed, quite within our power to recover,—for it dates back but about two and a half centuries, assuming as the date the first effectual settlement of Virginia (1607). Yet how little reliance is there on Indian tradition for this short period. The striking events of it, on the aboriginal mind, have been thrown back, and faded away in that historical oblivion which hides the origin of these, as of the other tribes, from the world. De Soto landed in Florida in 1540, spending two years in marches and countermarches, conflicts and battles, between the sources of the Altamaha, Savannah, and the Lower Mississippi, and the St. Francis and Arkansas west of it; and yet there is not a trace left of the events in the traditions of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees or Muscogees, against whose united power he strove.

The Delawares have preserved a tradition[2] of the first arrival of a foreign ship at the confluence of the Hudson; but it could not be told from their traditions whether the vessel which had excited their wonderment was of Italian, Scandinavian, Celtic, or Belgian origin. The Algonquins of the North preserve the tradition of the first arrival of the French in the St. Lawrence, whose nationality they have, however, commemorated in the term *Uamitigöz.* But were these fragmentary traditions entirely lost, together with all our own records of the times, except those relating to the languages, we should know that one generic mother stock, with dialectic differences, characterized the tribes along the Atlantic from the St. Lawrence to the Roanoke. All researches respecting the Indian, which tend to reveal intellectual traits, and serve to denote him to be a man of thought and affections, enlarge his hold on our sympathies, national and personal. By constituting a substratum for the man, such details increase the interest felt in his history, condition, and prospects. They give vitality to the Indian cause and fate. Such, I apprehend, were the views which dictated the act of Congress, to which I have referred. This act makes statistics the nucleus around which the facts illustrative of their history, condition and prospects, are to be thrown. To denote the progress which has been made in the census and the collection of statistical data, together with the means which, in my view, are necessary to complete the investigation, I beg leave to refer to my report of the 18th of October last,—the substance of which is given at p. 535.

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[1] Notes on Virginia, p. 163.

[2] Coll. Penn. Hist. Soc.

To form points of comparison, the view of the Indian population has been carried back a century. One conclusion has been strongly enforced by these tables and estimates of their former population—namely, that the tribes have maintained a singular parity of numbers from remote epochs, neither rising nor falling much in the comparison of long periods. Thus the Shawanees, who were reported by the French in 1736, at three hundred fighting men, and a total of fifteen hundred, were found within a fraction of the same numbers in 1847. The Delawares, whose fortunes and movements, like that of the Shawanees, have been very great, extending over many degrees of latitude and longitude, do not vary ten per cent. in a hundred years. The Cherokees, the Creeks and Choctaws, and Chickasaws, are traced, by very nearly the same aggregate numbers, through the entire American, British, French and Spanish periods, so far as they are given. Even the Iroquois, who embrace the most warlike tribes of the continent, do not vary greatly in their numbers from 10,000 souls, during the century, from 1745 to 1845—the period of the New York Indian census.

There appears to be some striking and continued efforts necessary to be made, to enable them to overcome the status of the hunter state. In all attempts to improve their present condition, by legislators or humanitarians, it should be borne in mind that the whole body of the tribes in the United States exist in one of three distinct classes. 1. The semi-civilized group, who are agriculturalists, and possess fixed governments. See table, p. 498. 2. The progressive group of the small colonized tribes. See table, p. 495. 3. The mass of the nomadic and hunter tribes, who rove west of the parallels of latitude of the mouth of the Rio Grande, and of the valley of the Missouri river, extending to the Pacific.

Yours, with consideration,

HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

GEORGE W. MANYPENNY, ESQ.

PART FIFTH.

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I. GENERAL HISTORY. E.

I.—ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN RACE—SHADOWY GLEAMS OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT IN GRECIAN LITERATURE—INFLUENCE OF CLASSIC FABLE ON THE PERIOD OF THE DISCOVERY—CARIBS OF THE ANTILLES—DISCOVERY OF THE SEMI-CIVILIZATION OF MEXICO AND PERU, ON HIGH INTERIOR CHAINS—ITS TYPE AND DEVELOPMENT NORTHWARD—ITS CHARACTER IN THE AREA OF THE UNITED STATES—SUMMARY VIEW OF THE INDIAN CHARACTER.

AMERICAN history has had no topic comparable at all, for its enduring interest, to that of the Indian tribes. The remotest records of the traditions and discoveries of early nations, in the Old World, give no traces of their former position; and at the epoch of their discovery on this continent, they were unrecognized among the existing varieties of man.[1] "Discoveries long ago," observes Mr. Jefferson, writing in 1781, "were sufficient to show that a passage from Europe to America was always practicable, even to the imperfect navigation of ancient times. In going from Norway to Iceland, from Iceland to Greenland, and from Greenland to Labrador, the first traject is the widest: and this having been practised from the earliest times of which we have any account of that part of the earth, it is not difficult to suppose that the subsequent trajects may have been sometimes passed. Again, the late discoveries of Capt. Cook, coasting from Kamskatka to California, have proved that, if the two continents of Asia and America be separated at all, it is only by a narrow strait." (Notes on Virginia, p. 162.) The history of the early imaginative literature of Greece, embraced among its myths the destruction of the island of Atalantis, and the recital of the tale of the garden of the Hesperides. These shadowy gleams belonged rather to the fabulous notions of oriental cosmogony, than to any traditions of sober discovery. Still, the Hellenic geography is thought to have been influenced in its development by these traditionary discoveries (Cosmos, Vol. II., p. 496). It is supposed that the name of the Canary Islands may be derived from this age of myths.

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[1] Of the Chinese and Japanese history, we are yet too imperfectly acquainted to speak with certainty. It is stated by a recent writer, that the ancient Chinese recognized the American Continent under the name of FOU-SANG. Vide M. de Guignes, "*Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, &c.,*" Vol. XXVIII., p. 503. Paris, 1671. Also, M. de Paravey's "*L'Amerique sous de Nom de Pays de Fou-Sang, &c.*" Paris, 1844.

Humboldt observes, that "where history, so far as it is founded on certain and distinctly expressed evidence, is silent, there remain only different degrees of probability; but an absolute denial of all facts in the world's history, of which the evidence is not distinct, appears to me no happy application of philological and historical criticism." Cosmos, Vol. II., p. 409.

It is not probable that the voice of classical fable had much weight on the mind of Columbus, who made no scruples, when he found a race on the islands of the Antilles so much resembling in physiognomy the natives of the Indian Ocean, to refer them to that stock of the human family. It was obvious that, as these newly discovered tribes were not descendants of the fair-skinned stocks of Europe or Asia, nor of the black-skinned race of Africa, neither had they any of the peculiar arts or customs of the one, nor the characteristically barbarous traits of the other. India appeared to furnish the ethnological link to which they must be referred; and it is that quarter from which the strongest testimonies of resemblance come. Believing himself to have landed on a remote part of the Asiatic continent, he had the less hesitation in pronouncing them Indians. Regarded from other points of view besides their features, there were concurrent testimonies. They had not, indeed, the fixed industry of the prominent coast-tribes of the Hindostanees, or of other Asiatic races. Mere hunters and fishermen, without any but the rudest arts, without populous towns, and roving along the shores nearly nude, with almost the same alacrity as the multiplied species of the waters and forests, they had as little thought of fixity of location, or curtailment of their nomadic liberty.

Surprise was at its height to find the Carib race, with whom the intercourse began, sunk so low in the scale of human beings, and so utterly unfit to encounter, even the lowest tasks of civilization. The whole Caribbean seas, extending northward to Cuba, and it is thought at an ancient period, of the history of the Leeward Island group, even to the peninsula of Florida,[1] was found to be overspread with this divided and warring race, portions of whom were fierce and courageous.[2]

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[1] Traces of such affinities exist in language. The first personal pronoun Ne, or its equivalent N, which is common to the North American languages, and also the pronominal sign of the second person K, are found in Davis's vocabulary of the Carib language. London, 1666.

[2] The Caribs were the ancient inhabitants of the Windward Islands. Most of these are represented to be cannibals, who carried on fierce and relentless hostilities against the mild and inoffensive inhabitants of Hispaniola. The insular Caribs are conjectured to be descendants of the Galibio Indians of the coast of Parana in South America. It is believed, by those who have examined the subject, that this hostility towards the Caribs of the larger Leeward Islands is founded on a tradition that the latter are descendants of a colony of Arrowauks, a nation of South America with whom the continental Caribs are at perpetual war. Columbus observed an abundance of cotton cloth used for garments in all the islands he visited. Legou, who visited Barbadoes in 1647, speaks of pottery as being of an excellent kind. *Alcedo*, Vol. I., p. 316.

Such were the first impressions of the race presented to the Spanish mind, at the era of the opening of the sixteenth century. A few years devoted to exploration of the continent, and interior discovery, denoted the existence of two points of Indian semi-civilization of a striking character. These were not found, as it might have been expected they would be, on the sea-coasts, or islands, or at the mouths of estuaries, as in India, but on remote and elevated table-lands, in valleys, having an altitude of from seven to ten thousand feet above the ocean. Such were the positions of Mexico, Cuzco, and Quito. On scrutinizing this species of civilization, it was found to be neither wholly of indigenous, nor wholly of a transferred character, but containing almost equally unmistakable traits of both; yet forming "the nearest approaches to civilization to be met with anciently, on the North American continent." (Prescott, Vol. I., p. 11.) The idea of the pyramid first developed itself in the human race in the valley of the Euphrates. It may be said to have culminated in the valley of the Nile, spreading over Asia-Minor and along the borders of the Euxine and Caspian; and revealing itself in America in the great structure of Cholula and of the Teocalli[1] of all grades, on the elevated summit levels of Mexico.

It was on the summits of these pyramids that the ancient Toltecs, and indeed the whole aboriginal stocks of America, at an early epoch, lit up sacred fires in the symbolical and mystical adoration of the sun—a species of worship of the great creative spirit of the universe, which, so far as examined, lies at the foundation of all the Indian religious systems, north and south. Closely viewed, the types of the semi-civilization of Peru and Mexico were indeed distinctive. In both, however, agriculture, architecture, and the working of the precious metals, were well-developed elements of advance. The Peruvians had the art of making bronze, (Vol. IV., p. 438;) their pottery was of a superior kind; while their civil polity, as evinced in the construction of roads and bridges, manifested a higher order of civilization. The architecture of one nation culminated in the temple; the other in the terraced pyramid or teocalli. Yet there was in both these stocks that mixture or ill-digested type of ideas, arts, and customs, which denote a derivative, rather than aboriginal people. The architecture of neither nation, even in its most perfect forms of building, disclosed the arch. Both exhibited the custom of embalming the dead. No trace appeared of their having burned a widow at the funeral pyre.

All the tribes, semi-civilized and erratic, south of about latitude 46° north, buried their dead "out of sight." North of this point, on the shores of the Pacific, there were examples of the incineration of the body, as among the Tecullies (Harmon's Travels). In astronomy and in their pictography, the Toltecs and Aztecs held the supremacy; while their cycles and minor divisions of time, embraced features of Asiatic origin, as has been shown by Dr. Hawks. (Ant. of Peru.)

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[1] In the language of the Aztecs, *Teo* signifies the Deity, and *Calli* a house, or place of dwelling.

Their style of architecture revealed itself in ornaments of an order of quite aboriginal cast, to which the name of TOLTEC has been applied. The setting apart of the fifth day, as a marked day, and their ancient year of two hundred and sixty days, were traits in the chronology of oriental nations of ancient date. Their system of chronology was founded on an ignorance of the true length of the solar year; but by observations on the period of the sun's recession, as Mr. Gallatin has remarked, corrections were made from time to time, so that the period of two hundred and sixty days was abandoned, and, at the conquest, they had reached within nine minutes of the true solar year.[1] (Semi-civ. Tribes of New Mexico, Eth. Trans., Vol. I.)

As the Toltec race, imbued with these ideas and arts, diffused itself north through the equinoctial, and into the temperate latitudes, it evinced a decadence which is the probable result of intermixtures and encounters with barbarous tribes. Its temples and teocalli dwindled away in almost the exact ratio of the distance which they had proceeded from their central seats. Yet, there was a strong clinging to original ideas and forms. On reaching Florida and the Mississippi valley, their teocalli assumed the shape of large, truncated mounds, still noted as the sites of the sacerdotal and magisterial residence — for these functions were here, as there, firmly united; while the adoration of the sun, as the symbol of Divine Intelligence, was found to be spread among all the tribes of North America, to the borders of Lake Superior, (Notes to Ontwa), and even through New England.[2] Viewed in the present area of the United States, to which the disturbing impulses of the 12th century manifestly reached, there were originally, and still remain, great resemblances of customs and arts, and of traits mentally and physically. These traits, in connection with their arts and monuments, will be more fully considered as we proceed. It is the mental man we are now more particularly examining.

Prominent in the Indian mind is the fear of a Deity. This is the cause of their hopes and fears. It does not alter this to say that their deities are false; so far as they are causes of action, they are true. Their theology revealed very ancient oriental ideas of the human mind, though much obscured by an indigenous development. Zoroaster announced the existence of two leading principles in the moral government of the world, to which he assigned the dual deities of good and evil — the one perpetually acting in direct antagonism to the other.[3] Subordinate to these, the Magii upheld the theory of genii, of inferior powers, who watched the personal fates of men, arranging themselves on the side of the antagonistical gods. Such was, in fact, the theory of the ancestors of all the American Indians of an early epoch, and the belief has descended to those of the present day, who still adhere to their native religion. Equally distinct, in the ancient Indian theology, was the system of the symbolic adoration of the sun, as it existed among the early Persians, and other oriental tribes. This system was not only inaugurated, with all its imposing and mysterious rites, at Cuzco, but it laid at the foundation of the Toltec rites, however overlaid in the days of the conquest, by the horrid system of human sacrifice.

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[1] This observation proves that the calendar stone of the ancient Mexicans was of a more *ancient* period than is generally thought, and had been laid aside at the conquest, for it records the short Toltec month of thirteen days, and twenty months to the year.

[2] Symbols on the Dighton Rock. Vol. I., pp. 113, 118.

[3] See Vol. I., p. 416, for the Iroquois cosmogony.

Not only so, but the oriental idea of dual deities of good and evil, with an almost infinitisimal number of subordinate spirits or demi-gods, of benign or malignant influence, is found to prevail throughout North America, quite up to the Arctic circle; and the dogma is as fixed, at this day, among the unreclaimed tribes, of the Mississippi valley, the great lake basins, and the Rocky mountains, as it ever was in South America or Asia.

Early traditions of the eastern nations, of another kind, have been found in the Indian mind. Von Humboldt, who visited South America, at the opening of the 19th century, found a tradition of the flood among the unreclaimed tribes of the Cordillera of the Andes. Such traditions, in which heroic traits are ascribed to the survivors of a universal deluge, exist in the wild cosmogonies of the heathen tribes of the prairie and forest groups of the western regions of the United States, and of British America. (Vide legend of Manibosho. Schoolcraft's Algic Researches.

These allusions will be sufficient to denote how important to the true history of the Indians it is, to examine their mental character and organization, as affording indicia of primary traditions, rites, opinions, manners, and customs. To this end the papers accompanying the present and prior portions of these researches are submitted. For it must be apparent, that without such distinctive tribal desiderata, the generalizations pertaining to the race, as circles of tribes and languages, cannot be well undertaken. Occupying as they did one-fourth of the geographical area of the globe, and having assumed this position at a primal epoch of the continent, before cities, towns, and dynasties, had been established on it, there were great inducements for the race to decline; — to have crossed their track of migration; — to have divided into fragmentary bodies, tribes, and dialects, and, indeed, to have fallen from almost every supposable type of foreign knowledge, and sunk down into utter barbarism. It was argued at the discovery by grave doctors of philosophy, whether terms of humanity should be kept with them, and even doubted, in the Halls of the Sorbonne, whether they had souls. (Halket's Notes on the Indians of North America.) As a clue to these old mutations, and this intricacy of track, we have at least their languages and antiquarian vestiges or monuments to study, forming a class of testimony which was conceded, by the late Mr. Pritchard, to be more important than that of even their physical and mental traits. (Phys. Hist. of Mankind, Vol. I.)

But in whatever else the tribes differ, or however they have been developed in tribal or national distinctions, it is in their physiology, and the general structure of mind and thought, that they most closely coincide. Indians seen on the Orinoco, the Rio Grande, and the Mississippi, present a set of features and characteristics remarkably alike. From Patagonia to Athabasca, and even to the shores of the Arctic Ocean, there is a coincidence which has been the subject of general remark. Such is this coincidence, observes a recent physiologist, whose attention has been particularly directed to this subject, that whoever has seen one of the tribes has seen all. (Vol. II., p. 316.) It is this *continental* trait, linking the tribes together, by a peculiar type of features and character, and by a unity of thought on the leading changes of life and death, that is designed to be expressed by the common term, *Indian*.

It is not the traits of the man of the Indus, or the Gambia — not Hindostanee, the Chinese, Tartar, or Japanese — not even the segregated yet resembling races of the Pacific, and the isles of the Indian Ocean, however approximating in some of their physical traits — that we behold. There is something more fixed, more homogeneous, more indigenous, more ethnic, than these recited varieties of the human race present.

The North American Indian is a man gifted with the ready perception of physical phenomena which pass before his eyes. He is vividly observant of the general meteoric changes of the atmosphere. To him there is a wild pictography in the clouds, planets, and electrical displays, which he reads as the manifestations of a great creative Deity, who governs and upholds the globe. To see what is palpable and present, or speak of what is past, is, however, the habit of his mind. He is not given to trains of anticipation. He is not progressive; he is not even moderately inductive. He does not indulge in trains of truthful thought, morally or intellectually; but sinking down on the oriental principles of fatalism, he is by no means disposed to call in question the dispensations of Providence, or the actions of his forefathers. Supposing himself to have been created for the sphere he occupies, with the wild affluence of the zoological creation around him, it is not the habit of his mind to gainsay the conclusions of those who have preceded him in the nomadic and predatory life. He does not regard the advent of the European races in America, as of auspicious tendency. Naturally fearful, doubtful, and suspicious, he is emphatically the victim of fear, doubt, and suspicion. To him, the moral and the intellectual world stand still. Letters and arts are a mystery; and Christianity a system which was not designed for him. He is under the influence of a set of dreaming priests and necromantic manipulators, who, professing to reveal the will of the Great Spirit, bind his mind down as with "hooks of steel," to the dark doctrines of dæmonology, witchcraft, sorcery, and magic. Such is the subtilty of this belief, that even a beam of light, emitted through an orifice in the wigwam, can become the medium of conveying a malign and deadly influence on the slumbering victim[1] (Plate 1). Above all, he does

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[1] An incident of this kind occurred among the Chippewas, during my residence at St. Mary's, at the foot of Lake Superior.

Plate 1

Eastman U.S. Army Del^t

R. Hinshelwood

A SEER ATTEMPTING TO DESTROY AN INDIAN GIRL BY A PENCIL OF SUNLIGHT

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not wish to be what he is not now. In habits of thought and action, in everything, in fact, that constitutes individuality, he is unchanged and indomitable; and after three centuries and a half as our neighbor, he is to-day what Eric, Columbus, Cabot, and Vespucci, found him. Such is the unreclaimed Indian.

CAPACITY OF THE INDIAN RACE TO SUSTAIN THE SHOCK OF CONTIGUOUS CIVILIZATION—NATURAL TENDENCY OF SAVAGE SOCIETY TO DECLINE—FALLACIOUS THEORIES OF THE HUNTER STATE—FALSE ESTIMATES OF THEIR NUMBERS—EFFECTS OF THE GROWTH OF THE COLONIES AND STATES, TO THROW THEM WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI—THEIR CONDITION AND PROSPECTS IN THIS POSITION.

That a race so wedded to their peculiar systems of erroneous thought and action, should have so long resisted the teachings of civilization, in all its multiplied forms, is a remarkable feature in the history of aboriginal races. Fascinated by hunting, in a continent of such ample limits as to render the chase long and absorbingly attractive, there has seemed to them no end of its pleasures—no end of the wild liberty of roving from place to place. Attached as they are to localities, so long as their precincts yield the means of support, they have readily sought new homes in the forest whenever game failed; and as they were constantly migrating westward, the change seems to have well accorded with their belief of a happy final hunting-land in that direction. To this race, the offer of the school-book, the plough, and the Bible, has had few attractions. Satisfied to live as their forefathers lived, they have had little curiosity to inquire into other truths. Time has, indeed, passed to the tribes who have kept themselves in the forest, as if it had no value. Three centuries have produced, apparently, no more effect than three years might be expected to do; and were Columbus or Cabot, Champlain, Standish, Penn, or Oglethorpe, to return to-morrow, he would be astonished to find the forest tribes so essentially like their forefathers at their eras. The Indian has hated letters, labor, and truth, on both sides of the Alleghanies, and on the east and the west of the Mississippi. But with these admissions of fixity of habit, it is not remarkable that he should have continued, and still, in his strongholds, continues, to violate the true principles of population, and of political economy. Less should we be surprised that their population has rapidly diminished. It could do nothing but diminish. As sure as effect follows cause, it must have sunk in the scale. He violated every principle of increase before the discovery, by a hopeless, purposeless war of petty tribe against tribe, and by an almost total reliance on the spontaneous products of the forests for subsistence, which never met the demand; and as soon as the Europeans arrived, he added to the causes of depopulation by freely indulging his unmeasured appetites, which led largely to disease. To gain these indulgences, he yielded readily to the inducements of commerce, as soon as the country began to be settled, by rapidly destroying, with fire-arms and steel traps, the races of the forest, and particularly the fur-bearing animals — his only ready means of subsistence. The over-stimulated chase at first aroused new energies, but left him in a few years his immense territories, which were valueless to him without the deer and beaver.

Let Europe rate America, indeed, for neglect of the Indians! No country in Europe has treated its aborigines half so well; and least of all should such imputations come from our brothers of England. It is a well-known fact of history, that for centuries the Britons, though men whom they acknowledged to be of noble port, were hunted as prey by the Romans; and that on the landing of William the Conqueror, both Saxons and Britons were literally swept from the plains, and driven out into coverts and fastnesses. Subjected to a series of hard exactions and cruelties, they were even compelled to put out their lights, and retire to bed at the sound of the curfew. Driven to the primitive peaks of Wales, even there the Druids, whose monuments mark the island, were decimated and exterminated. No wonder should be expressed that a leading prince of the race should have assembled his devoted followers, as Cambrian history asserts, and attempted to repair his political fortunes by fleeing to the West.[1]

These remarks may serve to introduce some considerations on the effects of those long-continued violations of the plainest maxims of increase and progress on the tribes, which mark their history. There are no means of determining, with any accuracy, the aboriginal population at the period of the discovery. The Spanish authors introduced estimates which are vague, and generally exaggerated whenever they refer to the population of tribes who had not been reclaimed, settled in pueblos, or at mission stations. Alcedo, who published his geographical dictionary at Madrid, in 1787, confines himself exclusively to the population of towns, districts, and repartimentoes. (Geo. and Hist. Dic. of America.) The Indians in the Antilles alone were stated by him at 3,500,000 — which is manifestly a most extravagant estimate. It is no object here to pursue this branch of inquiry, but merely to add, that if the aboriginal population of Spanish America was over-estimated, that of North America was equally so. The country had been known nearly a century before England thought to avail herself of Cabot's discovery, by planting colonies. The first landing in Virginia found the tribes of Algonquin lineage in possession of the Atlantic coasts, extending northwards. The local names of the tribes were preserved, but the limits of their possessions, and their numbers, were mere objects of conjecture. Information on these points could not be obtained, and the subject was ever a matter of doubt. As the country became settled, other stocks of tribes were found, extending southwardly to the Gulf of Mexico, northwardly along the Atlantic, reaching to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and westwardly to the Mississippi. Conjecture and estimates scarcely aimed to fill up the general outlines of the aboriginal numbers. The Indian mode of life is itself calculated to lead to error on this head. They are a people who rove over vast spaces, occupy the land very sparsely, and by their quick movements and yells under excitement, create an idea of numbers which is very fallacious. Five hundred Indian warriors, turned loose in the forest, occupy grounds which would suffice for five thousand, if not fifty thousand civilized persons, or regular troops. The celerity with which they move — the tumult they make — and their wild, Arab-like, or oriental costume and arms, give them, at once, a picturesque and formidable appearance. It is believed that every officer who has marched against them, from the early days of Virginia and Massachusetts, to the formidable military expeditions of Braddock, Bouquet, and Bradstreet, has greatly magnified their numbers. Similar exaggerations prevailed in the armies during the epoch of the American Revolution, and the succeeding campaigns of Harmer, St. Clair, and Wayne. Nor do the data at our command lead to the supposition, that a much greater degree of accuracy in estimating their numbers was made in the campaigns of Genls. Harrison and Jackson, or Scott and Taylor, while operating in Florida or the Mississippi valley. It is astonishing what mistakes this great diffusion of the Indian forces, brought into the field, has led to in all periods of our history.

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[1] ANCIENT BRITONS IN THE WEST.—The story of Madoc is an almost unexamined problem in American history, having never been scrutinized by the lights of philology, and the careful investigation of the monuments of distinctive intrusion which exist. That the ancient Celtic character has been found in western Virginia, appears incontestable. These evidences were first announced in 1838. The fact of the discovery of a small, oval stone, thin and flat, (Vol. I., p. 127), with characters of an apparently alphabetical value, was communicated to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Copenhagen, in 1841. The discovery was also announced to the Royal Geographical Society of London. Professor Rask, in the society's memoirs (1840 to 1843, p. 135), is disposed to deem it to be Celteberic (Vol. I., p. 112). It is said by Tacitus, in his Life of Agricola, that one of the distinct elements in British character, at the period of the Roman conquest, was of Iberian origin. "That the Silures," he observes, "were at first a colony of Iberians, is concluded, not without probability, from the olive tincture of the skin, the natural curl of the hair, and the situation of the country, so convenient to the coast of Spain." (Tacitus, Vol. VI., p. 20.) Several of these characters are identical with the ancient British alphabet. The facts respecting the opening of the tumulus which discloses this relic have been stated in Vol. I., p. 106. They are at length about to be put on record, with all the proofs of authenticity, by Dr. Wills De Hass, of Virginia.

The earliest accounts of the Indian population begin in this state of conjecture and uncertainty. A guess is put for a fact — a supposition for the results of an inquiry. Agreeably to Captain Smith, there were 5000 Indians within sixty miles of Jamestown in 1590. Mr. Jefferson informs us, that when the first effectual settlement of Virginia was made, in 1607, the littoral and forest tribes between the Potomac and James river, extending to the mountains, contained upwards of forty different tribes, including the Monacans or upper tribes.[1] He represents the territories lying south of the Potomac, comprehending the Powhatanic confederacy, to consist of about 8000 inhabitants, of whom *three* in *ten* were warriors. This denoted 2400 fighting men. (Notes on Virginia: London, A.D. 1788, p. 149.) It appears that when the Virginia Legislature turned its attention to the number of the Indian tribes within its bounds, in 1669, (Vide Title XV., Population and Statistics), they were reduced to 518 warriors, or 2600 persons, denoting a decline of over two-thirds the entire population in sixty-two years. Of the forty coast and midland tribes, nothing further appears in an official form, and they seem to have reached the lowest point of their depression at the date of Mr. Jefferson's Notes, in 1781.[1] The account he gives of the Virginia tribes is the most authentic extant. "Very little can now be discovered of the subsequent history of these tribes severally. The *Chickahomones* removed, about the year 1661, to *Mattapony* river. Their chief, with one from each of the *Pamunkies*, and Mattaponies, attended the treaty of Albany, in 1685. This seems to have been the last chapter in their history. They retained, however, their separate name so late as 1705, and were at length blended with the *Pamunkies* and Mattaponies, and exist at present only under their names. There remain of the Mattaponies three or four men only, and they have more negro than Indian blood in them. They have lost their language — have reduced themselves, by voluntary sales, to about fifty acres of land, which lie on the river of their own name — and have, from time to time, been joining the Pamunkies, from whom they are distant but ten miles. The Pamunkies are reduced to about ten or twelve men, tolerably pure from mixture with other colours. The older ones among them, preserve their language in a small degree, which are the last vestiges on earth, so far as we know, of the Powhatan language. They have about three hundred acres of very fertile land on Pamunky river, so encompassed by water that a gate shuts in the whole. Of the Nottoways[2] not a male is left. A few women constitute the

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[1] These tribes were of Iroquois lineage. They were located entirely above the falls of the leading Virginia rivers. Their language was so diverse from the Powhatanic dialects, which were of the Algonquin group, that not a word could be understood without interpreters. They were called also Tuscaroras in the early period of Virginia. Mr. Jefferson reveals the fact (p. 155), that the Eries, called by him Erigas, who had formerly

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occupied the Ohio valley (and were then, by inference, in Virginia and North Carolina, east of the Alleghanies), were also of kindred language, and had belonged to the stock of the Five Nations, or, as they were called by the Virginia Indians, *Massawamack*.

[1] Verbal information on which we rely describes the existence of a remnant of the Accomacs of Virginia in the county of Northampton. Of their numbers and condition nothing is known. It is also stated that there are nine descendants of the Nottoways residing in that state, in amalgamation with the African race. Having called the attention of the Hon. Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, to this subject, he informs me, through the intervention of Dr. Garnett, that the Gingaskins, a part of the Accomac tribe, had their lands in common as late as 1812. The principal seat of the Accomac tribe was the upper part of Accomac — the Gingaskins living near Eastville in Northampton county. In 1812 an act was passed, dividing their lands, which were held by them till the Nata (Nat Turner) insurrection, say 1833, when they were treated as free negroes, and driven off.

[2] This word appears to be of Algonquin origin. Nadoway, in the dialects of the western and lake Algonquins, as the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawattomies, &c. — is the term for an Iroquois. It is a derogative term in those languages; equivalent to that of viper or beast, from their striking in secret. It is a compound word, having its apparent origin in *Nado*, an adder, and *Awasie*, a beast. Agreeably to Mr. Jefferson, the Nottoways, together with the Tuteloes or Meherries, were Monacans — who were of the generic language of the Iroquois. It was not, therefore, a term of their own bestowal, but was probably a tribal, or rather a nickname, of the Powhatanic tribes.

remains of that tribe. They are seated on Southampton river, on very fertile land. At a very early period, certain lands were marked out and appropriated to these tribes, and were kept from encroachment by the authority of the laws. They have usually had trustees appointed, whose duty it was to watch over their interests, and guard them from insult and injury." Such was the fate of the coast-tribes of Virginia. It exhibits a noble policy of their statesmen and legislators, to stay the decline of a race, who were hastening to their extinction by the use, or rather the misuse, of means which would, if indulged, consign them to degradation. It was the littoral tribes of that state which, however, suffered most severely from the contact with Europeans. The upper tribes, who were of Iroquois lineage, were less exposed to deteriorating influences. "The Monacans and their friends," continues he, "better known latterly as *Tuscaroras*, were probably connected with the Massawomacs, or Five Nations. For, though we are told their languages were so different, that the intervention of interpreters was necessary between them,[1] yet do we also learn that the Erigas,[2] a nation formerly inhabiting on the Ohio, were of the same original stock with the Five Nations, and that they partook also of the Tuscarora language.[3] Their dialects might, by long separation, have become so unlike as to be so unintelligible to one another. We know that in 1712, the Five Nations received the Tuscaroras into their confederacy, making them the sixth nation. They received the Meherrins, or Tutelos, also into their protection; and it is most probable that many other of the kindred tribes, of whom we find no particular account, retired westwardly in like manner, and were incorporated into one or other of the western tribes."[4] (Notes on Virg., p. 156.)

Without encumbering these pages with details, which are at best fragmentary and conjectural, of the aboriginal population, at the epochs of the settlement of the several colonies, it may be assumed that the rate of decrease in the littoral tribes, which is indicated in the history of Virginia, prevailed in the other colonies. Glimpses, and but glimpses, of this protracted period of decline can be given, but they testify to the same general end. The landing in Virginia was made in the far-spreading territories of the

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Smith. [2] Evans.

[3] This question is examined in Vol. III., p. 288; also in Vol. IV., p. 197. Light is furthermore thrown on the obscure topic in Indian history by the document respecting the history of the Catawbas of South Carolina, published in Vol. IV., p. 293. Lewis Evans, in his Geographical Memoir, communicates some valuable traditions on this subject, denoting the track of the Eries after their defeat to have been, at first, into the Ohio valley; and finally south-eastwardly into the region of the Carolinas. Geographical, Historical, &c., Essays. The first part containing an analysis, &c. Phila., B. Franklin and P. Hall, A.D. 1755. 1 vol. 4to., 32 pp., with an elaborate map of British America.

[4] This view of the decline of the Monacan stock of Virginia is confirmed by all we know of their history. All the sympathies of Virginians were with the Powhatanic tribes. The Monacans, who occupied the country at the foot of the Alleghanies and above the falls of the Virginia rivers, were their natural enemies at the era of the colonization, and indeed during the whole history of Virginia, and when difficulties occurred with the aborigines, they naturally sided with the Powhatanic tribes.

Algonquin[1] family of tribes. As the other colonies arrived, and planted themselves along the Atlantic northward and eastward, they were surrounded by tribes of the same generic stock. Thus, the English in Massachusetts and New England generally, the Hollanders on the sea-coasts of New York and New Jersey, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, and the Dutch and Swedes of the present area of Delaware, were environed by tribes of Algonquin lineage, however they differed in names and dialects. The tribal names they bore were, indeed, no test of tribal or national affinity, having reference to the parent stock, being generally taken from some geographical or other peculiarity of an entirely adventitious character. Thus, the generic name of the Massachusetts Indians appears to be a derivative from the Blue Hills of that State, visible from the islands off that coast; the Narragansetts, from an arm of the sea; the Pequots, from the blunt-headed arrow; the Mohicans, from a wolf; the Manhattans, from a whirlpool; and the Metoacs of Long Island, from an impression that the land was under the power of enchantment by their medawas. After passing the Hudson westward, the various tribes were still more closely related to the sub-generic Lenni Lenapee or Delaware stock of this group. They extended to, and south of, the Delaware river, to the confines of the Susquehanna, and to Chesapeake bay. Here were encountered the Susquehannocks, Nanticokes, and their cognate tribes. The same stock prevailed south of the Chesapeake, not only throughout all the seaboard front of Virginia, but, agreeably to Lawson, to the Pamticos[2] of North Carolina. Taking the map of the United States, and running back on the ethnological track northwardly and eastwardly, the Algonquin tribes extended, throughout New England, and New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, to the Micmacs and Melecites of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the islands within it. At the settlement of New England, it was estimated by Goodwin that there were twenty distinct tribes within its limits. It is stated by Edwards (Observ. on the Muhekenew Language) that these all spoke dialects of the same language. They agreed, also, in general manners and customs, traditions and character. They referred to the South for their origin.

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[1] ALGOMEQUINS. — For this word we are indebted to the missionary and historical writers of New France. The term itself, first employed by the French of Montreal, is apprehended to have, originally, meant only, *the people of the other side*, in contradistinction to the Iroquois tribes, who dwelt on this (the south) side of the St. Lawrence. (Vide Vol. I., p. 306.) It was a great advance, however, to our means of discussion, to have a term equally generic to that of Iroquois, which they also invented from Indian roots, for the wide-spreading stock of Indian tribes whose migrations extended over so long a line of the continent.

[2]

English.	*Algonquins.*	*Pamtico (ugh).*
Awl	Miggose	Moccose.
Two	Neshwa	Nishinauk.
Three	Nishtonna (thirty)	Nishwonner.
Blanket	Mutattosh (of beaver skin)	Mattosh.
White	Waboshau (thing)	Wop-poshan-mosh.
Red	Miskosh (bill)	Miscosh.
Powder	Pinkwe (fine grains)	Punque.
Axe	Tomahawk	Tommahick. — [Lawson.]

It was in that quarter, agreeably to Roger Williams, that their benevolent God, Kamantowit,[1] lived. To him they ascribed the gift of the Zea maize; and it is inferable, both from Williams and from the other ministerial and missionary writers of the period, who have recorded the Indian traditions, that the track of migration of the ancestors of these tribes had been from the South, and by the shores of the Atlantic, till they were arrested by the great estuary of the St. Lawrence.

Turning the view westward, from this point, up the St. Lawrence river, into the great lake basins, and west of them, to the Mississippi valley, the Algonquin class of tribes were found, on the discovery, to have overspread that region. Keeping the left shores of the St. Lawrence, and avoiding Hochelaga and its southern environs, possessed by the Iroquois, they ascended the Outawas branch to lakes Nepising and Huron. From the latter they migrated, through the straits of St. Mary's, to Lake Superior[2];

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[1] KAMANTOWIT. — Of this word, its neucleus, *Manto*, denotes its origin in the general term of the New England tribes for God. Eliot spells it *Manitoo*, in his Indian Bible, Exodus xx. 2, where he gives the phrase "Mamittoom" for "my God." *Ka* is employed in the same work (xx. 1) as an affirmative particle. It is a term of frequent and varied use in the language. The inflection *it*, is the interchangeable for *id*, in the Chippewa (vide Vol. II. p. 411), where it is used as an inflective pronoun of the third person singular. The inflection *id*, changes verbs ending in *ee*, in the indicative, to the declarative voice of the infinitive (Vol. II., p. 391). This is what Baraga means, in his Ochipoui Grammar, by the "change." The letter *w*, in this word, is thrown in for euphony's sake, and has no meaning by itself.

[2] Agreeably to the traditions of the late Mr. W. Warren, of Lake Superior (vide Vol. II., p. 135), the Odjibwa tribe first formed acquaintance with the Whites eight generations ago, which, putting the generations at thirty years, gives the date A. D. 1610. This tallies very well with the practical settlement of Canada by the French, in 1606. But the tradition affirms that they had long before had their seat of council at Chegoimegon on that lake, the modern Lapointe. According to computations made by him, it had taken the tribes, of whom the Chippewas are the chief nation, eight hundred years, from the time they left the eastern seaboard, to reach their present position; consequently, they must have left the shores of the Atlantic in the seventh century A. D. It is the tradition, that one of their great wars, on their line of migration, was against a powerful people, called MUNDWA; and that other enemies, who opposed them after reaching the lakes, were Nadowaig, Odagumaig, Abwoinug, and Omameeg — which are, respectively Iroquois, Foxes, Sioux, and Maumes.

Comparing the Chippewa or Odjibwa language with the Natic, as recorded by the Indian apostle Eliot, there is an amount of philological testimony to this tradition, which is extraordinary, when the great geographical distance and the long era of separation are considered.

English.	*Natic.*			*Odjibwa.*
God	Manitoo,	Eliot's Bible,	Vol. I., 288	Monedo.
Devil	Mannitoosh	"	Gen. 24. 26	Monetoosh (bad spirit).
My father	Noosh	"	Gen. 22. 7	Nos.
Eye, face	Wuskesuk	"	Job 28. 10	Oskezbig (face).
Tooth	Weepit	"	Job 29. 17	Weebid.
Foot	Wuseet	"	Rev. 10. 2	Ozid.
Heart	Uttah	"	Job 31. 17	Oda.
Flesh	Weyaus	"	Gen. 43	Weaus.
Town	Otan	"	Josh. 8. 8	Odanuh.
Kettle	Ohkeek	"	Job 41. 20	Ahkeek.
Shoe	Mukussin	"	Luke 10. 4	Mukazin.
Legging	Metas	"	Dan. 3. 21	Metos.
Snow	Koon	"	Job 21. 1	Kön.

The whole of the vocabularies have striking general resemblances.

whence they proceeded west to the sources of the Mississippi river, and across the Rainy Lake summit to the Lake of the Woods, and to Lake Winnipeck. Mackenzie informs us, that they extended their migration northward to the *Portage du Trait* of the great Missinippi[1] or Church-hill river of Hudson's Bay, where they encountered the Athapasca stock of tribes. (Hist. Fur Trade, p. 73.)

In this diffusion of the Algonquins, north and west of the great lakes, and over the barren and rugged latitudes north of Lake Superior and west of Hudson's Bay, geographical phenomena and position divided them into numerous local bands, who speak mere dialects of the parent tongue, and they are by no means entitled to be deemed independent tribes. Such are the Kebiks,[2] or *Montainiers*, Maskigos, Nopemings, Nepisings, Crees, or Kenistenos, Odjibway, Odawas, Pottawattomies, Monomonies, Miscotins, &c. — names which, divested of their aboriginal garb, mean, respectively, Mountaineers, Bogmen, Inlanders, People of the Nepising Lake, Killers, Sibilant or Hissing Voices, Trading People, People who make an independent Council-Fire, Wild Rice-makers, Prairie Indians, &c. To search for analogies of etymology amid such mere incidental terms, which were sometimes imposed in irony or jest,[3] as some writers have done, is a mere waste of philological labor.

An element of the Algonquin stock, as denoted by vocabularies, is found in one of the leading tribes, who inhabit the Saskatchiwine river, between Red river of the Winnepeck Lake and the Rocky Mountains. The people speaking this language appear to have been remarkable, wherever they sojourned, for their enterprise and vigor as hunters and warriors. Red river appears to have been the avenue up which the Algonquins returned south, to rejoin tribes who had proceeded into the Mississippi valley from lakes Huron and Michigan. Their line of migration extends from Pembina, by the Otter-tail Lake, to the point at Sauc river, above St. Anthony's Falls, where they crossed the Mississippi, into eastern Minnesota and north-western Wisconsin, ultimately reaching the waters of Green Bay and Chicago. Thence they spread south, down the Illinois, to Peoria and Kaskaskia, and the mouth of the Ohio. The original area of the States of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan, was occupied, with slight exceptions, by tribes of the Algonquin stock.[4] The intrusive or intercalated tribes in the same area, were members of the Iroquois, or confederation of the Six Nations of New York—namely, the Oneidas, Mohawk, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras — the latter of which only, were of modern date in their entry into the region. These tribes were generally called Mingoes, in the West. The Wyandots were also of this generic stock, but of far earlier dates of migration; having left the valley of St. Lawrence about the time of the settlement of Canada by the French. The Winnebagoes — a Dacota tribe with an Algonquin name — were celebrated for their influence in western Indian affairs. There had been, at an early time, other tribes, who fled before the Iroquois power, taking temporary shelter, in their flight, in the Ohio valley, prominent among which were the Erigas, Andastes, &c. There were vestiges and evidences of cultivation and occupancy by still *earlier* tribes, who had cast their rude defences, and earthen-works, ditches and mounds, to testify of early and forgotten struggles for the occupancy of the country. Iroquois tradition refers these to ancient wars against southern tribes, who were driven, at ante-historical periods, out of the Mississippi valley (vide Cusic). These vestiges and communities of semi-civilized and of nomadic tribes will be considered under the head of Antiquities, and may be appropriately dismissed in these outlines.

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[1] From *missi*, much, many, congregated, and *neebi*, water — a term carefully to be distinguished from Mississippi, meaning great or much and rivers.

[2] The name Quebec is believed to have had its origin in this word. *Kebik* is a term of exclamation for Indian canoemen passing the rocky coast of the St. Lawrence at this point. It means, *beware of the rock.*

[3] The term *Adarondak* is the Iroquois equivalent for Algonquin. It means Bark-eaters, having been given in derision, from the straits to which the Algonquins were sometimes driven in their forays into the Iroquois country. *Kickapoo* is a phrase jestingly applied to one of the Algonquin tribes by others of the same stock. It is believed to be abbreviated from Negik-aboe, meaning an otter's apparition. *Bwoin* is the Chippewa term for a Sioux. It means, a spit—a roasting-stick, in allusion to the cruelties practised by the Sioux in their wars.

[4] Sectional View of the Ethnology of the Mississippi Valley, Plate 21, Vol. III., p. 96. The leading tribes of this valley, of Algonquin lineage, at the first settlement of the country by Europeans, were the following: —

In this brief view of the ethnographical track of migration, the Algonquin tribes are perceived to have revolved in an irregular circle, or ellipsis, of some three thousand miles diameter, returning at last, to complete the circle, to the Mississippi valley.

		Synonyms.
Delawares		Lenno Lenapi, *Loups.*
Shawnees		Oshawano, *Chats.*
Miamis		Omamees, Two Twee
Poorias Kakaskias Weas Piankashaws		Illinese.
Ottowas		Atawas, Atowawas.
Chippewas Missisaugees	Nepersinians, Nipiseing	Odjibwa, Santeaux, Chibwa.
Kickapoos Miscotins		Miscatins, Prairie Indians, Muscodanig.
Pottawottomies		*Poux.*
Sacs		Osawkees.
Foxes		Misquekee, *Reynards.*
At later periods: —		
Kenistenos		Crees.
Muskegos *Tete Boulees* *Gens de Terres*		Nopemings.
Munsees		Delawares.
Stockbridges		Mohegans.
Brothertons		Pequots, &c.
Wabunakies		Various Eastern tribes.

They are first heard of, in early ante-historical periods, by Lenapi traditions (American Philos. Trans.), crossing the Mississippi from the west. It is perceived, from the prior details, that the most extreme southerly point, on the Atlantic borders, to which they were traced, after the era of the discovery, is the location of the Pamticos of North Carolina (Lawson). South of this point, bands of the Iroquois clement were seated. The Monacans of Virginia, and the Tuscaroras of North Carolina, were of this stock. It is a peculiarity in the ethnography of these bands, that they were located at the eastern base of the Appalachian chain, extending to the falls of the principal rivers flowing into the Atlantic. The Catabas do not appear to have been the original inhabitants of the lands they occupied in the upper part of South Carolina, and have not been arranged in the system of groups; leaving it probable, however, in our present state of inquiry, that they were of the lineage and language of the Wyandot type of the Iroquois family (Vol. III., p. 293). The Santees, Waterees, and other small coast tribes of South Carolina, perished without our having obtained vocabularies for their languages, beyond the mere indicia of the geographical names. The term Chicora, which was early applied by the Spanish to the tribes of these coasts, is believed to have been more specially applied to the ancient Utchees, who spread over the country and its sea-islands, extending between the present cities of Charleston and Savannah. It is the tradition of the Creeks (vide Hawkins), that this tribe were conquered by them, and carried off and incorporated into their confederacy.

A few more allusions will be sufficient to fill up this ethnographical picture. The Appalachian group[1] occupied all the northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico, from the capes of Florida to the Mississippi, extending to the Appalachian chain; in the elevated valleys of this chain dwelt the Cherokees, a people who are thought to have once occupied the Mississippi valley above the confluence of the Ohio, from which they were disastrously expelled (Iroquois Trad., Cusic).

Three groups, or ethnological families, thus covered by far the largest area of the United States, east of the Mississippi: namely, the Algonquins, Iroquois, and Appalachians — with the intrusion of a single tribe, namely, the Winnebagoes, from the Dacota group of the west of the Mississippi, and with the diverse fragmentary elements of the Utchees, the Natchez, and the Achalaque or Cherokees. Such is, at least, the arrangement of the tribes, by generic groups and languages, as known at the settlement of the country.

It is, with the multiplied tribes of these great aboriginal families or generic groups, all lying east of the line of the Rocky Mountains, that our intercourse has, almost exclusively, existed, from the first planting of the colonies, in 1584, to the termination of the Mexican war, in 1848—a period of two hundred and sixty-four years, reaching from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to the Presidency of James Knox Polk. For one hundred and ninety-two years of this period, the policy pursued respecting them has been that of Great Britain. For the last seventy-nine years it has been that of America. How far these systems of policy have run parallel, and at what positions they have differed, may be stated at the sequel. Comparisons of the condition of the tribes, are not easily instituted, without apparent invidiousness, under phases of the Indian history so radically diverse. The European governments, founding their sovereignties on the *jure divino* of universal interpretation, exercised its power over the disposal of all lands and territories occupied by the barbarous tribes of the countries discovered; taking the latter under guardianship, as not being capable of sovereign acts, or sound discretion in the management of their interests; and making pacifications and "contentments," from time to time, for intrusions on their territories or hunting grounds. The wild tribes possessed, truly, the balance of power. They could disturb or break up the new settlements; and, had they not been strikingly deficient in the power of combination, they would have swept away the colonists at these earlier periods. To conciliate and pacify, to explain and redress acts of incidental injustice, to prevent combinations for hostile purposes, and to direct the minds of the Indians to the leading truths of labor and civilization, became the general objects of European, as they have been of American policy. Indian wars were occasional, and of short duration, during the whole period, and they were waged with precisely the same ulterior views. The policy was pre-eminently that of peace, and not of war; and when war ensued, the aim was to reform, not to destroy them. Such was the system of England, Holland, France, and Sweden; as it had previously been that of Spain and Portugal in South America. The colonial governors stood between the tribes and the throne, as representatives of the king. To prevent misapprehensions among an ignorant and suspicious people, they employed a class of Executive Agents, to reside near or amongst the Indians. When England and France went to war, the Indian tribes in their interest also engaged in hostilities. In the patriarchal language of the tribes, the terms of a father and his children were employed. This pleased the Indians; and established a political relation which they fully understood. In this system of management of the Indian affairs, the dynasties of the Tudors, Stuarts, and Guelphs, were one. The same policy prevailed during the whole history of the colonies. It was indeed an epoch, however long, when the European migrations were *moderate*, and required but little land. The new-comers introduced themselves in an easy way; the Indians lived and died on their ancient limits, without seeing their lands torn away, or greatly curtailed; and the tribes were not alarmed by threatening tides of Transatlantic migration.

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[1] The chief members of this family, known to us, in modern days, are, the Muskogees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws. It embraced by conquest, but not language, the Utchees and Natchez, and absorbed in its history the numerous local bands and tribes of Coosas, Alabamas, Apalaches, &c., who spoke cognate dialects. The Cherokees were different.

The theory of patriarchal relations was one very consonant to the feelings of the Indians. They were poor financiers; they lacked forecast; they never strove to accumulate wealth, national or personal; they were more than half suspicious of being inadequate to the wise management of their own affairs, and supposed that the relations of a father to his children secured them, in no small degree, both against wants and enemies. It was to uphold this mutual system of sympathies, that Sagarahta (King Hendrick) fell, in the front of the British army, at Lake George, in 1755. Gen. Braddock paid the forfeit of his life, in the same year, west of the Alleghanies, in a struggle to carry out the British policy. Never had there been, in America, a military expedition at all comparable to this. He had more than double the number of men with which De Soto landed in Florida, in 1540, and the fame, peril, and grandeur of the expedition aroused the intensest interest of all the Colonies.

For the number and names of the several tribes; of their population and strength at various periods; and of their history and wars, traditions and customs, other portions of these pages are referred to.

Declension seems to have been written on their history from the beginning. By whatever mutations of history they were led to adopt the bow and arrow, and to pursue the chase, as means to secure their happiness, they could not have fallen more infinitely short of the mark, if suffering under the Simeonic destiny — "Thou shalt not excel." That so many of the small and local tribes should have perished before they had attracted much attention, and that many more should have sold or exchanged their surplus lands for locations in the West, where they would be comparatively out of the way of disturbance, is undoubtedly true. But the fact is not so remarkable, as that *any* of them should so long have withstood the *to them* blighting shock of civilization.

The first thought of the Indian, when he began sensibly to feel this shock in its wasting effects, was, to repair his fortunes by fleeing beyond the Alleghanies. Many of the leading tribes attributed their remote origin to that quarter. They have, from early times of their traditions, as before indicated, regarded the West and South-west as the scenes of benign influences; and it is, particularly, in the undefined regions of the West, that they locate their paradise and happy hunting grounds, after this life is closed. The first tribes who began to repair to this region, and to fall back on their original track, by crossing the Mississippi from the East, were the Delawares and Shawnees. These two well-known tribes of the Algonquin stock have been intimate allies, in peace and war, during the whole period of our history. From a tradition, which is incidentally recorded in one of our treaties, p. 540, it appears that so early as 1796, they had obtained permission from the Spanish Governor-General Carondalet to settle and hunt in Upper Louisiana.

To employ an aboriginal metaphor, "the Indian had long discerned a dark cloud in the atmosphere, moving from the East, which threatened disaster to him. Slowly rising at first, it seemed but a shadow. But it soon became the substance; and, as it reached the summits of the Alleghanies, deep murmurs, as of thunder, were heard —

it assumed a darker hue — it was impelled forward by strong tempests of wind, and it darted out forked lightnings." This cloud was the symbol of civilization — of letters, labour, and Christianity, which threatened to subdue the tribes before it, or to sweep them from the continent. Pontiac opposed himself to this sombre cloud, in 1759, when he saw the French flag struck in America, and the British elevated in its stead. His strong figure — delivered to the British officer who came with a force to reap the fruits of the taking of Quebec — remains, to attest the Indian feeling of the period: "I stand in the path!" He saw, in the menacing Anglo-Saxons, the element, which was destined, in his view, to exterminate the Indian race. When he had assembled the chiefs of the nations in council, to unfold to them his schemes, his thoughts kindled, as he depicted the coming rush of the White man from the borders of the Atlantic, till he reached his peroration, and exclaimed, to the armed and bright-eyed multitude, "Drive those dogs in red clothing into the sea!" (Cass' Discourse before the Michigan Hist. Soc.) Fifty years later, the Shawanoe leader, Tecumseh, repeated the attempt to drive back the threatening masses of civilization; and, like Pontiac, his prototype, to hurl them back, he made the western valleys run with blood. For many years, his voice had been potential in western negotiations. He plotted the conspiracy of the Wabash. Knowing the Indian character well, he penetrated into its secret recesses by the Indian priesthood, and roused up the Indian mind to a great effort, to stem and roll back the tide of White men. With devotion and heroism beyond his British allies, he assailed, with entire abandon, the impinging force. Tippecanoe and River Raisin commemorate his ire. Ambuscade and massacre are, with the aborigines, modes of honorable warfare; but those acts of a mad foe, only served to wake up a more determined resistance to the last great rally of barbarism and superstition; and he forfeited his life in this vain effort to restore the hunter-empire in America.

But the war of 1812, of the Algonquin group of the West, did not, however disastrous to the aboriginal tribes, arrest the attempt of the Appalachian group of the South to make another effort to regain the lost sovereignty of America. This effort was the expiring throe made by the Appalachian family — the Creeks, or Muscogees, placing themselves in the front. From the close of the war with Great Britain, in 1815, they had continued for two or three years, with great obstinacy and courage, under the leadership of Tuscaloosa, to wage a sanguinary war against the Southern frontiers. Tecumseh, who had visited this tribe about 1811, in the days of his power, preaching up a crusade against the Whites of the frontiers, was, by the mother's side, a Creek, and the memory of his stirring appeals was yet fresh in their minds. The formidable character of this effort brought General Jackson into the field, from his retirement at Nashville. He prosecuted it with great vigor and decision. He enforced discipline among his own troops with the energy of Cæsar. Having overthrown the Creeks in several decisive actions, and finding the war to rest on a Spanish element of alliance and support in Florida, he pursued them and their allies, the Seminoles, into that province, and captured its principal fortresses. These events laid the foundation of the acquisition of Florida. With the sublime act of the voluntary surrender of himself, made by Tuscaloosa, upon whose head a price had been fixed, the war closed. The Creeks, and the Appalachians generally, gave up the idea, so long popular among the Indians, of opposing force against the Americans, and restoring the Indian power in America.

Twelve years later (1832), the restless Sacs and Foxes, instigated by the counsels of the Chief Black Hawk, renewed the contest in the West; and after a sanguinary and destructive campaign, during which Asiatic cholera first broke out among the troops, his army was defeated, and himself taken prisoner, at the battle of Badaxe, on the Upper Mississippi. Defeated in the North, the South, and the West, the home-tribes of the frontiers, east of the line of the Mississippi, became convinced that a peaceful policy was better fitted to promote their prosperity. Since this period, they have addressed themselves to agriculture and the arts. They have received teachers, and applied their efforts to master the problem of civilization. They have also admitted the axiom, that the Indian communities cannot exist, in prosperity, within the boundaries of the States. One tribe after another has consented to dispose of their lands and improvements; and, carrying along their teachers and the arts, have removed to the west of the Mississippi, and to the waters of the Missouri. A revival and very striking improvement of their condition has been the result, with all the industrial and temperate tribes. They have erected schools and academies with a part of their annuities. They raise large stocks of cattle and horses. They cultivate extensive fields of Indian corn and the cereal grains. They erect substantial dwelling-houses and farms. They build mills, and manufactories of articles of first necessity. They have, to a considerable extent, adopted the European costume and the English language. The principal tribes have organized systems of government, courts, and civil codes. The writings of their public men compare very well with those of politicians of the frontier States and Territories. Men of learning and piety conduct their system of education; and, in the most advanced tribes, no small per-centage of the population, as compared with European communities, in that region, are shown to have adopted Christianity.

II. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS. D.

[4TH PAPER, TITLE II.]

TITLE II.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE II.

TITLE II., LET. A., VOL. II.

General View of the Manners and Customs of Man in the Hunter State. Aboriginal Man, and the Influence of the Continent on him. Constitution of the Indian Family. Forest Teachings. Arts of Hunting and Fishing. Incidents of War — of Peace — of Birth — of Death. Amusements and Games. State of Woman in Savage Life. Characteristic Dances of the Tribes.

TITLE II., LET. B., VOL. III.

General Traits of Indian Mind. Dignity of Indian Thought. Basis of Mental Character. Customs denoting a Foreign Origin. Persic and Hindoo Customs. Distinctive Phases of the Hunter State. Its Government Patriarchal. Influence of the Wilderness on the State of Woman. Costume. Male and Female Costume. Winter and Summer Dress. Implements and Accoutrements in War

TITLE II., LET. C., VOL. IV.

Traits of Parental Affection. Regard for the Demented. Cruelty of the Barbarous Tribes to their Prisoners. Instance of Gross Superstition. Manners and Customs of the Winnebagoes and Dacotahs. Character, and striking Manners and Customs of the Moqui and Navajo Tribes of New Mexico. Buffalo-Hunting on the Western Prairies.

TITLE II., LET. D., VOL. V.

Resumé of Observations thus far. Are the Indian Tribes of Foreign Origin? Examination of their Manners and Customs, Rites, and Religion, in view of this Question. Adoration of Fire. Spirit-Worship. Totemic Bond of Fraternity. Subsisting Customs and Beliefs. Dæmonology. Human Sacrifice. Indian Ideas of the Immortality of the Soul, and Theory of Sensations in Dreams. Belief in the Resurrection of Animals sacrificed on the Grave. Final Inadequacy of the Proofs deduced from General Customs. Generic Conclusions.

II. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS. D.

7

RESUMÉ OF THE OBSERVATIONS THUS FAR.

It is said by Gomara, in his history of the Indies, that the greatest wealth of the North American Indians consists in the immense herds of the bison, met in the latitude of about 40°, and that the animal is susceptible of domestication, yielding an abundance of milk.[1] This statement is not the less fallacious for its having been in a manner galvanized by a justly eminent writer, after the uniform observation of the French and English colonists of America, disaffirming, for more than two centuries, the practicability of their domestication.[2] The bison is still found, in the country named, roving in vast herds over the plains of Kansas, Nebraska, and Minnesota, to the banks of the Saskatchewine of Hudson's Bay (vide Vol. IV., p. 92). A figure of the animal, and another of the domestic cow, is given, from a daguerreotype, in Plate 8, Vol. IV., p. 93. A description of the buffalo-hunt, on the plains of Pembina, is subjoined, from the pen of Mr. Sibley, M. C., which is both interesting and instructive in its details, and very valuable, as bringing the observation down to the present time. The writer has himself participated in the exciting scenes of the buffalo chase. (Narrative Journal of Travels to the Sources of the Mississippi, 1820, Alb., 1 vol. 8vo, p. 276.) All visitors and travellers, who have spoken on the subject, coincide in the opinion, that the bison is incapable of domestication, and that it is not without imminent peril to themselves that the fierce and untamable herds of it are hunted. Indians have never made the attempt to tame it, nor is its milk an article which they value, or ever taste. It is prized by them solely for its hide and flesh; the latter of which is jerked, and becomes an article of traffic in the condition of pemmican. (Mackenzie.)

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[1] Vide Chap. 214, Cosmos, Vol. II., p. 557.

[2] The calf of the bison has often been captured on the frontiers, and brought up with domestic cattle. It is measurably tamed, but produces no cross. It is utterly barren in this state. It grows to its natural size, and is then slaughtered for beef. It is stouter and less mild than the domestic cow, and is destructive to fences.

Indian customs are, to a great extent, founded on the fauna inhabiting that country, and many of their rites and superstitions take their complexion from the objects of the chase. The bison has ever been deemed by them one of the prime objects of hunter-prowess and skill. But it has been, from the days of Gomara, as a wild and untameable species, which he has considered one of the peculiar tokens of a kind Providence to him, in his nomadic state, and which he regards only as an object of the chase. In a recent interview of Governor Stevens with the prairie tribes of the buffalo plains of the north, he informed them of the scheme of a contemplated railroad to the Pacific, which would intercept their hunting grounds. An evident alarm was produced. Adhering to the idea that the wild herds of buffalo were an inestimable boon to them, the venerable chief said: "The Great Father of Life, who made us, and gave us these lands to live upon, made also the buffalo and other game, to afford us the means of life: his meat is our food; with his skin we clothe ourselves and build our houses; he is to us our only means of life — food, fuel,[1] and raiment. I fear we shall soon be deprived of the buffalo: then starvation and cold will diminish our numbers, and we shall all be swept away. The buffalo is fast disappearing. As the White man advances, our game and our means of life grow less; and before many years, they will all be gone." He resumed — "I hear of a great road, to be built through our lands. We do not know what the object of this is; we cannot understand it, but we think it will drive away the buffalo." (Ann. Report Comm'r Ind. Affairs, 1854, p. 186.) The advance of civilization to these tribes was evidently regarded, not as a blessing which was to furnish them new means of subsistence, but as a curse which was to sweep them from the earth. This is, emphatically, Indian opinion among the hunter-tribes. They will not even consent to raise domestic cattle, far less wild. They abhor milk, as the cup of an enchanter.

Here, then, is a palpable misconception of the early Spanish writers, which has been suffered to flow down through the works of writers on the subject for centuries, and is still allowed to have influence on American minds, while the statements are readily believed, in all their grossness, abroad. The inquiries which were issued at the commencement of these investigations, in 1847 (vide Appendix, Vol. I.), were intended to scrutinize the popular errors on the subject of Indian manners and customs, rites and opinions, and to lay the foundation of more correct and philosophic views on the topics brought into discussion. It was not an object to enter, to any extent, into the description of ordinary and well-known customs, but rather to confine the attention to characteristic points which had been misapprehended or overlooked, and by definite appeals to leading topics of history, language, and traits, physical and intellectual, to furnish a new and authentic standard of judgment. The hope was also entertained that some lights might be brought out, which would assimilate them with the institutions and languages of the oriental world, whence they appear to be offshoots. It was remembered that Maupertius had suggested to philosophers the principles of language, or "plans of thought," as a means of comparing the histories of men, and that the Vaters, Adelungs, and Klaproths of Europe, had been distinguished by their researches and learning in this line. To be a follower in this department of research, so far as it could be incidentally done, appeared one of the surest means of "illustrating" the "Indian life." The problem of their origin and history was deeply interesting. In one view, they hang as a cord from the heavens. It appeared probable, nay, almost certain, that they had reached this continent prior to the rise of Mahomedanism and of Christianity; for there is not a trait referable to them, nor a lisp of allusiòn in their traditions. Great antiquity had been ascribed to them by all inquirers; and, indeed, the more this subject had been scrutinized, the more cause there seemed to assign the Indian tribes to a very remote origin. Above all, it was believed, that by throwing this living drapery around the body of statistical facts, the subject would assume a breadth and importance commending it fully to statesmen and legislators, who were inspired by the noble sentiment of performing one of the highest classes of duties of civilization to a very marked, but depressed, family of the races of man. Such was, indeed, the original conception of the measure by the legislature, which directed that the statistics should be accompanied by a collection of facts and materials illustrating their history, condition, and prospects. (Laws of Congress, Sess. 1846–'7, Little & Brown.) And, it is cause of felicitation to remark, by a recent enactment, extending and completing the inquiry, that those views are recognized as their own interpetation of the act.

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[1] With the dried fæces of this animal, picked up on the bleak plains, he builds his fire.

Eliot, in 1631, had called the attention of the colonies to the Indian. The tribes are called, by a quaint writer of the time,[1] "the ruins of mankind." Influenced, doubtless, by the opinions of De Laët and Erasmus, that they were of the lost Hebrew stock, a deep interest had been inspired on the subject. Nor has the lapse of two hundred years been able to stifle the moral sensibilities of America on the subject. During this period, tomes had been written; but tomes had not solved the problem of their origin, or of the peculiarities which pertain to them as a race. On the opening of the inquiry, in 1847, when these sketches were commenced, the mere manners and customs of the hunter life were not believed to be a topic, respecting which, a large amount of absolutely new information could be brought forward. Yet it was one which by no means ought to be wholly omitted. The race had ever been a prominent theme of description by writers and travellers. Much had been hastily observed and written. What was true of particular tribes, living in separate latitudes, was not so of others differently situated: climatic phenomena, the animals, and geographical position, had done much to create tribal peculiarities. These tribal differences required to be denoted in any comprehensive view. There was sufficient, after omitting every discrepance of this kind, to justify generalizations, and to regard the race as a generic branch of the human family. Prior to the American Revolution, the Indian country had been visited at long intervals by travellers, who aimed to give more or less information of the aborigines. The theatre of such observations had been chiefly the Atlantic coasts. The interior had been furtively visited, and to a very limited extent. The Alleghanies had not been crossed, except by Indian traders for the purposes of commerce. Braddock's march over this range, and his defeat, in 1755, demonstrated how little foreigners knew of the true points of Indian character. The great lake chain was chiefly known to readers from the pages of the old missionary French authors. The Mississippi had actually been less explored than the Nile and the Ganges. There was an amount of uncertainty, imprecision, or gross error, as to the number of the tribes in that quarter, which is absolutely startling. In a spirit of exaggeration, millions were put for thousands, thousands for hundreds. Such had been the estimates and the actual knowledge of the French period, and such had been the estimates and the ideas of Indian numbers of the Spanish period, from the respective days of Las Casas, De Leon, Narvaez, and De Soto. The Indian was regarded as a mere wild man of the woods, roving with nearly the same principles of action as the bears and panthers he chased; and whatever was wild and fierce in manners and customs, rites and opinions, it was thought, might be attributed to him. (See the ideas thrown out in the voyages of Cabot, Hudson, and Verezani.) There was, in truth, a singular succession of prejudiced, theoretical, or grasping discoverers and travellers, at early periods. It was not the age of exactitude in observation. Nor did the following ages rapidly improve. One set of superficial observers piled their ill-digested adventures among the Indians on their predecessors, with so little discrimination or judgment, that it is often difficult to separate pre-existing prejudices from personal observations, or theory from fact. The old French writers were prone to exalt the character and intellect of the Indians; the English writers were as prone to depress it; the one class were ever ready to excuse ferocity, treachery, and ingratitude; the other, to behold the man as destitute of every element of mental exaltation: one lifted him up to be a sage and a philosopher; the other depressed him to be a brute. Charlevoix, one of the most learned, benevolent, and candid observers, remarks "that, with a mien and appearance altogether savage, and with manners and customs which favor the greatest barbarity, the Indian enjoys all the advantages of society. At first view, one would imagine them without form of government, law, or subordination, and subject to the wildest caprice; nevertheless, they rarely deviate from certain maxims or usages, founded on good sense alone, which holds the place of law, and supplies in some sort the want of authority. Reason alone is capable of retaining them in a kind of subordination, not the less effectual towards the end proposed for being entirely voluntary. They manifest much stability in the engagements they have solemnly entered upon, particularly in affliction, as well as in their submission to what they apprehend to be the appointment of Providence; in all which they exhibit a nobleness of soul, and constancy of mind, at which we rarely arrive, with all our philosophy and religion." (Journal of a Voyage in North America, 1721.)

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[1] Cotten Mather.

In his preliminary essay, Vol. I., p. 49, this author admits that the study of the Indian languages is the only safe mode of investigating the question of origin. Maupertius, in 1766, may have been cognizant of this suggestion, and it was probably known to the Empress Catherine of Russia, who directed investigations to the topic. Mr. Jefferson appears to have been the first person, in America, to point attention to the true mode of studying the Indian history by means of vocabularies and grammars, and at the same time to disabuse the public mind on the characters of their antiquities. This was in 1781. (Notes on Virginia, pp. 149 and 156, London, 1787.) He intended to write on the subject at large, but lost his manuscripts by the carelessness of a servant in crossing the Rappahannock, and afterwards was called to a sphere of public life which forbade his beginning anew. (My Personal Memoirs, Philadelphia, 1852.)

After the close of the American Revolution, the attention of Europe was more particularly directed to the aborigines.[1] But the character of the men into whose hands the task fell was such as to elicit little new information respecting them, while these visits exposed the Republic, and its treatment of the tribes, to no little objurgation. Mr. Halket published, in London, a severe examination of the treatment of Indians, at the hands of both the colonies and the Americans. (Historical Notes respecting the Indians of North America, London, 1825.) It is not the United States, but the aborigines, who have been their own worst enemies, at all stages of their history. Their general idleness and dissipation are sufficient to account for their declension, without imputing the decline to political systems. Travellers of the John Dunn Hunter or Psalmanazer school, continued to pour out their vapid descriptions and ill-digested theories to a late period. Mr. George Catlin, in his letters, gives a spirited view of hunting scenes.

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[1] Chastelleux, Volney, and Chateaubriand, visited the country, and wrote comments on it and its aborigines. William Humboldt placed himself in the front rank of the philologists of Europe, but never visited America; Alexander, his distinguished brother, devoted himself almost exclusively to natural history and climatic and philosophic phenomena, and confined himself to the southern hemisphere. In 1804, on his return, he landed in Philadelphia, from whence he visited Washington, then in its fourth year, where he conversed with Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Gallatin; and, after spending about two months in the country, returned to Europe. (Klencke and Schlesier's Life, N. Y., 1853, p. 86.) He devoted himself especially, says his biographer, "to the study of the political relations and conditions of the population." It does not appear that he made inquiries into the character, languages, or condition of the aborigines of the United States. In his Cosmos, we are astonished at the general learning and research denoted. The origin of nations and discoveries from the fruitful theatre of early human energies, the Mediterranean, is a mine of intelligence to those, who like us, are without elaborate libraries. But we look in vain for any thing that may be used to solve the question of Indian origin. The remarks do not, indeed, aspire to grasp the subject, and we rise from the perusal with no new light on a topic which, it was thought, he only could illustrate. Of the United States tribes, and their history and languages, he has probably never made a study or even written — at least we have never read of it. The small charlatans, who, from this country, have teazed the Literary and Scientific Lion of Berlin with misrepresentations respecting myself, and then spread the precious scandals in American circles, may have exalted themselves by putting their hands on the shoulders of Ajax, and thereby given themselves claims to pity!

How far the object of describing the Indian as he is, has been attained, the preceding volumes must testify. To give additional value and scope to the collections made by the author, and to extend the investigations over geographical areas which were not visited by himself, the experience and observations of a class of collaborators on the distant frontiers was appealed to. In this reference to men of known authority and veracity, *facts* alone, not *theories*, were called for.; and it is believed that these contributions constitute, in every instance, pertinent and valuable additions to the information published. These contributions have been almost indispensable, at all times, in the census and statistics of the tribes. In this respect, it is the Indian Bureau that has labored. The data accumulated by himself, during a residence of four-and-twenty years in the Mississippi valley, and the fruits of his studies and researches on the history, antiquities, and languages of the tribes,[1] were chiefly relied on, in the investigations in these departments; the non-exhaustion of these personal desiderata, as well as the facts and materials respecting the tribes of the remote Indian territories, renders the selection for the future pages a task of some intricacy, while it makes the publication of the papers of this sort *in extenso* impossible. To revise and publish information on such a theme, and to make a formal digest and presentation of it, are very different tasks, for which the time, labor, and research, make most unequal demands. And if my correspondents have been stimulated to intenser exertions by the respect and candor evinced for their labors, it is hoped that they will also perceive and appreciate the necessities that exist for the condensations and summaries of their contributions in the subsequent volumes.

The two sources of my information are thus clearly denoted, and having candidly done this, I proceed. It was not expected that men, whose attention is casually, and for brief periods, directed to such a theme, would furnish light on the obscure and intricate branch of Indian history which reveals their origin. Humboldt himself has not been able, with all his affluence of libraries and powers of deduction, to penetrate into this obscure subject. I have read the elaborate volumes of his Cosmos, replete as they are with the record of the early and continued efforts of human thought on arts, painting, poetry, history, and astronomy, and on the diffusion of the human race, so far as books record it, over the globe, and the reflex influences of the geographical phenomena of climate, scenery, and natural productions, on the characteristic races, without finding a single observation for the searcher after the Indian origin to build on.[1] To expect facts in evidence of a subject so confessedly involved in the mists of antiquity, would not be wise, it is admitted, had the idea been entertained. Reference was made to plain men, for plain accounts of the Indians as they existed, and if such descriptions and materials were not wrought up, on the part of my collaborators or myself, with the pen of a Waverley or Pelham, it is, at least in some manner, owing to the circumstance that the work was not designed to be one of imagination. It was aimed to make it a transcript of the manners and customs of tribes who exist at this day on the frontiers. Above every other requisite, it was designed to make it authentic.

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[1] The author first entered the Indian country, which surrounds the basin of Lake Superior, in 1820, and addressing himself with ardor to the Chippewa language, made a complete lexicon of it, and studied its grammar critically. He wrote an elaborate treatise on the subject, which received the warm approval of the late Mr. Duponceau, Mr. Gallatin, Mr. Hale, and other philologists, at home and abroad. One of our colleges awarded him the honor of LL.D., for his inquiry into the principles of these languages. He has published several chapters of this treatise in Vol. II., p. 351. For the lexicon he has found no space in this work, though he has published several separate vocabularies from the West, South-west, and the Pacific coast.

Whatever has been the amount of information thus far published, respecting the colonized, the hunter, and the fierce mountain and prairie tribes — tribes widely different in customs and character — little or nothing has appeared, in the papers of my correspondents, on their origin, or which may be employed to compare their ancestors with foreign tribes, who are known to history. And of this little, almost everything that may be found important to future inquirers is comprised in the aboriginal vocabularies. Forty-four languages and dialects, of three hundred and fifty words each, have been given on uniform principles of orthography. (For their enumeration, vide Vol. IV., p. 368.) A word, it has been observed, is a thing, and can be studied like a coin or medal. In addition to this contribution to philology, a bibliographical catalogue has been published, of one hundred and fifty volumes, including pamphlets and books of elementary instruction, and all the translations which have been made into the American Indian languages, from the era of Eliot to the present day — constituting, in truth, the entire literature of the Indian languages. (Vide Vol. IV., p. 552.)

Of the facts recorded to denote the capacities of the Indian mind — of their power of computing numbers — of their craniological developments — of their skill in arts, ancient and modern — of their oral attempts in fiction and fancy, and their power of pictographic notation, — topics which are essential to any philosophical view of the man, it will be sufficient here to allude to. In whatever trait they differ, or however one tribe or class of tribes may excel another, there is a remarkable agreement in their general manners and customs and opinions, and in their physical and mental traits and character. An Indian from the Rio Grande del Norte, from the plains of Texas, Kansas, Nebraska, and of Minnesota, present striking points of agreement. Both their *physique* and *morale* are one. The peculiarities of manners and customs, where they exist in the most striking forms, are found to be due, in great measure, to the diversities of latitude and longitude, the changes of climate, geographical position, and the natural production and distinctive zoology of the country. As attention is directed to the tribes occupying — not the tropical and torrid regions of the South, or of British America, but the area of the United States, the similarity of manners and customs, as well as the agreement of the entire character of the man, becomes general and striking. And when the inquiry is extended to external customs and to the physical traits, such as the color of the skin, eyes, and hair, and the general stature and features, the resemblance is found to be of a character which may be called *continental*, so that whoever has seen one tribe, may be said to have seen all.

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[1] Cosmos. In the topics handled, this is an example of the power of intellectual abstraction and generalization. He considers every age, from the earliest dates, cognizant of what had been done by its predecessors, and responsible to them for its energies, its arts, and its discoveries, long before the invention of printing, and, of course, long before there can be any pretence that learning was popular, whereas many of the discoveries in arts and in maritime life, prior to the age of Faust, were made by men who had no pretence to erudition.

Nor is it less true, whatever effects civilization and the arts may have had on particular tribes or stocks, that they cling with undying tenacity to these, the leading characteristics of the race. But two generic stocks, in distant and apparently disconnected or non-communicating geographical positions, had, at the opening of the sixteenth century, established regular dynasties, adopted arts, and risen to a grade of civilization; while, by far the greatest amount of the aboriginal population of the continent, from Terra del Fuego to the Arctic ocean, roved in the deepest savage state. There was a singular *suite* character, as the naturalists express it. Even the subjects of Atahualpa, who had yielded to a peculiar line of arts, to fixed habits of industry, and the polity of a striking system of government and religion, evinced that singular imperturbability to fear, and schooled discipline under danger, which mark the wildest tribes of the North. The penalty of instant death, punished the violation of this stoicism in an individual, on the snorting of De Soto's horse. (Prescott's Conquest of Peru.) In the same tomb in which a noble Peruvian was buried, carefully inclosed in walls of stone, was deposited the dog, the most precious sacrifice, at this day, of the North American Indian; and the type, it would seem, there, as well as here, of the Indian religious philosophy. (Vide Appendix, No. 2.)

ARE THE INDIAN TRIBES OF FOREIGN ORIGIN?—EXAMINATION OF THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, RITES AND RELIGION, IN VIEW OF THIS QUESTION.

By India is meant the coast from the mouth of the Indus to Cape Comorin, through the Gulf of Manaar, including the island of Ceylon, and along the Coromandel and Madras coasts to the mouth of the Ganges; and, for the purposes of this view, the entire regions of Indostan drained by the Brahmapootra; of the Burman empire, Siam, Camboja, and the island of Sumatra, quite to the borders of Cochin-China. It is this part of Asia which was anciently filled with the Gentoo or Hindoo race, prior to the irruptions of the Moguls. And it is to these coasts that the writers of the fifteenth century looked for the physical type which led to the bestowal of the term *Indians* on the American aborigines. Commerce had, prior to this time, made the ports and the rich spice islands of this part of the Asiatic continent familiar to navigators; and it was, confessedly, to reach these repositories of commercial wealth that Columbus boldly ventured to sail directly West.

Right or wrong, the designation obtained currency. The resemblances were deemed striking, at a time when the history, manners, and customs of neither race had been fully examined; when the study of the physiology of races had not proceeded to distinguish the olive from the cinnamon-colored skin; when philology was, in truth, unknown; and when favorable comparisons were indulged by the popular mind, between two diverse races of man, one of which was the most subtle and profound and learned in letters and the arts on that continent, and the other, if we follow Ulloa, in a state of comparative barbarism. And when the progress of geographical discovery determined America and Asia to be separate continents, parted by a wide strait, precision was given to descriptive language, by distinguishing the *West* from the *East* Indian.

The Hindoos, or Hindostanee, are professors of the worship of Brahma. They vie with the Chinese in antiquity. Brahminism itself was founded on the dogmas of their ancient gymnosophists, who were the earliest teachers of religion, astrology, and of medical and occult knowledge. The Brahmin priest was a person absolutely sacred. He affected the greatest sanctity and self-sacrificing spirit. He retired to deep caverns and caves, which led to the erection of a class of mysterious and magnificent temples, which form at once a class of the most antique and wonderful structures of the Asiatic continent. Widows who ascended the funeral pyre, were purified for the highest awards of future bliss. Persons who precipitated themselves into the sacred waters of the Ganges — a river supposed to originate in Paradise, — secured the same rewards. To the Hindoo race belongs the Sanscrit language; and to this part of the human family, philologists teach us, is to be traced the great Indo-Germanic family of languages, which is spoken over so great a part of the world. Learning, research, and ingenuity, have exhausted themselves upon the knowledge, arts, worship, and subtle system of philosophy of the Hindoo nations.

The inhabitants of India have been, from the earliest notices, remarkable for their sloth and effeminacy. Absolute idleness and inactivity are deemed the summit of happiness. According to their Shasters, or sacred books, Brahma himself has been eternally doing nothing, and will be doing nothing to the end of eternity. Professor Wilson informs us, that their ideas on this subject, originally confused and obscure, have degenerated into monstrous and sublime absurdities. Brahma symbolizes creation. Principles and events are deified. They have thirty thousand gods.[1] Society is arranged in castes, which are unchangeable. To forsake these, is to make life despicable and deplorable, living and dying.

These allusions are sufficient to show the fixed and indomitable state of Hindoo society. Of all parts of Asia and the known world, to which the Indian manners, customs, and opinions, rites and observances, may be compared, Hindoostan offers the least in the way of coincidences and observances. If the term Indian is thence derived, as we have shown, it is almost the only thing capable of such a reference. In these comparisons of race with race, no allusion is made to certain personal features, and to non-essential resemblances in the forms of society and institutions, which are known to be the result of the political conquests of the Mogul or Mongul race; who, starting up at the opening of the twelfth century, overran all India, from Persia to the Burman, and even the Chinese, empire. This was wholly a political, not an intellectual, or, so to say, psychological and moral revolution. It was a conquest which left the fundamental mind of the Gentoo nations — their rites, opinions, philosophy, learning, and arts, unchanged.

Hindoostanee opinions and rites remain essentially the same, at this day, that they were when the Greek history first takes notice of them. Idolatry has, from the earliest dates, presented its most fixed and repulsive features throughout India. The worship paid to Brahma, Vishnoo, and Siva, exhibits the human mind as completely lost, in a philosophical search after first principles, as it would seem possible to be. Observers have been most unfavorably impressed, in modern times, by images erected to Gunga and Juggernaut, and the other grosser forms of their endless pantheism. Mahomedanism comes in as an element to divide opinion, but this does not date farther back, in Hindoostan, than the close of the sixth century of the Christian era, the egira itself not having taken place till 622 A.D. There are three or four fundamental traits, which have been employed as means of comparison in contemplating the manners and customs of the Hindoos. These are, the sacrifice of widows on the funeral pyre — the general incineration of the dead — the ceremony of hook-swinging of zealous devotees, and the division of society into fixed castes. The burning of widows with the dead bodies of their husbands has been, in recent years, interdicted in the districts of India subject to the British empire, but the native princes suffer the practice still to exist in remote districts. An instance of this kind was witnessed, in all its enormity, by the Rev. J. England, so late as 1826. (Monthly Missionary Paper, New York.)

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[1] Two Lectures on the Hindoos, before the University of Oxford. H. H. Wilson. London, 1841.

The revolting rite of suspending the living body on hooks of iron, inserted under the cartilages of the arms and the back, is one of those ceremonies by which the devotee is believed to accumulate meritorious suffering before the Indian gods. Still more revolting are the customs of infanticism and the interment of widows in the same grave, on the demise of their husbands; — customs which are, at this time, nearly or quite confined to the islands of the East Indies and South seas.

With regard to the institution of *caste*, it completely paralyzes the Hindoo mind. Bound down as it is, from the cradle to the grave, with their dogmas and practices, it could but happen, that these traits should reappear along the magnificent streams and towering mountains of the American forests, were its population derivative from that quarter of the globe. Yet, from the torrid and throughout the tropical and temperate zones, no such customs have been noticed. Mr. Harmon informs us, indeed, that in the frigid latitudes, west of 49°, in the parts of the country denominated New Caledonia, the Taccully tribe of those latitudes sometimes burn their dead. But the custom is local, and does not extend to their neighbors, the Neotetains, as they bury their dead. No Indian widow is subjected to the horrid rites of the pyre, or interment with the dead. A year's mourning is the most severe punishment we hear of. No female or other child is threatened with infanticide. Of the doctrine of castes we hear nothing among the aboriginal tribes of America. They enjoy equal rights and privileges, and no child is born with the belief that this dogma is to interfere with its pursuits in after-life. Nor could an idea, more abhorrent to the independence and free action of the aboriginal mind, be broached.

To prepare warriors in the trial of endurance, there are some of the barbarous tribes, on the Upper Missouri, who make incisions on the tendons of the arms, by which they assume the hardihood to drag a buffalo hide recently taken from the animal. This rite is rare, even among the most barbarous tribes, and has not often been witnessed. But where it exists, it has no connection with religious rites. It is a mere test and boast of bravery and hardihood. It has been described by Mr. Catlin, a well-known author (vide Vol. III., p. 254), as practised within late years among the Mandans. Yet the same writer ascribes the origin of this people to the adventure of the Welch prince Madoc, in the twelfth century. No author has, however, attributed such trial of endurance to the ancient Briton. Neither Tacitus nor Agricola, who have written largely on the Britons, ascribe any analogous rites to the ancient Cimbrians. Without regard to this theory, however, it is known that the Mandans put their young warriors to great trials of their strength and capacity of endurance on certain public occasions, during which the weight of skins is sometimes dragged by thongs of deer's sinew inserted behind the solid parts of the larger muscles of the arms. Similar practices are reported, on unquestionable authority, to exist among other barbarous tribes, on the upper waters of the Missouri. (Vide Appendix, No. 2.) What appears to one observer, whose mind is filled with a certain class of preconceived ideas, in one light, may seem to another, who is relieved from such theories, in a different phasis; and this may account for the opinion, or the prevalence of imagination in the descriptions of the Missouri Indians, referred to by Colonel Mitchell. (Vol. III., p. 254.) Trials of physical strength and endurance are, indeed, one of the commonest traits of savage nations, and they may exist without the least necessity of supposing them to be any evidence of a derivative origin. There is one trait, however, among the North American Indians, in relation to the state of females under the influence of their periodical illness, which is so peculiar and striking, that it may here be mentioned. The catamenia are believed to have a necromantic effect on persons whose tracks they cross; but females in this condition are thought to have, by a mere touch, a baleful influence on the great business of war and hunting. To prevent the contact of the warrior or hunter, during this period, with any vessel or utensil in the wigwam, she abstracts herself from it, building a separate lodge, near by, where she strictly abides during the menstrual season. (Plate No. 2.) The custom prevails among the numerous Algonquin, Dacota, and Appalachian tribes, and, so far as observation extends, among all the Indian nations who dwell east of the Rocky Mountains. Observers along the Pacific coast tribes have not spoken on this topic. No such custom has, so far as our reading extends, been noticed among the original Hindoos, or Paras, of Hindostan, or their Tartaric conquerors, from the Indus to the Ganges. It is hardly supposable to be a custom of American origin. Adair pronounces it a Hebrew custom. Abstract notions of cleanliness are not the characteristic trait of savage nations in any part of the world, and in our present state of the knowledge of human customs of early races, this exclusion from the domestic circle appears to reveal the idea of "clean and unclean," denoted in the Mosaical ceremonial laws.

FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF INDIAN ORIGIN—ADORATION OF FIRE, OR SUN-WORSHIP, EXAMINED: TESTIMONY OF THE BEST AUTHORS ON THIS SUBJECT.

But, if the American tribes are not of Hindoo or Hindostanee origin, as the preceding observations denote, are they not of that great and wide-sweeping Mongul or general Tartar race, which, starting up from the interior parts of Asia, overran Hindostan, and erected the Saracen empire? And, are not those customs and traits, which have been deemed Mongolic, of that transfused stock, of the conquerors of India? It is believed that they are not. Gengis Khan effected his conquests in India about A.D. 1227. The Toltec and the Peruvian empires were then fully established in America. All the authorities concur here. The revolutions that overturned the Toltecs were entirely achieved by an aboriginal people, who spoke, indeed, the same generic language, and had the same fundamental history. The Aztecs, who, according to Clavigero, began their march of conquest (as recorded by the picture-writing of Boturini) in 1160, reached Anahuac in 1245, but did not obtain the mastery in Mexico, and set up for themselves, till 1399. (Amer. Ethn. Trans., Vol. I., p. 124.) It is true, in reference to the Tartar conquest in India of 1227, that data derived from the monuments of the Mississippi valley and of Florida, denote the early part of the twelfth century to have been an epoch of great changes and disturbances in that quarter. (Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., Vol. I., p. 418.) Of these ancient wars, the traditions of the Iroquois, as recorded by Cusic (History of the Six Nations), and by Ducoigne (Vol. IV., p. 135), both native authorities, represent a period of great ancient wars and disturbances in the Mississippi valley. Such is, also, the traditionary testimony of the ancient Lenno Lenapis. (Trans. Amer. Phil. Society of 1819.) The discovery of an ancient fort in Adams county, Ohio, by Dr. Locke, pointed to the same general date. But a view of the western antiquities denotes, that the wars referred to, cannot be located farther back than about six hundred years, which brings the events to the era of the breaking up of the Toltec empire, and renders it probable that they are due to the transference or outrush of southern tribes, who obeyed the impulse of that leading catastrophe in the Indian history of North America. The Natchez, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, have distinct traditions of such origin in the South. (App. No. 3.) The vestiges of ancient occupancy in the West, are merely adverted to, in this place, in connexion with the period of the Mongul conquests. For if events of so general and overwhelming a character did not propel the Hindoo race to seek refuge and enlargement in this direction, of which there is no evidence—yet, what probability is there, that the Mongul conquerors, who had introduced Mahomedanism into India, and who had letters and arts, should have neglected their conquests and dominion of that attractive field of human occupancy and triumphs, to follow a spirit of adventure or conquest in the wilderness of America?

A peculiar line of mental evidences, bearing on history, may be appealed to, on the topic of origin, which commends itself to attention. It is this — if the absence of Buddhism and of Brahminism, among the American tribes, is conclusive that they are free from an antique Hindoo element in their population, is not the absence of the Mahomedan religion, rites, and customs, equally conclusive of the non-existence of the mixed Hindoo or Indo-Tartaric stock? Mahomedanism dates its rise, agreeably to the preceding data, about *sixty-seven* years after the Aztecs commenced their migrations. An epoch of one hundred and eighteen years of the Toltec sovereignty then passes. They had reigned about one hundred and twenty years, when they were first visited by an invading army under Cortez. This occurred in 1520. Not a trace of the worship of Buda, nor of the tenets of Mahomet, was observed. It is permitted the inquirers into the Indian religion to go back a step further. Neither were there any traces of the Christian scheme found. Every observation directed to their rites and opinions, denoted them to be an older race of mankind, or at least of an older scheme of religious opinions. They were, indeed, polytheists, having a long ritual catalogue of spiritual existences, representing the deity, well-nigh as numerous as the Hindoos themselves. But these were wholly diverse in their names, offices, and character. It revealed a subtle scheme of genii-worship or demonology, the functions of which were wielded by a class of magicians, who assumed the priesthood. It was evidently through the fear of this powerful class of men, who absorbed all knowledge, that the sovereignty had been reached. The higher class, or what the Spanish called "nobility," were always of the priestly order. Montezuma himself was at once at the head of the Indian church, so to say, and of the government, as his predecessors had been. Whatever the theories of spiritual existences were, or had been, it was then a most incongruous and abhorrent system. They worshipped chiefly the god of War, under the figure of a huge idol placed on the top of a teocalli, and to him they offered human sacrifices. When Christianity came in contact with such a system, it had no option, but to strike it down. Their temples were burned — their idols overthrown — their picture-writing committed to the flames — everything, in fact, which in any manner savored of the system, was destroyed, with a Vandalic spirit, which, as it swept away most of their ancient scrolls, is to be regretted. Christianity could not tolerate the Aztec rites, as they were found by Cortez; but it availed itself of a means of communicating instruction through the system of their picture-writing — a system which arrested the attention of Europe. This is the undoubted origin of the pictographic scrolls, published by Hackluyt, which have been commented on so much, as betokening an inkling of Christianity among the natives. Chief among these picture-writings, presented by the English collector of voyages and travels, is the figure of a serpent, standing before a female, with two altars (one of which is overturned, to denote Cain's unacceptable offering) — the whole being intended to teach the doctrine of original sin. Equally pre-eminent, on another sheet, is the figure of an eagle, reposing on a tree, and spitting out tongues; which is designed to symbolize the confusion of languages at Babel. Not a doubt can exist, that these drawings are of a date subsequent to the conquest of Mexico.

There was a tradition, among the South American tribes, of an universal deluge, at a remote age, which swept off all mankind, but a single family, or pair, to whom the repeopling of the world is attributed. This is variously related, in various latitudes. A similar tradition, with similar discrepancies, exists among the North American tribes, up to the Arctic circle. To the Toltecs — Coxcox, and to the Algonquins — Manabosho, was the survivor and hero of this catastrophe. Observers have not been wanting, among the architectural ruins of South America, to recognise in some of their ancient paintings the symbol of an ark, under the figure of a boat or a serpent. But in a subject of such deep moral interest, there is always reason to apprehend that the fervor of imagination, or the enthusiasm of theory, may render it easy for such persons to recognise resemblances, of which the colder eye of history can see nothing. If, however, there be no evidence of the ancient prevalence of Mahomedanism, or of the doctrine of Christianity, among the American tribes, their manners and customs present some traits, which denote them to be the descendants of a more ancient race, whose opinions and dogmas once overspread the oriental world. Allusion is made to some of the earliest nations, in the worship of the SUN and MOON — the adoration of the PRINCIPLE OF FIRE, and the dogma of the two principles of GOOD and EVIL. Without more than an allusion to the empire of Peru, where the worship of the Sun existed, with a ceremony and intensity as full as ever was witnessed by the Ghebirs of Persia, it is sufficient to say, that there are evidences of the ancient prevalence of this worship throughout America. In Mexico, where the doctrine had been overlaid by horrid rites and superstitions, it was still a fundamental belief, and they attributed to the Sun all vitality, power, and intelligence. Tribes who pressed, at various eras, from the tropical to the temperate latitudes, and who abhorred human sacrifices, carried with them the milder forms and ceremonies of this early superstition of the human race. On the banks of the Mississippi, the rites of this worship were established at an early epoch. De Soto found it among the Quigualtangi,[1] a powerful and determined nation, living on the east banks of the river, below the junction of the Arkansas. He aimed, vainly, to ingratiate himself with them by representing himself as the child of the Sun. (Garalasco De la Vega, as quoted, Vol. III., p. 49.) It was found, by the French, to exist in this general geographical position, on the settlement of Louisiana. It is believed that, at ancient periods, its sacred fires had been lit on the summits of the tumuli, which are now found to be so widely spread throughout this valley. Vestiges of the former prevalence of fire-worship exist over immense spaces, and its rites are found to lie at the foundation of the aboriginal religion throughout the geographical area of the United States. In one of the Indian traditions, the preservation of a sacred fire is carried to the banks of Lake Superior. Even over the bleak latitudes of New England, where the sparseness of the native population did not permit large assemblages to assist in such rites, there is the clearest indication that the Sun was worshipped as the direct symbol and visible presence of the Great Spirit. Cotton Mather observes of the Massachusetts Indians, "there is with them a Sun-god and a Moon-god, and the like, and they cannot conceive but that fire must be a kind of god, inasmuch as a spark of it will soon produce very strange effects." (Life of Eliot.) Chingwauk, the Algonquin Meda, detected it in the inscription of the Dighton Rock (Plate 15, Vol. I.), and the symbol is five times repeated, with variations of outline, on the sacred pictographic Indian scrolls, published in Vol. I. (vide Plates 51 and 52). The same figure is many times employed by the native pictographists in the synopsis of symbolical devices on Plate 58 (repeated in 87 and 59), Vol. I. Hymns to the Sun, as offered by a Chippewa prophetess, on Lake Superior, are given, with the original words, at pages 398, 399, 400, Vol. I. The figure of the Moon appears on the scroll of sacred symbols relied on by her, page 390 (Figure 6, Plate 55, Vol. I.).

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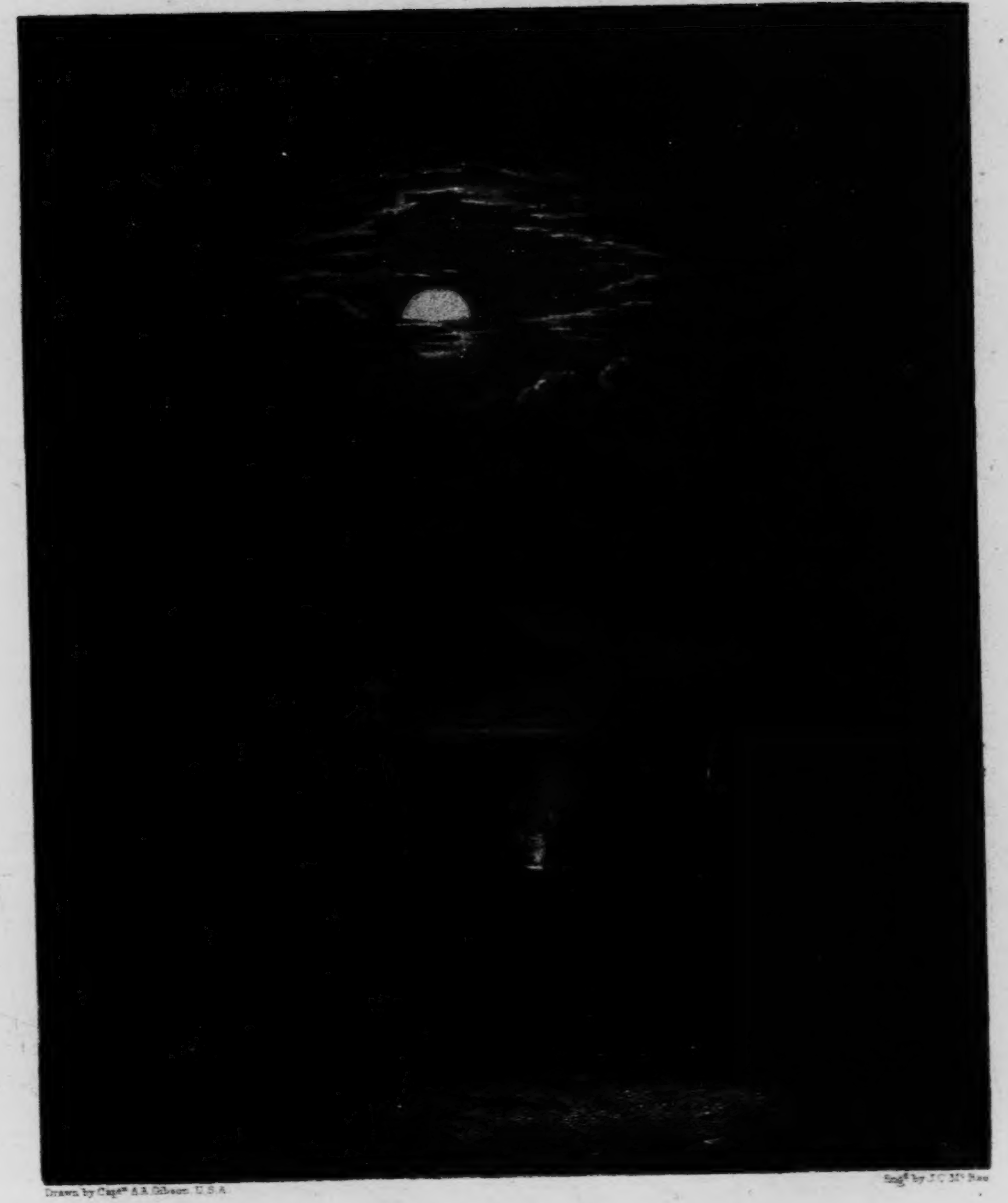
[1] A probable equivalent for Natchez.

The mental traits and idiosyncracies of a rude people may be drawn from their early attempts to depict ideas by symbolic or representative figures and devices. It is quite within our power of reference to advert to the ideas of Odin, Thor, and Friga, in the Saxon mind, from the figures they drew on rocks and trees, before that mind had abandoned its idolatrous objects of worship, and long before it had embraced letters and Christianity. The Fly-god of Egypt, and the head of Baal, drawn with horns and surmounted by a compound star (Plate 86, Vol. I.), are not more complete demonstrations of the state of thought on the subject of a divinity in Egypt and Syria, at the respective periods, than the rude North American pictography herein appealed to. We must allow the Indian mind the only proof to be derived from attempts to record the outlines of ideas, by rude symbols. The origin of manners and customs, of rites and opinions, may thus be often found, which successfully resist other modes of investigation. The sacred character of fire is impressed, very widely and deeply, on the Indian manners and customs. Among the Chippewas of the North, there is a custom to light a fire, at night, on a newly-made grave. This fire is renewed during four nights. (Algic Researches, Vol. II.) Fire, in their minds, is regarded, in some manner, as we should the opening of a door into the spiritual world. It is believed, that its symbolical light is thus thrown on the path of the deceased, to guide its footsteps, through its darkling way, to the land of the dead. (Vide Plate 2.) The importance which the aborigines attach to the substance of fire, and its effects on their superstitious rites and customs, has impressed leading minds,

Plate 2



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who have been led to turn their thoughts from the daily passing customs of Indian life to the more abstract philosophical considerations on which those customs are founded.

But little satisfaction can be obtained by conversing with the Indian sages and seers on this subject. Few of them are capable of a chain of reasoning on so obscure a point. It is apparent, from an examination of their popular traditions (vide Algic Researches, 1839), that they entertain mysterious notions respecting the substance and phenomena of fire. It is associated with tales of the other world. To behold a fire rising mysteriously, in dreams or otherwise, in the path, is symbolical of the passage of the soul to the other world. (Vide Legend of Gitchee Gauzinee, Algic Researches.) When spirits are to be consulted, or the dead addressed, to light a fire is the appropriate ceremony.

That the procurement of sacred fire by percussion, the ceremonies of lighting of the pipe, and the incineration of the nicotiana[1] therein, and its being first lifted toward the sun, prefigured beliefs in the ancient fire-worship, is more than probable. In the ordinary use of the weed, this custom is, doubtless, but the indulgence of a favorite pastime. But the moment a sacred use is to be made of the rite, fire for the purpose is extracted from its latent form in the flint. It must be sacred, not common fire, with which the pipe is illumined. It is the duty of a particular official to attend to this rite, and to perform the genuflexions. A particular name is bestowed on this functionary. Not to observe this ceremony, or to employ ordinary fire from embers, would appear to have the effect, in their minds, of employing "strange fire." Every one, who has negotiated treaties with the tribes, will bear record to the existence of this rite, and the solemnity attached to it. Sir Alexander Mackenzie has well described it, as it existed among the Kenisteno nation. Their medas, or priesthood, erect a particular lodge, or temple of offering, for the purpose. "The scene of these ceremonies is in an open enclosure, on the basin of a river or lake, and in the most conspicuous situation, in order that such as are passing along, or travelling, may be induced to make their offerings. There is also a particular custom among them, that, on these occasions, if any of the tribe, or even a stranger, should be passing by, and be in real want of any thing that is displayed as an offering, he has a right to take it, so that he replaces it with some article that he can spare, though it be of far inferior value; but to take or touch any thing wantonly is considered as a sacrilegious act, and highly insulting to the Great Master of Life, to use their own expression, who is the sacred object of their devotion.

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[1] NICOTIANA.—We should be indebted to some historical botanist, for an account of the origin and dispersion of the tobacco plant. It was discovered, in America, by the Spaniards, in 1560. It had been used by the aborigines from unknown times, and the greatest value was set upon it. By the Algonquin tribes it is called Usama. It was first sent to Spain from a port in Yucatan, named *Tobago*, whence the name. Sir Walter Raleigh introduced it into England, about 1585, and first taught the people how to use it. The plant is now used among most European and Asiatic nations. The Turks and modern Syrians are as much addicted to smoking it as the North American Indians themselves. It is known to be cultivated in the Levant, on the coasts of Greece, in the island of Malta, and some parts of Italy. By whom it was introduced is not known. There appears to be no mention of it in ancient history. Herodotus is silent. The pyramids cast no light on the topic. It is conceded to be of American origin, and its chief supplies are brought from the United States.

"The scene of private sacrifice is the lodge of the person who performs it, which is prepared for that purpose by removing everything out of it, and spreading green branches in every part. The fire and ashes are also taken away. A new hearth is made of fresh earth, and another fire is lighted. The owner of the dwelling remains alone in it; and he begins the ceremony by spreading a piece of new cloth, or a well-dressed moose-skin, neatly painted, on which he opens his medicine-bag, and exposes its contents, consisting of various articles. The principal of them is a kind of household god, which is a small carved image, about eight inches long. Its first covering is of down, over which a piece of birch bark is closely tied, and the whole is enveloped in several folds of red and blue cloth. This little figure is an object of the most pious regard. The next article is his war cap, which is decorated with the feathers and plumes of scarce birds, beavers and eagles' claws, &c. There is, also, suspended from it, a quill or feather for every enemy whom the owner of it has slain in battle. The remaining contents of the bag are, a piece of Brazil tobacco, several roots and simples, which are in great estimation for their medicinal qualities, and a pipe. These articles being all exposed, and the stem resting upon two forks, as it must not touch the ground, the master of the lodge sends for the person he most esteems, who sits down opposite to him; the pipe is then filled, and fixed to the stem. A pair of wooden pincers is provided to put the fire in the pipe, and a double-pointed pin to empty it of the remnant of tobacco which is not consumed. This arrangement being made, the men assemble, and sometimes the women are allowed to be humble spectators, while the most religious awe and solemnity pervade the whole. The Michiniwais, or Assistant, takes up the pipe, lights it, and presents it to the officiating person, who receives it standing, and holds it between both his hands. He then turns himself to the East, and draws a few whiffs, which he blows to that point. The same ceremony he observes to the other three quarters, with his eyes directed upwards during the whole of it. He holds the stem about the middle, between the three first fingers of both hands, and raising them upon a line with his forehead, he swings it three times round from the East, with the sun, when, after pointing and balancing it in various directions, he reposes it on the [sacred] forks." (Mackenzie's Hist. of the Fur Trade, p. xcv. Vide Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America, London, 1801.)

The early missionaries of Europe, who visited the Indians, were hurried away by an entirely spiritual view of the question of his reclamation, without casting a thought on speculative subjects. A later class of observers have, however, been impressed by the great stress which all the Indians lay on the production of a sacred fire, to be used in their most solemn transactions. Mr. Cass, who, in 1820, visited the tribes as high as 47° 13′ north latitude, saw in this ceremonious respect for fire, and in contemplating their customs, a deeper meaning. "Many of the customs," he remarks, "which formerly existed among the Indian tribes are now preserved only in tradition. Of these, one of the most singular was an institution for the preservation of an eternal fire. All the rites and duties connected with it, are yet fresh in the recollection of the Indians; and it was extinguished after the French arrived upon the great lakes.

"The prevalence of a similar custom among the nations of the East, from a very early period, is well known to all who have traced the history and progress of human superstitions. And from them it found its way to Greece, and eventually to Rome. It is not, perhaps, surprising that the element of fire should be selected as the object of worship by nations ignorant of the true religion, and seeking safety in that system of polytheism, which marked the manners and morals of the most polished people of antiquity. The affections seem to require something visible and tangible for their support; and this mysterious agent was sufficiently powerful in its effects, and striking in its operation, to appear as a direct emanation of the Deity. But there was a uniformity in the mode of worship and in the principles of its observance, which leave no doubt of the common origin of this belief. The sacred flame was not only regarded as the object of veneration, but its preservation was indissolubly connected with the existence of the state. It was the visible emblem of the public safety; guarded by chosen ministers, secured by dreadful imprecations and punishments, and made holy by a solemn and imposing ritual. The coincidences which will be found between these observances and opinions, and the ceremonies and belief of the Indians, indicate, with sufficient certainty, that their notions upon this subject were brought with them from the eastern hemisphere, and were derived from the fruitful Persian stock.

"I have not ascertained the custom among any of the north-western tribes, except the Chippewas, although I have reason to believe that the Shawnees were devoted to it; and the Chippewas, in fact, assert that they received it from the latter. But there is such a similarity, and even identity, of manners and customs among all the tribes east of the Mississippi, that I have but little doubt the same institution would be everywhere discovered, if inquiries were prosecuted under favorable circumstances. It is certain, that the Natchez were fire-worshippers, and without giving full credit to all the marvellous tales related of this tribe by the early French travellers, we may yet be satisfied, from many concurring accounts, that they were believers in the efficacy of an eternal fire.

"Traces of the extensive prevalence of this rite, at a former period, among others of the tribes of this part of the continent exist, and it is difficult to explain the mysterious influence of fire upon the existing customs and opinions of all of them, without reference to a system long and firmly established, of which the external ritual has only been removed. Charlevoix represents most of the tribes of Louisiana as having had a perpetual fire in their temples. The Natchez, who were worshippers of the Sun, and took their cognomen of political power from the name of that luminary, kept its symbol perpetually burning. Both he and Du Pratz were eye-witnesses of this rite. This tribe had a sacred edifice devoted to it, and the nation pretended to be descendants of the Sun. The hereditary dignity of Ruler, or Chief Sun, descended in the female line, and the laws of intermarriage were so regulated, that his descendants were obliged to ally themselves with the lower class of the tribe — a system by which all came to be identified and bound together, in their political and religious ties and honors. The title of Sun was equivalent to that of Inca, or Emperor, and he exercised a more despotic power than appears to have been awarded to any other nation north of Mexico. This power and this worship were kept up with an oriental display, and with an oriental use of the language of honor and ceremony, long after the French settled in the Mississippi valley, and indeed up to their destruction in 1729. 'The Sun has eaten,' proclaimed an official functionary, daily, before the Ruling Chief of the Sun, after his morning's repast, and 'the rest of the earth may now eat.'" (Notes to Ontwa.)

Charlevoix, who visited the Natchez nation in 1721, and inspected their temples, pronounces the descriptions which had been given by prior writers, of it, and of its ceremonies and appointments, as greatly exaggerated. (Jour. Voyage to North Amer., p. 255.) He observes, that the worship of the Sun had prevailed extensively among the tribes throughout the country, where the beliefs still remained; and that the ceremonies of an eternal fire, kept up in a particular building, had lingered with them to the time of his visit. He specifies the Mobilians, or Choctaw-Chickasaw tribes, who had taken their fires from this altar, and states that the greatest part of the nations of Louisiana[1] formerly had their temples, as well as the Natchez (p. 273). In their external appearance they differed nothing from the other Indians of Canada and Louisiana (p. 259). The daily rites he describes as follows: "Every morning, as soon as the sun appears, the Grand Chief stands at the door of his cabin, turns his face towards the East, and howls thrice, prostrating himself to the ground at the same time. A calumet is afterwards brought him, which is never used, but upon this occasion: he smokes, and blows the tobacco first towards the Sun, and then towards the other three quarters of the world. He acknowledges no master but the Sun, from whom, he pretends, he derives his origin."[2] (P. 261.)

Tradition asserts, that an institution for preserving an eternal fire once existed on the southern shores of Lake Superior. This fire was entrusted to the keeping of a particular class, or families of men, whose official designations, and the rites and ceremonies to be performed, are yet remembered. (Cyclopedia Indiaensis, p. 12.) This tradition derives force from the recent discovery, on the coasts of that lake, of a degree of skill and labor in prosecuting mining, requiring energy and system beyond that supposed to be possessed by the aboriginal race of our day.[1] It is, also, amidst the sublime and startling scenery of these lengthened shores, impressive as they often are to the spectator, that we still find traces of this worship in the hieratic songs of the Indian priesthood. At page 100, Vol. I., are recorded hymns and supplications to the sun, regarded as the symbol of the Great Spirit, or CREATIVE DEITY, derived from the native Chippewa josakeeds, or prophets. And the elision of their ancestors from the wide-spread oriental mass of nations, who adopted this rite, must have taken place at a remote epoch.

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[1] Agreeably, *of course*, to its boundary in 1721, and not in 1855, when it is contracted to a State of not extravagant boundaries. This distinction is overlooked, in reference to the buffalo in Florida, by the translator of De Soto's first letter.

[2] This ceremony of lifting their pipes slowly toward the sun, as if offering them to smoke, he had before noticed, at two interviews with the tribes he met at the mouth of the Desmoines or Moningwuna river, of the Upper Mississippi, about 42° north latitude (pp. 21, 23). How perfectly does this agree with the ceremonies described, as before noted, by Mackenzie, among the Kenistenos, north of Lake Superior, in latitude 55°.

Facts have been exhibited, in preceding pages of this work (Vol. I., pp. 28 to 43, Mental Type), denoting the antique character of the Indian opinions of the deity, and the objects of worship. These investigations denote some striking coincidences with the earliest forms of human opinion on the subject. They remind the reader more of the dogmas of Zoroaster, than of philosophers of later date. They tell us of a Dual Deity, of Good and Evil influences; supported, respectively, by a corresponding priesthood of Magi.[2] They recall the idea of the Author of the creation, under the symbol of the Sun; which lies at the foundation of the worship of an ETERNAL FIRE. This opinion reverts back, not to the philosophy, rites, and arts of the Hindoos, involved in their deep and subtle systems of polytheism, in which the objects of worship were rather the elementary principles of the universe, than deified men; but it carries the mind to the original seats of mankind.

An interest is thus thrown over the history of the races, which, while it eludes scrutiny, becomes deeper, the more calmly and soberly we view it. Thousands of years must have elapsed to produce such diversities of languages and character, and general obscuration. Instead of eighteen hundred years, as the period of their roving in these forests, as the apocryphal Spanish pictographs presuppose, there is more probability that the period of their abiding on the continent is thrice that time. Arts, discoveries, sciences, religions, have grown up in Asia, and extended themselves over tribes and nations who were then nomadic and barbarous. Europe has since become the great theatre of human knowledge, letters, and arts. And we point our intellectual telescopes toward the ancient and time-honored shores of Asia, as if we could descry the early tracks of nations in the sand.

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[1] Immense changes have supervened. Nearly four centuries have passed, since the Indian rule or empire in America fell. His ancient arts are gone. He could build mounds, form entrenchments and utensils of clay, make axes of copper and bronze, carve images, weave nets, make needles, and other fabrics. We have trampled upon him with the foot of a giant — laughed at his manners and customs — put out his fires, and pursued him with the arts of civilization till he has completely lost his own.

[2] With respect to the systems of worship of the Peruvians of the Inca type, or the followers of Manco Capac, and of the Toltec type, introduced by the appearance of Quetzalcoatl—these portions of Indian history constitute topics involving the semi-civilized tribes of the continent, and demand separate consideration.

SUBSISTING CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS—PECULIAR SUPERSTITIONS—SPIRIT-WORSHIP—TOTEMIC BOND OF FRATERNITY—INDIAN ASSOCIATION TO TEACH OCCULT KNOWLEDGE—DEMONOLOGY—HUMAN SACRIFICES—INDIAN IDEAS OF THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL—OTTOE CUSTOM AT BURIALS—THE INCONCLUSIVE CHARACTER OF SIMILAR CUSTOMS IN NATIONS WIDELY SEPARATED.

None of the subsisting Indian customs, as living in societies, are more significant than those connected with the menstrual lodge. (Plate 3.) None exercise a more important influence in the circle of the wigwam. This lunar retreat is always, if possible, in some secluded place,[1] near and within the supervision of the members of the family wigwam. Adair sees in it a striking Hebrew trait. (P. 123.) The temporary abstraction of the female is always known to the lodge-circle. The lodge of separation is generally made of branches, rolls of bark, and light materials. In the summer, nothing further is demanded, and no fire is required. When the weather renders a fire desirable, a very small one is lighted from dry sticks. The amusement of the inmate, in the interval, is to prepare flags for mats, to pick up sticks for fire, or other light labors. The leading idea evinced by the custom is, that of a deeply seated superstitious fear or dread of contact with any person within the camp. Everything which is touched by her hands during this period, is deemed ceremonially unclean. She takes with her, in her seclusion, a spoon, a dish, and a small axe. If her step crosses the path of a hunter or warrior, it communicates a talismanic influence — the magical and medical charms of his pursuits are destroyed — the secret power of the Meda has been counteracted — in fine, his panoply of medaic and totemic influence is, for the time, paralyzed. The warrior's luck has been crossed for that day. Merely to touch a cup, with the marks of uncleanness, is equally malign.

This superstition does not alone exert a malign influence, or spell, on the human species. Its ominous power, or charm, is equally effective on the animate creation, at least on those species which are known to depredate on their little fields and gardens. To cast a protective spell around these, and secure the fields against vermin, insects, the sciurus, and other species, as well as to protect the crops against blight, the mother of the family chooses a suitable hour at night, when the children are at rest and the sky is overcast, and having completely divested herself of her garments, trails her *machecota* behind her, and performs the circuit of the little field. (Plate 4.)

The Indian mind appears to be so constituted, that whatever is mysterious,

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[1] Of the personal habits of our Indians it may be said, that the male always sits or crouches down in urinating, while the female stands.

Plate 3

Capt. S. Eastman U.S. Army

Engraved by James Smillie

Pl.

MENSTRUAL LODGE

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Plate 4

Drawn by Capt^n S. Eastman U.S. Army

P.

Engraved by James Smillie

PROTECTING THE CORNFIELDS FROM VERMIN

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wonderful, or incomprehensible, is referred to the agency of spirits, or local gods. A celebrated divine, of the early epoch of New England, observes, that "every remarkable creature has a peculiar god within it, or about it, and that the ills of life are believed to be due to the anger of these gods, while their success is ascribed to their favor. Chief over these local deities, they describe the Great God Kamantowit, who is represented as the creator of all mankind." (Mather.) All the tribes found in this part of the Union (New England) were of the group or family of the Algonquin stock. Manito[1] is the term applied to God, in this language. There are many classes of them, good or evil, general or local. Two centuries have carried tribes of this ethnological stock to the far West, but have not altered the beliefs of the Indians on this multiplied theme of spirit-worship, or, so to say, manitology. Every object that possesses life, in any department of the universe, may be supposed to be inhabited by a manito or spirit. They do not bow down to the images of them, as the oriental nations, but merely recognise their spiritual power. Neither do they ever worship any of them, as a principle analogous to the Brahma, Vishnu, or Siva of the Hindoos. The Manito is a god showing himself often in an animal form, or in the higher phenomena of the atmosphere, as thunder, lightning, meteors, stars, or the sun and moon. Material objects but typify the deity; but the god, in most cases, is latent in the Indian mind.

Whether engaged in the business of peace or war, these mysterious influences are ever uppermost in his mind. In war-parties, they are often invoked on the use of simples or botanical medicines.

There is a custom, among the Chippewa warriors, of eating small portions of a bitter root, which is supposed to produce insensibility to pain. This is carried, as a sacred talisman, and never resorted to till they come into the vicinity of the enemy. They call it *zhe-go-wauk*. After the warriors have seated themselves in a ring, in the prairie, to chew this root, they arise with renewed courage and spirits.

There are three secret associations or societies in the Indian tribes, which cultivate medaic knowledge, and teach occult rites—using pictography as helps to the memory.[2] They are the prophets, seers, or Jossakeeds; the Medas, or professors of medical magic;[3] and the Wabenos, whose orgies are always performed at night. The society of the Wabenos is deemed the most impure, and is the most diabolical in its rites and ceremonies. To these, candidates are admitted with great ceremonies, and after long trials and preparations, during which the secret charms of the members and fellows are exhibited to each other, in profound secrecy and under solemn obligations. (Plate 5.) The initiatory rites taught in the society which is popularly, but improperly, called "Medicine-Dance," so often mentioned by travellers, from the earliest period, are described, with the pictographic devices and songs, in Vol. I., pp. 358—366. Those of the Wabenos are exhibited in the same volume, p. 366—381. For details of the signs and ceremonies used in the prophetic arts, see pp. 352, 390, 388 to 401, Vol. I., Plates 49, 55. The union of the medical art with the magical ceremonies is described at p. 250, Vol. I., illustrated by Plate 46. The art of the class of Pow-wows, who rely exclusively on sorcery, and profess to foreshadow the knowledge of futurity and the world of evil spirits, is shown at pp. 483 to 491, Vol. III., and Plates 36, 37, 38, 39; and at p. 487, Vol. IV., Plates 40, 41. The aboriginal idea of religion, its power and influence, as taught by the medicine-men, is denoted, pp. 635 — 651, Vol. IV. A new world of superstition is thus opened.

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[1] For definitions of the plural, derogative, &c., of these terms, see Vol. II., p. 388.

[2] Having, in 1823, been myself admitted to the class of a MEDA by the Chippewas, and taken the initiatory steps of a SAGIMA and JESUKAID, in each of the other fraternities, and studied their pictographic system with great care and good helps, I may speak with the more decision on the subject. For some of the initiatory arts and details employed on these occasions, see Vol. I., Essay on Indian Pictography, p. 333.

[3] The Indian doctor or medical professor, properly so called, affords relief by the use of roots and simples, and is not to be confounded with either of those fraternities affecting occult or magic knowledge.

Less attention to secure details on these topics would fail to render the facts impressive. They present the human mind in one of its most ancient phases, and cannot fail to present to the philosophic inquirer a chain of curious dogmas, notions, and beliefs, which carry the mind to epochs of the world long past. And the subjects have been regarded with more interest in the present inquiry, as the time for seizing and preserving the facts, in detail, is rapidly passing away, with the race itself. To one who regards alone the utilitarian side of the question, and who deems nothing useful in the inquiry which does not immediately relate to the number of square miles of the Indian territory, and the dollars and cents into which these may be transmuted, as I hear there are such persons, it may appear, indeed, to be a vain labor. To a mind thus closed to liberal inquiry, it may seem superfluous to ask, what the Indian *thinks*, *believes*, or mentally *practises*, in his darkling progress over the wild periphery of the globe. Yet, without a description of these idiosyncrasies and this dæmon-philosophy, how little would posterity know of the inner man, or his opinions, hopes, and fears?

The study of this complicated system of spirit-craft reveals many of the shifts and resources of the Indian mind in peace and war, and under one of its most subtle phases, namely, the power of the jossakeeds and medas. In the language of the Iroquois, the supreme god is called NEO, or, as the term is more frequently heard, in its personal combinations, OWAYNEO. The Dacota group of tribes apply the term WAHCONDA, from WAKON, a spirit. In the Choctaw form of the Appalachian, it is ABA-INKA. These terms are convertible, and are the ideolingual equivalents for each other. And the system of spiritual reliances and beliefs is the same, in its general features. The Indian-man, in all, turns from himself and everything human, which he distrusts, to the spiritual and mysterious reliances of his own creation. Wonder charms the savage soul, and in this belief we behold his perpetual source of it. In theory, he refers to ONE SUPREME, OMNIPRESENT GREAT SPIRIT,

Plate 5

Eastman U.S. Army Del.

R. Hinshelwood

INDIAN MEDAS SECRETLY SHOWING THE CONTENTS OF THEIR MEDICINE BAGS TO EACH OTHER.

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while he recognises his subordinates of this deity in almost every object, in heaven or earth, which strikes his fancy. He thus fills creation with myriads of magic divinities, who take shelter in a bird or a wolf, a turtle or a snake, and really fill his mind with a succession of false hopes and fears, from the cradle to the grave. Marquette and Charlevoix, sailing down the Mississippi, or pausing in the magnificent forests of America, observe so many evidences of elevation in the Indian mind, that they are captivated by the man, and at a perpetual loss how to regard him. He is, evidently in his scope of thought and expression, far above the French peasantry, who manage their canoes; and, hence, there is a strain of appreciation of the aboriginal mind, which sounds oddly beside his want of arts and civilization.

There is a peculiar form of perpetuating the social bond through a reliance on spirits, which has not received the attention it merits. This is revealed in the system of Totems. By totemic marks, the various families of a tribe denote their affiliation. A guardian spirit has been selected by the progenitor of a family from some object in the zoological chain. The representative device of this is called the totem. Indians are proud of their totems, and are prone to surround them with allusions to bravery, strength, talent, the power of endurance, or other qualities. A warrior's totem never wants honors, in their reminiscences, and the mark is put on his grave-post, or *adjedatig*, when he is dead. In his funereal pictograph he invariably sinks his personal name in that of his totem or family name. (Vide Vol. I., p. 356; also, Vol. I., Pictographs A, B, C, D, E.) There appear to have been originally three totems, that received the highest honors and respect. They were the turtle, bear, and wolf. These were the great totems of the Iroquois. Other totems appear of secondary, subordinate, and apparently *newer* origin.[1]

An Indian sage is a poor philosopher, but is never at a loss. He cannot explain, if systematically questioned, the subtle theory of his beliefs *in*, and reliance *on*, spirits of the air, woods, and waters, and every other imaginable part of creation; where he places them; for his fancy peoples the universe. But he sometimes informs the inquirer by example. Every quadruped, bird, reptile, or tree, may be appealed to, as we have shown, as the local residence of a god. The waterfall utters the voice of a god, and the rustling leaves of the forest whisper the accents of a divinity. He is the true poet of the philosophy of the creation. To him there is no place unoccupied, and there is, in truth, no solitude in nature. When a turtle, bird, quadruped, or other form of animated nature, is adopted as the guardian spirit or moneto, the pictograph of it becomes the evidence of consanguinity. (See Vol. II., p. 226.) Thus all the persons of the turtle, bear, or wolf family or totem become brothers of the tribal clans of the turtle, bear, or wolf; and so of all other totems. Great stress is laid on this. These marks are, in one sense, the surname of the clan. The personal name is not indicative of an Indian's totem. (Vol. II., Plate 56.)

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[1] TOTEMS. — The Iroquois have impressed themselves very strongly on our history; but in nothing has their internal organization been more remarkable than in their ingenious and complicated system of totems. Each of the six tribes or cantons, of which the league consisted, in its most perfect state, had eight totems, being five secondary and three primary totems. There were thus eight classes of warriors and hunters, including their entire families, in each tribe or canton. Families of the same totem, in each canton, could not intermarry. They were totemically related. The union must be between diverse totems. The bear band of a Mohawk could not marry in the bear band of the Oneida, but might in either of the other seven totems. There were thus created forty-eight totemic ties, by which the tribes were socially and politically bound together. (It is to be observed that the Tuscarora have lost one totemic clan, consisting now of but seven.)

There was another law, which, at the same time that it regulated, complicated descents. The descent of chiefs was in the female line. A chief's son did not succeed him, but his next brother — the right of sovereignty being entirely in his mother. When, however, the chief's wife had a right, his son would succeed him; not, indeed, in her husband's right, but in hers. In this case, the totems entitled to furnish chiefs were diverse. This law of descents has rendered it so difficult for Europeans to understand Iroquois descents, and led authors into such errors on the topic.

It is not easy to assign a cause for the great importance attached to totems, or the respect paid to them. These symbolic divisions of tribes would appear to have been the original clan-marks of all the Indian tribes, without regard to tribal organizations. For they are the most ancient traits of association, political or social, we hear of. As soon as they are named or exhibited, they open the door of Indian reserve. They appear to link the tie of brotherhood. It is not hospitality alone that they ensure in the wigwam. But the eyes of all the family sparkle as soon as the analogous totem is mentioned, as if it disclosed blood-relationship. For a chief or warrior to say to his guest, I am of the bear, the tortoise, or the wolf totem, three honored clans, is to remove all ceremony, and break the ice of Indian stoicism. It appears as if these clans had once extended from Patagonia to Lake Athapasca, and thus to furnish a mode of generalization more important than traditions, and older than dialects. They draw these marks on bark-scrolls, and on skins and wood. The Indians bear no banners, properly so called; they sometimes carry flags of feathers. The totemic device appears to be a representation of the tutelar spirit of the tribe, not to be at all worshipped, and in this view it resembles, as Adair remarks, the ancient devices and carvings of terrestrial cherubim.[1]

Manitos, among all the tribes, of the tutelary class, who inhabit beasts or birds, are particularly selected for totems. I have known an Indian to be called the Red Devil, when his personal name had no bad significancy, being derived from a small red insect called Miscomonitoce, of the genus cleoptera. The translation, truly, means but red insect — which latter is called a spirit.

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[1] "The celestial cherubim," he remarks, "were *fire*, *light*, and *air*, or spirit, which were typified by the *bull*, *lion*, and *eagle*. Those divine images, in a long course of time, induced the ancients by degrees to divide them, and make images of the divine persons, powers, and actions, which they typified and esteemed as gods. They consecrated the bull's head to fire — the lion's to light — and the eagle's to the air, which they worshipped as gods. And, in proportion as they lost the knowledge of the emblems, they multiplied and compounded their heads with those of different creatures. The Egyptians commonly put the head of a lion, hawk, or eagle, and sometimes that of a ram or bull, to their images, some of which resembled the human body. Their apis or osiris gave rise to Aaron's and apostate Israel's golden calf; and their sphynx had three heads. Diana of Ephesus was triformis; Janus of Rome biformis, and sometimes quadriformis; and Jupiter, Sol, Mercury, Proserpine, and Cerberus, were triple-headed. Hesiod tells us that the ancient heathens had no less than thirty thousand gods." (Hist. Am. Indians. London, 1775: p. 28.)

Manitos, except of the tutelary class, are believed to be generally invisible and immaterial, but can assume any form in the range of the animate creation, and even, when the occasion calls for it, take their place among inanimate objects. (See Pappakewis, Algic Researches, Vol. I., p. 209, where the flying manito, to escape the rage of the Indian god Manibosho, transforms himself into a tree, and finally a rock.) They also, in communicating with mankind, often assume the human form, and take the shapes of giants, dwarfs, or cannibals. The power of this assumption is common to the evil and to the good spirits. In their oral tales, the form is most commonly assumed by malign disturbers of Indian peace, as sorcerers, witches, &c. (Algic Researches, Vol. II., p. 67.) The Great Spirit or his messengers are also recognised, sometimes in the human form, as in their cosmographical events narrated of the origin of creation, and in the divine arts of teaching men the knowledge of making fire, and of killing and roasting the deer. (Personal Memoirs.) They also teach a perpetual struggle and fundamental war between the two opposing powers or original spirits of good and evil. These, Charlevoix tells us (Journal), were twins, believed by the Iroquois to be brought forth by Atahensic, the mother of mankind. Oriwahennic, a Wyandot chief, told me the same tradition, in 1838. (Personal Memoirs.) The tribes of the Iroquois stock believe that Tarenyawagon cleared their streams of insuperable obstructions, and taught them the arts of life and of government. (Vide Cusic's History of the Five Nations, quoted Vol. III., p. 314.) Thus, like the Greeks, first converting men to gods, and then ascribing to them divine labors.

Totemic marks are not only the ideographic signs for families, denoting consanguinity, but they perform an important office in the Indian bark scrolls, and pictographs, and painted skins, on which the warlike feats of individuals are denoted. These totemic devices are also shown, in their application to public transactions. (Vide Plates 60, 61, 62, 63, Vol. I.) They are employed, with a formula expressing numbers, to denote the census of Indian villages. (Vide Plate 52, Vol. II.) The number of ideographic devices or figures employed to convey information is very great, relating, in fact, to all the material or symbolized objects of Indian thought. The medas and prophets excel in this. They are employed by them in the ceremonies of their secret societies and midnight orgies, in which it is the object of the operator to convince his hearers of his magical art, and also as nemonics, in recording prophecies and enchantments, and hieratic songs. (See Plates 51 and 52, Vol. I., p. 360.) For their use in magic dances and religious demoniacal ceremonies, see Plates 55, Vol. II., Plates 36, 37, 38, 39, Vol. III., and Plates 40 and 41, Vol. IV., p. 494. It would seem that the ancient Babylonish conjurations of the magic bowl (Vol. IV., p. 493), as denoted by Layard, could not have partaken of a more dreamy and demoniacal character. (Dis. Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon.)

The application of these devices to the record of triumphs in war, as employed by the prairie tribes west of the Mississippi river on their ornamented buffalo robes, is shown in Plate 54, Vol. I., p. 386, and Plate 31, Vol. IV., p. 350. The Pow-Wows, in bringing their notions of magic to bear on the subject of hunting, use charmed medicines. These are supposed to be energized by the devices which are drawn on pieces of wood, skins, or bark scrolls. Specimens denoting the supposed application of the charm to the heart of that animal, by a line drawn from its mouth, are exhibited in Plates 49, A, Vol. I., p. 352, and on Plates 58, 59, Vol. I., p. 408.

Representative devices and figures in relation to the fabulous period and beliefs of Iroquois history, are given in Plates 70, 71, 72, 73, Vol. I., p. 420. The application of this mode of appealing to the memory in historical events, such as are inscribed on high precipitous faces of rocks, and other localities of generally difficult approach, is shown by Plates 36 and 57, Vol. I. An improved copy of the former, which has acquired a certain notoriety in New England antiquarian history, is given in Plate 84, Vol. IV., p. 120.

This sort of figures, which are called muzzinābicks, aspires to the art of teaching by rock inscriptions. The art is called *Kekeéwin*. (Vol. I., p. 350.) Further instances of these rock inscriptions, on an island in Lake Erie, and also on the Alleghany river, near the ancient Venango, are exhibited in Plate 41, Vol. III., p. 84, and Vol. IV., Plates 17, 18.

The transition from the Monetos, or spirit-worship of the North American Indians, to demonology, is small. This term is by some derived from the Greek δαήμων, knowing or intelligence. With the ancients, demons held a middle place between men on earth and the celestial gods. It was believed that the souls of the men of the golden age became demons after death, and exerted an influence on human destiny, for good or evil. But, however the ancient dæmon fluctuated in opinion, the American aboriginal dæmon, or manitosh,[1] admits of no doubtful interpretation. He is ever of malign power to the human race. As such he was exhibited in 1534, on the St. Lawrence, to Jacques Cartier, by the followers of Donnaconna, to induce that explorer to relinquish his contemplated visit to Hocheloga (the modern Montreal). For this purpose, three of the Indians, who had been selected to represent the part, issued from the forest (Oneöta, p. 278), in the shape of wild and fierce dæmons, and played tricks before the intrepid Norman, by passing near Cartier's vessels in their canoes, dressed with horns, and singing and yelling like "devils."

A similar transaction passed before the eyes of David Brainerd, the missionary, on the sources of the Susquehanna, in 1744. (Works of Jon. Edwards, Vol. X, p. 322.) One of the Indian sorcerers, on this occasion, enacted the character of an enraged fiend, clothed in the hide of a huge bear: He sprang suddenly from the sacred lodge of the Indian pow-wow, and with no slight power of diabolical resemblance, played the part of a wild dæmon—sufficiently so, at least, to deter the Indian spectators from listening any longer to the white man's teachings. Analogous scenes of the exhibition of a great wood dæmon have been witnessed by others among the tribes situated between the borders of the Atlantic and the Rocky Mountains. An instance of this kind is described by Mr. George Catlin as having occurred among the Missouri tribes during his visit to that quarter. (Catlin's Letters.) The magnificent and sombre forests of America, seen under the influence of twilight, with the deep shade of its trees and rocks, may be supposed to have originated the idea of dæmons or wood-spirits assuming human forms. It is seen, from the works of travellers, that this idea is not confined to the forest districts alone, but extends to the prairie tribes. The power of refraction often covers the bleakest plains and mountains with strange and startling images, which lead the Indian mind to the wonderful. (Vide Frémont's 2d Exp.)

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[1] This is the ordinary derogative form of the Chippéwa noun. See Vol. II., p. 383.

It has been doubted whether human life has ever been sacrificed to dæmons, or to objects of idolatrous worship, by the United States Indian tribes. The burning of prisoners of war at the stake is a familiar phase of Indian character. It is generally the ebullition of savage revenge or vengeance, under a highly excited state of hostility, and, as such, is often known to be the retaliation of one tribe against another. To excite pain and to prolong cruelty, is one of the highest objects of the successful capture of an enemy. To endure this ordeal is the greatest glory of the expiring and defiant foe. With the Aztecs, human sacrifices were a religious rite. Nothing was deemed so acceptable an offering to Heutzilapochtli as the human heart, warmly torn from the bleeding victim. But the whole history of our tribes may be appealed to, it is believed, without finding that the life of the victim has been sacrificed to a spirit, a dæmon, or a god. Smith was not condemned by Powhatan to satisfy a wood-dæmon, or evil spirit: Crawford was not tied to the stake by the Delawares and Wyandots as a religious victim, demanded by the Pow-Wows.

In the month of April, 1838, an event occurred on the Missouri, about one hundred and sixty miles above Council Bluffs, at which the heart shudders with horror. It is known that the Pawnees and Sioux have long carried on a most fierce and sanguinary warfare on that remote border. In the month of February, the former tribe, which has long had a name for cruelty, captured a Sioux girl named Haxta, of only fourteen years of age. She was taken to their villages, where, during several months, she was treated with the usual care and kindness. More than the usual attention was perhaps paid to her diet, but not a word uttered respecting her fate. The dreadful truth first flashed on her mind on the 22d of April, at a time when spring had already assumed her mild and genial reign, and the tribe began to plant their corn. At this time a council of the chiefs and warriors assembled, at which her destiny was determined. Still the result of their deliberations was carefully concealed from her. At the breaking up of this council, she was brought out from the lodge in which she had been domiciliated, and accompanied by the whole council, led from wigwam to wigwam. At each one of these, they gave her a small billet of wood and a little paint, which she handed to the warrior next her, passing on through the round of visits till she had called at every lodge, where the same present of wood and paint was made.

On the 22d of April, two days after this ceremonious round of visits, she was led out to the ground which had been chosen as the place of her sacrifice, and not till she arrived at this spot did she conjecture the true object of the symbolical contributions, and the general concurrence in the doom she was destined to undergo. The spot selected was between two trees, standing five feet apart. (Plate VI.) Three bars of wood had been tied from tree to tree, as a platform to stand on. A small, equably burning fire, had been kindled under the centre of this stand, the blaze of which was just sufficient to reach her feet. Two stout Pawnee warriors then mounted the bars, taking a firm grasp of her, and holding her directly above the blaze. Small faggots of light dry wood were then kindled, and held under her arm-pits.

A wide ring of the assembled population of the village, and its chiefs and warriors, stood around to witness this extraordinary spectacle, but not in immediate juxtaposition to the spot. Each warrior had his bow and arrow ready. The moment of the application of the little burning faggots under her arms was a signal to them to fire; when in an instant her body was pierced with arrows so thick, that every vital part of her body was penetrated.

Life being extinct, these arrows were quickly withdrawn, and while the flesh was yet warm, it was cut in small pieces from her bones, and put in little baskets. All this was done with almost inconceivable quickness. The baskets of human flesh were then taken to a closely adjacent corn-field. The principal chief took a piece of the flesh and squeezed a drop of blood upon the newly deposited grains of corn. This example was immediately followed by the rest, till all the corn had been thus bathed in human blood, when the hills were covered over with earth. It is stated that this is not an isolated instance of human sacrifice with the Pawnees. Other instances are represented to have occurred in the history of that tribe.[1]

The Otoes, who are very near neighbors of the tribe practising these atrocities, have a peculiar mode of sacrificing a horse at the funeral ceremonies of his master. Having been shot while the grave is still open, the animal's tail is cut off and tied to a long pole. This pole is then planted in the grave, and the carcass of the horse deposited in the same grave before it is filled up. The sense of attention and respect of the Indian spectator are thus satisfied. He believes that by these typical rites provision is made that the spirit of the horse will carry his master through the land of shadows to the anticipated hunting-grounds of the aboriginal paradise. For, with the Otoes and

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[1] The plate represents an *auto da fé* only, from the misapprehension of the artist, he not being aware of the sudden termination of the cruelty; or perhaps not finding it practicable to depict the scene of the arrows.

Plate 6

[illegible] R. Hinshelwood

PAWNEES TORTURING A FEMALE CAPTIVE

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the prairie tribes generally, the horse and man are alike believed to possess *souls*. Indian tradition states, that Manabosho called all the quadrupeds his brothers; they are regarded as but under the power of enchantment. (Algic Researches, Vol. I., p. 134.) The burial ceremonies among our Indian tribes are at all times attended with interest, from the insight they give into Indian character. Some of these incontestably disclose their belief of the immortality of the soul, while the idea of its lingering with the body for a time after death, and requiring food, denotes a concurrence with oriental customs, or, at least, the strong tie of local attachment which pervades the Indian mind. Bound to earth so long in life, he is loth to quit it even after death. When a Chippewa corpse is put into its coffin, the lid is tied, not nailed on. The reason they give for this is, that the communication between the living and the dead is better kept up; the freed soul, which has preceded the body to the Indian elysium, may, it is believed, thus have free access to the newly-buried body.

Over the top of the grave a roof-shaped covering of cedar-bark is built, to shed the rain. A small aperture is cut through the bark at the head of the grave. On asking a Chippewa why this was done, he replied — "To allow the soul to pass out and in." "I thought," I replied, "that you believed that the soul went up from the body at the time of death, to a land of happiness. How then can it remain in the body?" "There are two souls," replied the Indian philosopher. "How can this be?" I responded. "It is easily explained," said he. "You know that in dreams we pass over wide countries, and see hills and lakes and mountains, and many scenes, which pass before our eyes and affect us. Yet, at the same time, our bodies do not stir; and there is a soul left with the body, else it would be dead. So, you perceive, it must be another soul that accompanies us."

It is near this orifice left for the soul, that the portion of food consecrated in feasts for the dead, is usually placed, in a wooden or bark dish. It could not but happen, that victuals thus exposed should be devoured by the hystrix, fisher, wolf, or some other species of northern animals, which are known to seek their food by night. From whatever cause, however, the Indian makes no scruple in believing its abstraction to be the work of the soul, in its supposed visits to or *from* the body. This is Indian philosophy. Simple as it is, it is something to find an Indian accounting for the theory of sensations, and the phantastic scenes passing before the memory in sleep.

In reviewing the Indian manners and customs, nothing impresses the observer more with the responsibility he feels to some unseen supernal power. He is naturally a religious being. Nothing is more general, among all the tribes, than customs of fasting and feasting. By means of these rites personal benefits are supposed to be derived, and thanks for benefits expressed.

The offering of food and libations to the dead is one of the oldest rites of the human family. It has pervaded the whole Indian continent. This rite, as practised by the American tribes, is described in Vol. I., p. 38, 39. (It is illustrated in Plate 3, Vol. I.)

It reveals a custom known to have prevailed among the nations from the river Indus to the Brahampooter. It prevailed widely at ancient periods among the Mongols and the Chinese. Confucius, who has been compared to Socrates for the purity of his morals, enforces, as a prime tenet, the respect for ancestors. Funereal offerings to the dead constitute, at this day, a prominent custom of that people.[1]

It must, however, be conceded, that manners and customs form but a vague and unsatisfactory mode of investigating the origin of nations. Their traditions are variant and incongruous. The light they cast into the past reaches but a short distance, and is soon lost in the darkness which envelopes their origin. One generation has forgotten the traditions of another. New events give a brief place, in the Indian mind, to the old and cherished. Changes of position — the succession of their celebrated actors — and the rapid mutations of their whole history, make but a short-lived impression on the memory of hunters and warriors. Those incidents that could not be written, or subjected to any sort of notation, are soon completely forgotten. The customs of the same stocks vary much with changes of location, climate, and productions. The descendants of the Shoshonees, who live miserably on larvæ and roots, on the eminences of the Rocky Mountains, under the name of Comanches, ride horses in Texas, and every few degrees of latitude brings a change of food. The ingenious mode of basket-making, in California (vide Plate VII.), would have been adopted, in all likelihood, by other tribes, under similar circumstances. The Atlantic and littoral tribes lived mostly on fish and mollusks, and have left piles of the ostrea along the borders of the sea, which serve as monuments of the former places of their residence. I have seen these piles in the cotton-fields of the Carolinas, which, to the traveller, remain the only vestiges of a people who have passed away. In the prairies of the West, the buffalo is the chief reliance for food. In Oregon the tribes always relied, in a measure, on the yam: in California they gather the seeds of spontaneously growing plants, with an amount of care and labor that would be sufficient to cultivate fields.

The dress of the tribes is still more changeable and more dependent on climate. The skins of the beaver and fine-furred animals were extensively used in the north at the period of the first planting of the colonies; and it so happened that an Indian was often thus clothed, at an expense which would have covered him with the finest and richest broadcloths. Deer-skins furnished the clothing in deer-yielding districts; and the dressed skins of the buffalo did the same throughout the latitudes west of the Mississippi, reaching from about 32° to 52°. Even language changed with more rapidity than writers are aware of, though it still furnishes the best clue to their history.

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[1] The annexed account of a recent Chinese funeral ceremony, which took place on the explosion of a steamboat at San Francisco, is extracted from California papers. "The Chinese ceremonies were most interesting to those who had never witnessed their funeral rites. Their coffins, as were the others, were deposited alongside the graves, and large quantities of food, prepared for the occasion, beside them. Among other articles was a good-sized shoat, cooked whole, and another which was handsomely dressed. Jars of preserves, jellies, and the choicest cakes and sweetmeats, were bountifully provided to satisfy the wants of the departed spirits in their wanderings to another world. Lighted tapers, candles, and matches, abounded in profusion, and were liberally bestowed upon the departed Chinese in other portions of the graveyard."

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Drawn by Capt.ⁿ S. Eastman, U.S.A. from a sketch by E.M.Kern

Eng.ᵈ by J.C. McRae

FEMALE INDIAN OF CALIFORNIA MAKING BASKETS.

Sacramento Valley

Could it be anticipated that the Indian traditions could have preserved much value under these severe mutations? In effect, the tribes speak but of the beginning of the world, and of its present state. All else has dropped out of the Indian memory, unless it be some shadowy and discordant notions of a universal flood or deluge. Life to the Indian, while in the forest state, has little worth living for; and, indeed, death as little to die for. He is to lie down, as we see in the manners of the Otoes, the Pawnees, and the Niuna, with the horse and bear, and flatters himself with the hope of rising with them. The Peruvians, who, with consummate art, had built a temple to the Sun, buried the dog with their chiefs (vide Appendix II.), in their tombs of masonry. And the Algonquin puts a paddle or an apecun, or carrying-strap, in the grasp of the wife who had reared his family of children, that she may continue her life of drudgery in another world, and thus realize that death itself is inadequate to free her from the bonds of social slavery.

The forest districts of North America appear to have been more favorable to the development of the benign and social affections. It is in these districts, too, that we have witnessed the highest instances of the martial spirit, the preservation of some private rights in government, and a tone of free and bold eloquence. The Iroquois have taken the front rank in this class; but, from the testimony of history, which is affirmed by recent cranial examinations, conducted on scientific principles (Vol. II., p. 335), the Algonquin and the Appalachian groups are not a whit behind them in the indicia of intellectual capacity. But even here the triumph of human greatness is founded on the idea of stoicism. The future is a scene of phantoms, types, and shadows, in which the labors of this life will be re-enacted, but which promised no rest to the body or the soul. The Indian heaven is built on the opinions of hunters, who will resume the chase there under far happier auspices; and he will be relieved from the cruel ills and pinching wants which have attended him in this life. In passing through this elysium, as we learn from his traditions (vide Oneöta, p. 5), he evinces the imperturbability and obduracy of heart which he had manifested in the present scene. Whole canoe-loads of the disembodied spirits are seen, in this tradition, to sink in the lake which separates them from the Happy Island, without producing any emotion. Still, death to the Indian is rather an event of gladness than terror. He passes away to his mortal account as if it were to be a place of rewards, and not of accountabilities or punishments. The indifference manifested by the aboriginal race on their exit from life, has been the topic of frequent remark, from the earliest period. The Indian lies down to die, as if to an assured rest or enjoyment, after a period of toil. His mind has been filled, from early youth, with fictions of a future elysium, in which the Great Spirit is ever described as the peculiar friend of the Red Race.

In the examination which has been made of Indian manners, customs, and character, in the first volume of this work (vide Mental Type of the Indian Race, pages 30 to 43), a summary of traits is presented which appears to connect his origin with the oriental world. Time has not appeared to alter that view. We are of necessity directed to that quarter. The very plan of language of the American tribes points in that direction. Mr. Du Ponceau, writing in 1819, has called this plan of expression *polysynthetic*, *i. e.* many compound. (Trans. Am. Phi. Soc., p. 370.) To Dr. Francis Lieber, an erudite observer, who has recently favored me with some remarks on the topic (Vol. II., p. 346), it has, from its power of combining ideas, been pronounced *holophrastic.* It is chiefly in the East that languages of this character, forming "bunch-words," as he terms them, are found in a state of analogous completeness of aggregation; although we have, perhaps, in the Magyar and the old mountain dialects of Spain, existing European vestiges or examples of this "agglutination" in language.

Of the Indian manners and customs at large, we have had but little from that quarter since the days of Louis XIV., when the Christian church of both France and Europe, first essayed to bring the tribes under the power of civilization and Christianity. Charlevoix, in a review, in 1721, of the theories which prevailed among philosophers of Europe, from Montanus, Oviedo, and Grotius, to De Hornn, and down to his day, thinks they have dealt so largely in the marvellous, and in fanciful theories, as to have left the subject just where they found it. He points out errors and directs attention to the study of the languages. (Journal, p. 49.) On this side of the water we have had little which has fallen in our way, but the reminiscences of Adair, in 1774, and a revival of the theory ascribing a Hebrew origin to the tribes. It is a work deficient in historical research, general or tribal, but with some erudition. The essay of President Smith, of Princeton College, proceeds too exclusively in supporting a theory; and that of Boudinot (Star in the West), does not, I think, make so strong a case as the facts admitted, from the want of sound materials, while he over-estimates others. Dr. Jarvis questioned this theory in a public discourse, before the New York Historical Society, in 1820, which was deemed a paper of sound induction. The argument founded on philology cannot be properly handled, till we have a larger and more elaborate amount of materials, both from Asia and America, recorded on uniform principles of notation. Some evidences for a comparison of the Indian with the Hebrew language, have been collected. They denote strong elements of analogy, sometimes in sounds, but oftener in principles, with the Shemitic stock. Some of these, and particularly the pronominal phenomena, and the restricted verb for existence, have been incidentally adverted to in prior pages (Vol. II., p. 353, Vol. IV., p. 386), but the topic is one demanding time, reading, and elaboration, which ill accords with the necessities and curt compliances which are often required to a large extent in public and official works.

It has likewise, thus far, been impossible, in this volume, to bring forward, in a digested form, the comparison of manners, customs, rites, and opinions, social and religious, which appear to refer the origin of the Indian tribes to an ancient and general epoch of political mutations over a wide surface of the Asiatic continent, affecting the Mongol, Chinese, and their affiliated nations. (Vide Appendix, No. 2.)

III. ANTIQUITIES. E.

[5th Paper, Title III.]

TITLE III.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, ANTIQUITIES.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE III.

TITLE III., LET. A., VOL. I.

General Archæology. Antique Skill in Fortification. Erection of Tumuli. Vestiges of Labor in the Mississippi Valley. Antique Horticultural Beds. State of Arts and Miscellaneous Fabrics. Attempts at Mining and Metallurgy. Ante-Columbian Antiquities. Question of Antique Inscriptions. Dighton Rock—an Example of the Indian Kekeewin.

TITLE III., LET. B., VOL. II.

Evidences of Indian Antiquities, continued. Truncated Mounds, or Platform Residences, of the Florida Indians. Antique Enclosures and small Mounds on Cunningham's Island, Lake Erie. Inscription Rock. Description of Archælogical Articles from South Carolina and New York. Embankment and Excavations on an Island at the Source of the Wisconsin and Ontonagon Rivers.

TITLE III., LET. C., VOL. III.

Record of Newly-Discovered Antiquities, continued. Pictographic Inscription from the banks of the Hudson. Antique Pottery from the Mounds of Florida and Georgia. Antique Colored Pottery from the banks of the River Gila, New Mexico. Explanation of the Inscription in the Character of the Kekeewin, from Lake Erie. Ancient Metallic Plates exhibited at the Muscogee Busks.

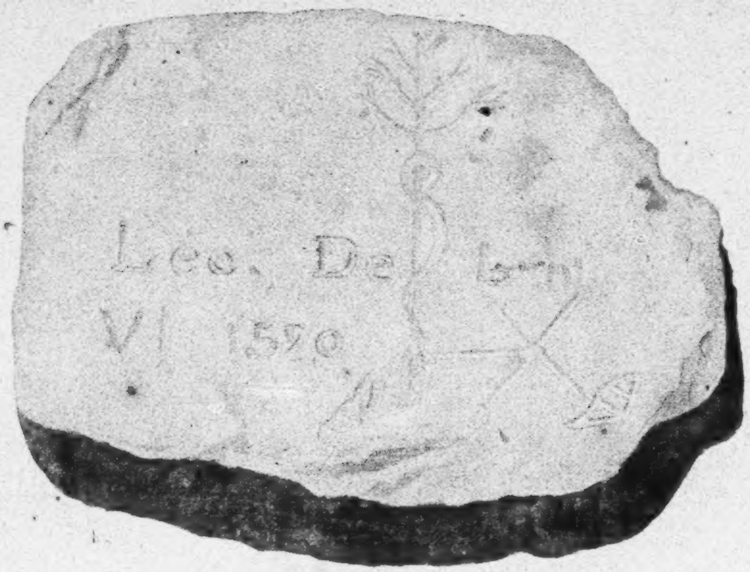
TITLE III., LET. D., VOL. IV.

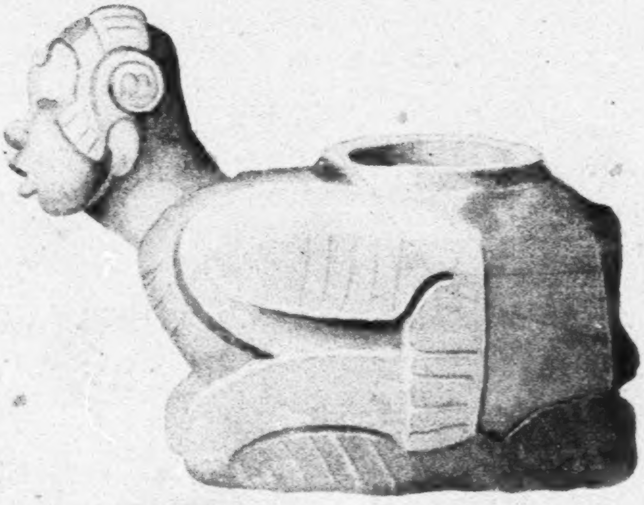
(*a.*) A sketch of the Antiquities of the United States. The true Type of Ancient Semi-Civilization and Aboriginal Art, denoted by Antiquities. Indian Art, Architecture, Fortification, and Agriculture, at the close of the Fifteenth Century. Intrusive Elements of Art. Considerations of the various proofs of Art in the Mississippi Valley. Their Object, Character, and Age. Testimony of General G. R. Clark, and other Western Pioneers and Observers. Summary of Facts. Metallurgy. Pottery. Sculpture. Ancient Cloth from the Mounds. Antique Copper-mining on Lake Superior. Pictographic Inscriptions from the Alleghany River. Fort Hill of Elmira. (*b.*) An Essay on the Congaree Indians of South Carolina. (*c.*) New elementary Facts in the current discovery of American Archæology.

TITLE III., LET. E., VOL. V.

Some Considerations on the Mound-Period of the Mississippi Valley, and on the general State of Indian Art prior to the Discovery, in the present Area of the United States. Traits and Comparisons of American Antiquities.

MANLIUS STONE





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ANTIQUITIES FROM NEW YORK

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III. ANTIQUITIES. E.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE MOUND-PERIOD OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, AND ON THE GENERAL STATE OF INDIAN ART IN THE PRESENT AREA OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 16TH CENTURY.

We proceed, by a natural step, from what the Indians are, at the present time, to what they were, at the era of the colonization of the country. There is a voice taught by the antiquarian vestiges of former periods which cannot be mistaken. It is not designed to consider the question of the earliest discovery of the tribes by Europeans, but merely the state of their arts and industrial powers at the epoch; for, whether the continent was first visited by the Scandinavians, the ancient Erse, or the Celts of Britain or of Continental Europe, it is not pretended that the race of Red men are the descendants of such visitors. These early visits may have produced a class of Intrusive Antiquities, such as is contended for by the Scandinavians (vide Ant. Amer.). Traces of this kind of vestiges, of peculiar type, are shadowed forth by an inscription, in antique characters, found on an elliptical stone in a tumulus in Virginia, opened in 1838 (vide Vol. I., p. 114, Vol. IV., p. 120), and also in the characters and figures of the Manlius Stone (Plate 8, Vol. V.), which probably tells the tale of the fate of some early victim of Spanish cupidity, during what we may call the mediæval age of American antiquities.[1] There may also be forms of art, disinterred from American soil, introduced from Asia, or by early adventurers from the Mediterranean, which have tended to direct the Indian mind to incipient steps of art or civilization. But these vestiges only serve to perplex, without unravelling the subject. For, whoever the intrusive visitors or colonists were, they did not permanently sustain themselves.

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[1] Very different are the pictographic inscriptions of the Indians, in their system of the *Kekeewin*, as recognised on the Dighton rock, on a cliff of limestone on an island in Lake Erie (Plates 41, 42, Vol. 3), and at the Venango stone on the Alleghany river. (Plates 17, 18, Vol. IV.)

Almost, as a matter of necessity, they mingled in, became amalgamated with them in blood, and were finally lost in the Indian race. Cusic, the Tuscarora, gives us a glimpse on this subject, denoting the probable growth and extinction of such a colony, veiled partly under symbols. (Hist. Six Nations.) We may, indeed, recognise in our investigations a Scandinavian, a Celtic, or even, as Mr. Jomard (*un Pière Gravè*, &c., Paris), has suggested, a Libyan, and Lord Kingsborough, a Phœnician element of this kind; but the Indian is, by far, of too marked and peculiar a character, mentally and physically, to permit us to confound him with these branches of the human race. Not only his physiology, but his languages point in quite another direction. The only nation, it must be confessed, with which his origin has been, with some just probability compared, is the Hebrew, or at least Shemitic stock—though the questions of *when* or *how* he came to the continent, are quite as difficult to answer as the others. There are not only some striking principles of agreement in the plan of utterance of the Indian with the Shemitic, but some apparent vestiges of the vocabulary.[1] It may, however, be remarked, in connection with a Celtic or Gothic element in the Indian mind, that their beliefs in fairies, dwarfs, giants, vampyres, and ghosts, or apparitions from the grave, as denoted in their oral legends and tales (vide Algic Researches), smacks strongly of ideas which were perfectly infiltrated into the Celtic and Gothic imaginations: while it is, at the same time, to be remembered, that, agreeably to the most recent ethnological researches in Europe, both of these celebrated and wide-spreading families of mankind were derived from early migrations of Asiatic tribes through the Euxine into Europe. (Latham.) It becomes, therefore, less a matter of surprise that the Indian tribes, who are manifestly of oriental origin, should have brought thence, along with these apparently European mental indicia, their abundant beliefs in necromancy, magic, witchcraft, sorcery, and the doctrines of a very multiplied existence of spiritual agencies. Nor is it strange that we should also be compelled to look to that quarter for the Indian doctrine of metempsychoses, and enchantments, and transformations, which constitute so prominent a feature in the poetical machinery of their traditionary lodge-tales. For, it is better to draw their belief in fairies, dwarfs, vampyres, and ghosts, directly from the original seats of mankind, than through the early barbarous periods of Europe. It is to this ancient centre of migration that we are driven in seeking for the origin of those deeply-seated principles in the Indian mind which are at the foundation of their cosmogony and religion. It is seen that they regard the creation of the world as having risen from chaos; the idea of an universal deluge, by which men were destroyed; the belief in two antagonistical principles of Good and Evil; and, finally, the worship of the Sun, as being the symbol and effulgent representation of the Creator — the Great Manito, the Waconda, the Owayneo, and the Abainka of our principal groups of tribes, by whom that luminary is regarded as the cause not only of heat and light, but of life. These are, in my opinion, the four fundamental beliefs in the uninstructed mind of the Red man of America, however obscured they may be by secondary and subordinate dogmas. The oriental character of the beliefs have been stated as the sum of my observations in the Indian country (where, in former years, I have been admitted as a MEDA and a member of three of their principal secret orders), as stated in the mental synopsis heretofore submitted. (Vol. I., p. 30.) And the same general traits are more or less fully described or adverted to by all who, with any attempt to generalize, have written on the subject.

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[1] The Hebraic theory has not, in my opinion, been thoroughly examined. The attempt of Mr. James Adair, in 1774, to prove it, by references to customs and languages, is an utter failure on the face of it. Granting that their feasts and fasts—their purifications—the rites by which they make an arcanum of their medicine-sacks—their respect to auguries—their mysterious choruses—and the overweening opinion they have of themselves, as a peculiar race who are the favorites of the Great Spirit—admitting that they are deists and not idolaters in the East India sense—granting all this, and more, which cannot be denied, the great stress he places on the resemblances of language is utterly inconclusive. Mr. Adair had been forty years in America, a trader among the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. Three of these dialects, at least, have peculiarities. If we grant, that of all four, a group could be made, yet the words he adduces are wholly different in the Iroquois, the Algonquin, the Dakota, and the Shoshonee groups of languages. His imagination has quite run away with his judgment. His eternal reference to certain syllables and words in their sacred choruses, is urged beyond all observation and belief by contemporary or subsequent writers, and there is no such compounding of words from the supposed holy name of the Almighty, in any tribe known to me. His learning and piety may both be admitted. His object was one of the noblest that could arrest the human mind. There were, indeed, certain resemblances of grammatical construction. There is more, indeed, of this than he contended for; but what proved, in his mind, the Choctaw, the Chickasaw, the Muskogee, and the Cherokee, to be Hebrew, proved that the Iroquois, the Algonquin, and the trans-Mississippian tribes are not. There are, indeed, resemblances of single words to the Hebrew in all these stocks, but they are entangled by the general example. Strong analyses exist to the Hebrew mode of compounding words—to their making verbs of nouns, &c.—but these grammatical analyses relate rather to the Shemitic family.

It is not only the country, but the epoch, that is required; and the latter is often a means of testing the former. Any attempt to fix on local divisions of the oriental world, as the probable theatre of the origin of the Indian tribes, in the absence of all history — without even traditions, poor as they generally are — and on the mere basis of suppositions, must prove unsatisfactory. But where history is baffled, conjecture may sometimes plausibly step in. It is not probable that there are less than ten million souls, of all grades, situated between Cape Horn and the utmost habitable parts of the Arctic ocean; for there are, from the last accounts, some five millions of the reclaimed tribes in Mexico alone. Between all these tribes, from the south to the north, there is a remarkable general coincidence in color, features, and character. The mere conjecture that these tribes are the off-shoots of the Shemitic race of Asia, is important, and becomes deeply interesting when it appears probable, as many men of learning and genius have asserted, that their history, fate, and fortunes, can be connected with that of the Hebrew race.[1]

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[1] General history requires general epochs. Every conjecture ascribes a great antiquity to the Indians. It is not wise to reject conjecture where we have nothing but conjecture to lean on. From considerations of the slowness of the formation of languages alone, Mr. Gallatin (Trans. Eth. Soc., Vol. I.), thought it not unrea-

When the Spanish discovered America, Europe was shaken to its centre by religious agitations. For the Reformation was then on the point of breaking forth, and in a few years was at its height. Luther commenced his open career just two years before Cortez first appeared before the city of Mexico. That part of the Church controlled by Spain was swayed by the zeal and energy of Loyola; and it was a point of deep religious emulation and triumph, to show the divided churches of Europe that she was successfully engaged in converting the millions of new-found, idolatrous aborigines, to the true faith. In this effort, conquest itself became one of the chief means of securing the triumphs of the Spanish Church. The very state of the buildings, arts, and power of the Indians was exaggerated, to show the greatness of the victory and to enhance the glory of the conquest. Let the simple journal of Bernal Diaz—nay, the polished and elaborate history of De Solis be read, with a view to this general state of things, and the observer cannot fail to discover, at every step, the strong tendency to over-estimate the state of arts, the power of the Indian government, and the general type of semi-civilization. A dressed deer-skin, with rude devices of animals and men, folded in a quadrangular form, was pronounced "a book"—the stroke of an Indian drum-stick, "a gong"—rude walls, without a door or a roof, "a fort"—the merest crude fabrics of wearing, without the knowledge of a distaff or a shuttle, were likened to the mantles of European kings—a cacique, with his plumes, was "a noble"—and Montezuma himself, a sagamore swaying chiefs of lesser power, was exalted by the term of "emperor," a word unknown to the Aztec language. They made pots and vases by hand, but had not the knowledge of the potter's wheel or the wooden lathe. What sort of a civilization would Europe have without these simple arts? They had no skill in fusion. They melted no iron—they made no glass. Gold required no skill in separation from its matrix; and the rude images of animals which M. Jomard showed me, at the Bibliotheque Royale, in 1842, as being part of the things sent over to Spain by Cortez, did not exceed the art of a Pottowattomie.

Did Pizarro, when he accomplished the conquest of Peru, evince a juster appreciation of the condition of the society, arts, and manners of the tribes whom he treated with the spirit of a brigand? The conversion of the tribes here, as in Mexico, was still the watch-cry and shield of the conquerors. He held up the banners of the

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sonable to suppose that they might have been eliminated from the other stocks within five hundred years after the general dispersion of mankind. (A. M. 2247, Usher.) Letters were invented by Memnon B.C. 1822; Cadmus carrying the Phœnician letters into Greece B.C. 1493. Iron was found in Greece in 1406, and the first ship was brought to Greece in 1485. The date of the exodus from Egypt is 1491. The kingdom of Israel finished by the captivity under Shalmanazar in 720; Africa is first doubled by the Phœnicians in 601; about 1001 Solomon dispatches vessels to foreign parts. These simple chronological facts are sufficient to show to theorists how difficult it is to tread on the grounds of conjecture—that the race must have left the Asiatic shores before the invention of letters, or prior to the discovery of iron, may be admitted; for the Indian tribes had neither letters nor the knowledge of the use of iron.

Gospel to the people, as a subterfuge for plunder and perfidy, while his acts and policy savored far more of the "Prince of the power of the air." Inca was the simple name of the tribes for father; but the chief and ruling father must also be declared to be "an emperor" — for this conqueror would appear no whit behind, in deeds of glorious renown, in the court of Charles V., to his military competitor for fame in Mexico.

Of the state of civilization in Peru and Mexico, there is much room, indeed, for doubt. It has been justly described, we think, by Robertson (Hist. Am.), and often over-described by Spanish historians. The accounts of the conquerors themselves are a mass of inflations. It was a civilization which grew up among a rude hunter race under the superstitious fears and despotism of the native seers and priests. Custom led the people to look up to the oldest, wisest, or more cunning classes. Prescription made law, till the system had become, at the period of the Discovery, as despotic as any of the early superstitious dynasties of the oriental world. It required centuries to wean them from the idle habits of the hunter state, in latitudes where, with very little toil, the climate furnished them, spontaneously, the means of subsistence. The Incas soon exacted labor without reward, on public works, and being sustained by the Indian priesthood, of whom they were the head, imposed tribute. Temples, teocalli, and public roads, and rope suspension-bridges, could thus be readily executed; while the mud hut, or adoba cottage, was all that remained to tell that the rude and pow-wow-ridden people, who bowed under the severest slavery of mind to their religious superiors, had any home at all. Even the domestic circle was not free from the intrusion of the ruling chiefs; and, as to private rights, they were unknown. Yet the race, compared to those tribes who had made no advances upon the simplest forest arts, presented a singular agreement of general features and character.[1]

Of the actual condition of art, there are some striking discrepancies in authors. A temple of the Sun, with walls of heavy golden plates, brings a dazzling image to the mind. A government house, for the transaction of public business, creates the impression of magnitude and excellence in art. Yet what shall we say when these edifices are described by engineers to have been mere squares and parallelograms of walls, of one story, without roofs, letting the sun shine on their altar, and the rain beat in, and without doors that could be opened or closed, but consisting of small triangular apertures in the walls, without any knowledge of the arch. For a plan and view of these antique structures, see Plate IX.

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[1] It is remarked by the learned author of Cosmos, Vol. II., p. 674, that "the American race, which was the same from 65° north latitude to 55° south latitude, passed directly from the life of hunters to that of cultivators of the soil, without undergoing the intermediate gradation of a pastoral life." Such was the transition, from the forest to the field, of the Peruvian and Mexican tribes, in the comparatively small districts of the continent where cultivation obtained. This did not, in Mexico, according to Mr. Mayer (vide Mexico, Aztec, Spanish, and Republican), exceed a circle of two hundred and fifty miles. The Indian race has every mark of generic unity throughout the latitudes named; but there is danger of misapprehension to the European reader in so unqualified an assertion with regard to the changes of habits of the tribes through so wide an extent. The fierce, nomadic, predatory, barbarous tribes from the Gila in New Mexico to the Arctic ocean, yet rove in all their untamed wildness. To them the deer and buffalo are still the harvest, and robbery and plunder the chief path of distinction.

Ulloa, to whom we are indebted for these architectural views, gives the most correct and instructive account of the state of Peruvian art. A civilian and an engineer in the service of the government, he came with no ulterior views of concealing facts, or overstating acquirements. There is no disposition evinced by him, however, to underrate any thing advantageous to the Indian character, industry, or arts of the period. "The ancient inhabitants of Peru," he remarks, "were far enough from carrying the sciences to any perfection, before the conquest of the country by the Spaniards. They were not destitute of all knowledge of them, but it was so faint and languid, that it was far from being sufficient for cultivating their minds. They had also some glimmerings of the mechanic arts; but their simplicity, or want of taste, was so remarkable, that, unless forced by absolute necessity, they never departed from the models before them. The progress and improvements they made were owing to industry, the common directress of mankind. A close application supplied the want of science. Hence, after a long series of time, and excessive labor, they raised works not so totally void of art and beauty but that some particulars raise the admiration of an attentive spectator. Such, for instance, were some of those structures of which we have still superb ruins, in which, considering the magnitude of the works, and the few tools they were masters of, their contrivance and ingenuity are really admirable. And the work itself, though destitute of European symmetry, elegance, and disposition, is surprising, even in the very performance of it.

"These Indians raised works both for the convenience and veneration of posterity. With these the plains, eminences, or lesser mountains, are covered; like the Egyptians, they had an extreme passion for rendering their burial-places remarkable. If the latter erected astonishing pyramids, in the centre of which their embalmed bodies were deposited, the Indians, having laid a body without burial in the place it was to rest in, environed it with stones and bricks, as a tomb; and the dependants, relations, and intimate acquaintances of the deceased threw so much earth on it, as to form a tumulus or eminence, which they called guaca. The figure of these is not precisely pyramidical; the Indians seeming rather to have affected the imitation of nature in mountains and eminences. Their usual height is about eight or ten toises, and their length betwixt twenty and twenty-five, and the breadth something less; though there are others much larger. I have already observed, that these monuments are very common all over this country; but they are most numerous within the jurisdiction of the town of Cayambe, its plains being, as it were, covered with them. The reason of this is, that formerly here was one of their principal temples, which they imagined must communicate a sacred quality to all the circumjacent country, and thence it was chosen for the burial-place of the kings and caciques of Quito; and, in imitation of them, the caciques of all these villages were also interred there.

"The remarkable difference in the magnitude of these monuments seems to indicate, that the guacas were always suitable to the character, dignity, or riches of the person interred; as, indeed, the great number of vassals under some of the most potent caciques concurring to raise a guaca over his body, it must certainly be considerably larger than that of a private Indian whose guaca was raised only by his family and a few acquaintances: with them also were buried their furniture and many of their instruments, both of gold, copper, stone, and earth; and these now are the objects of the curiosity of the Spaniards inhabiting the country; that many of them make it a great part of their business to break up these guacas, in the expectation of finding something valuable, and, misled by finding some pieces of gold here and there, they so devote themselves to this search, as to spend in it both their substance and time—though it must be owned that many, after a long perseverance under disappointments, have at length met with rich returns for all their labor and expense. Two instances of this kind happened while we were in the country—the first guaca had been opened near the village of Cayambe, in the plain of Pesillo, a little before our arrival at Quito; and out of it were taken a considerable quantity of gold utensils, some of which we saw in the revenue office, having been brought there as equivalents for the fifths. The second was more recently discovered in the jurisdiction of Pastos, by a Dominican friar, who, from a turn of genius for antiquities, had laid out very large sums in this amusement, and at last met with a guaca in which he is said to have found great riches. This is certain, that he sent some valuable pieces to the provincial of his order, and other persons at Quito. The contents of most of them consist only of the skeleton of the person interred, the earthen vessels in which he used to drink chica, now called guagueros, some copper axes, looking-glasses of the ynca-stone, and things of that kind; being of little or no value, except for their great antiquity, and their being the works of a rude, illiterate people.

"The manner of opening the guaca is, to cut the lower part at right angles, the vertical and horizontal line meeting in the centre, where the corpse and its furniture are found.

"The stone-mirrors taken out of the guacas are of two sorts—one of the ynca-stone, and the other of the gallinazo-stone: the former is not transparent, of a lead color, but soft: they are generally of a circular form, and one of the surfaces flat, with all the smoothness of a crystal looking-glass; the other oval, and something spherical, and the polish not so fine. They are of various sizes, but generally of three or four inches diameter, though I saw one of a foot and a half—its principal surface was concave, and greatly enlarged objects—nor could its polish be exceeded by the best workmen among us. The great fault of this stone is, its having several veins and flaws, which, besides the disadvantage to the surface of the mirror, render it liable to be broken by any little accident. Many are inclined to think that it is not natural, but artificial. There are, it must indeed be owned, some appearances of this, but not sufficient for conviction. Among the breaches, in this country, some quarries of them are found; and quantities continue to be taken out, though no longer worked for the use the Indians made of them. This does not, however, absolutely contradict the fusion of them, in order to heighten their quality, or cast them into a regular form.

"The gallinazo-stone is extremely hard, but as brittle as flint: it is so called from its black color, in allusion to the color of the bird of that name, and is in some measure diaphanous. This the Indians worked equally on both sides, and reduced it into a circular figure. On the upper part they drilled a hole for a string to hang it by; the surfaces were as smooth as those of the former, and very exactly reflect objects. The mirrors made of this stone were of different kinds — some plain, some concave, and others convex. I have seen them of all kinds; and, from the delicacy of the workmanship, one would have thought these people had been furnished with all kinds of instruments, and completely skilled in optics. Some quarries of this stone are likewise met with, but they are entirely neglected; though its transparency, color, and hardness, besides its having no flaws or veins, render it very beautiful.

"The copper axes of the Indians differ very little, in their shape, from ours; and it appears that these were the instruments with which they performed most of their works; for if not the only, they are the most common edge-tools found among them, and the only apparent difference betwixt those they use, consists in size and shape: for, though they all resemble an axe, the edge in some is more circular than in others. Some have a concave edge, others a point on the opposite side, and a fluted handle. These instruments were not all of copper; some having been found of gallinazo, and of another stone something resembling the flint, but less hard and pure. Of this stone, and that of the gallinazo, are several points, supposed to have been heads of spears, as these were their two chief instruments, or weapons; for, had they used any other, some would doubtless have been found among the infinite number of guacas which have been opened." (Ulloa, Vol. I., p. 460.)

Nothing is more remarkable, in comparing the ancient monuments of the Peruvians and Mexicans with those of the Indians of the United States, than that respect for the dead, and veneration for ancestry, which characterizes both classes of the tribes. The tombs or guacas of the Peruvians are perceived to have been of very various sizes, in proportion to the standing of the person entombed. The body, with its ornaments and personalities, was simply laid on the ground, and surrounded with earth, stones, or adobas. The relatives of the deceased threw on more material, till it assumed the form of a tumulus. A man of but little note had a mere barrow — a chief of distinction quite a mausoleum or mound. Ulloa gives an account of one of these guacas, which he thinks had been used as a look-out, situated on a plain near the town of Laticunga, in Quito (p. 469, Vol. I.) This cone of earth rises to one hundred and fifty

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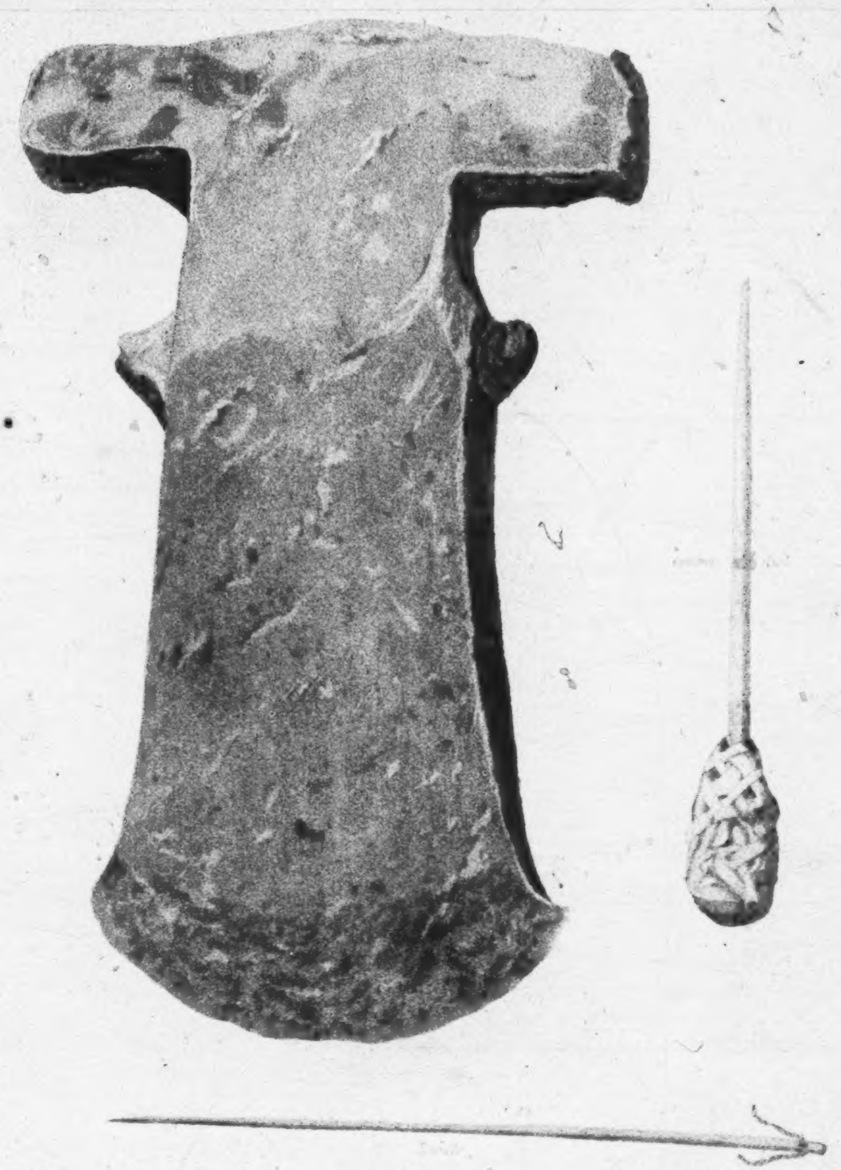
Pl. II



ANTIQUITIES FROM A PERUVIAN TOMB

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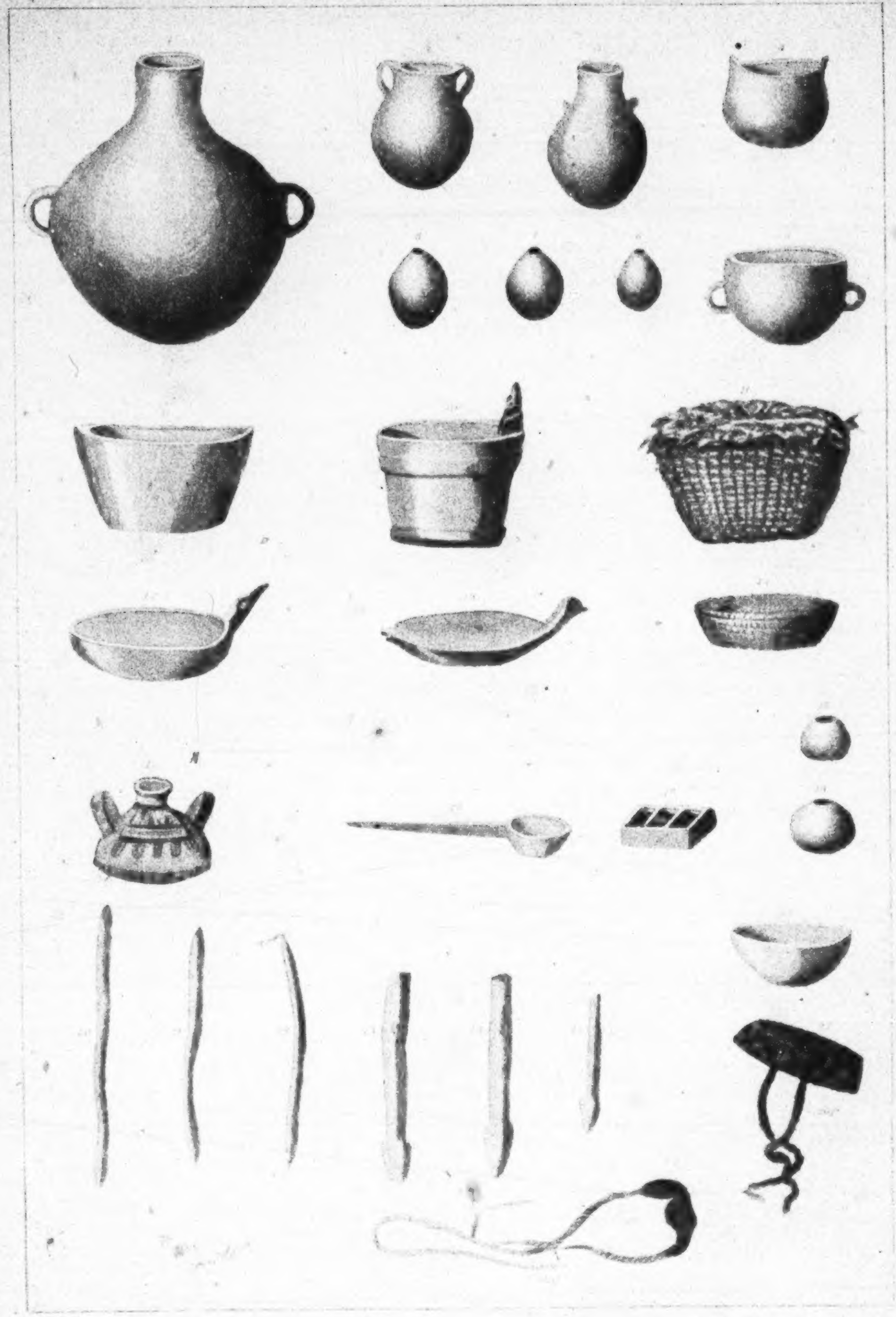

ANTIQUITIES FROM A PERUVIAN HUACA

feet in height. The shape is that of a sugar-loaf, formed with exact conical roundness on every side, so as to present the same angle with the plains. (Plate 9, Fig. 2.) This earthen structure must impress the observer with the striking resemblance it bears to the most elevated class of tumuli of the Mississippi valley. Six lesser tumuli are figured on the same page. These works are ascribed to the earlier or Atacama period of the Peruvians, before the rule of the Titicaca line of Incas. The older, indeed, the periods are which we select to compare the Indian arts and customs of the continent, the ruder is the state of art, and, at the same time, the more striking the resemblances. Reverence for ancestors was, indeed, one of the earliest forms of idolatrous error the human mind assumed in Asia; and we should not be surprised to see evidences of it among the earliest tribes in America.

Two of the ancient Peruvian guacas were recently opened at Arica, under the direction of the officer[1] at the head of the Astronomical Commission sent from the National Observatory at Washington, who has furnished us a full description of it. (Plates 10, 11, Figs. 1 to 28.) The contents were the mummies of a male and female, and two children, disposed and tied in a sitting posture, and wrapped in the Peruvian manner. In their laps were ears of Indian corn. They were accompanied by various household articles of pottery, wood and wicker-work. The inner wrappers were of cloth woven from the wool of the llama; and it was figured. There was a man's cap of the same material deposited in the tomb; a needle made of the thorn of the cactus, with the thread still in it, and a gold eylet-hole. There was a marker or punch, with a curiously worked head to fit the palm. (Plate 11.) The vessels of pottery were of primitive shapes. The wooden vessels contained the remains of the sweet potatoe. There were arrow-heads of transparent flint, or chalcedony. There was also what our northern Indians call an *apecun*, or carrying-strap. The most characteristic object was the skeleton of a dog. All the objects of art were boxed and transported to Washington for examination.

The embalming had been imperfect, and the bodies were decayed; the tomb emitting a strong effluvium on being opened. "These tombs," says my informer, "are believed to be several hundred years old."[2]

If the earlier guacas were rude and inartistic, the same remark may be made of the stone edifices and public buildings of the corresponding period of art. "Palaces" and "temples" were the current terms the Spanish applied to these structures. They came to America to find empires and temples that might bear to be compared to those of Mexico, and the conquerors often misapplied the phrases to vestiges of a period before the Inca system had been even commenced.

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[1] Lt. Gilless, U. S. N.

[2] There was also communicated, along with this antiquarian information, the evidence of an attempt, by the Spanish clergy, to impress the natives with miraculous phenomena, made by the insertion of white stones in the face of an immense precipice, in the form of a triple cross — one of those essays at pious fraud by the Spanish priesthood, which only serve to demonstrate a peculiar species of human vanity and folly. (Vide Appendix No. 3.)

The greatest part of one of these celebrated temples, denoting the ancient "rusticity of their architecture" (p. 467), is situated near the town of Cayambe. (Plate 12, Fig. 1.) It stands on an eminence: it is a perfect circle of forty-eight feet diameter: its walls are about thirteen feet six inches high, and four or five in thickness, built of sunburnt bricks, or adobas. It has a small, square door at one side, and is open to the sky, like the ancient amphitheatres, that the sun and light might freely penetrate.

In the remains of the house of Incas, of Quito, at Callo (Plate 12, Fig. 2), the walls are built of a species of trap or greenstone, well cut and adjusted. They consist of six principal rooms, with ante-rooms and entrances — the whole occupying a large ground-plan, but the entire edifice is of but one story, without windows, or an aperture to admit light. The inference is, that orifices for this purpose were made in the roof, if, indeed, it was deemed necessary to have a permanent roof over the entire building, in these mild, serene latitudes. There is no evidence that either the knowledge of the arch, or of the stair, existed. Entrances were made by means of the usual leaning walls, or what has sometimes been called the "flat-arch."

In the citadel and palace of Canar, depicted by him, we have a combination of the purposes of an official residence for the Incas, with those of a fortress. The same rustic style of architecture and geometry — the same want of architectural capacity for admitting light, for roofing, and for rising by a series of steps, is evinced. A battering wall is surmounted by a small watch-tower. The height and thickness of the walls, and the nature of the stones,[1] which are, however, unequally laid, are like those of Callo.

By far the most imperfect and rustic state of Peruvian art existed while the Incas had their residence at Atacama and at Quito.[2] The most numerous monuments and vestiges of art are found scattered throughout that quarter. But while the masses of the tribes assembled, under their caciques, to work on public edifices, they themselves

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[1] From a remark on the articulation of these stones, it may be conjectured that these parts are of volcanic origin — assuming the usual pentagonal form of crystallization, with concave and convex surfaces.

[2] The Peruvians of the Atacama type are the oldest in age. The whole race of Peru were a people of a complexion and features coinciding in every thing with the Toltec and other Indian stocks situated north of them, and not superior to them in their mental traits. The appearance of the Ghebir, Manco Capac, among them, put a new complexion on every thing. He was evidently an adventurer of later origin. He domesticated himself, evidently in concealment, a long time at Lake Titacaca, where he closely studied their history and languages. He then announced himself as the messenger of a new dispensation of the Sun, and set up the worship of that luminary on broader grounds, at Cuzco. Every authority denotes the Inca race to have been of a distinct blood and lineage, and of a higher type of civilization. The Incas were a *caste*. The late Dr. Morton of Philadelphia has, by an elaborate admeasurement and examination of the Atacama crania, demonstrated this in an admirable manner. (Crania Americana.) Agreeably to him, they were a people possessing small skulls — of that diagonal form called compressed or flatheads (vide Vol. II., p. 327), whose mental capacity, as determined by the rule of internal capacity, did not reach to that of the Iroquois, Appalachians, or Algonquins, as denoted in the cranial admeasurements at p. 335, idem, Vol. II.

Plate 12

Fig 2

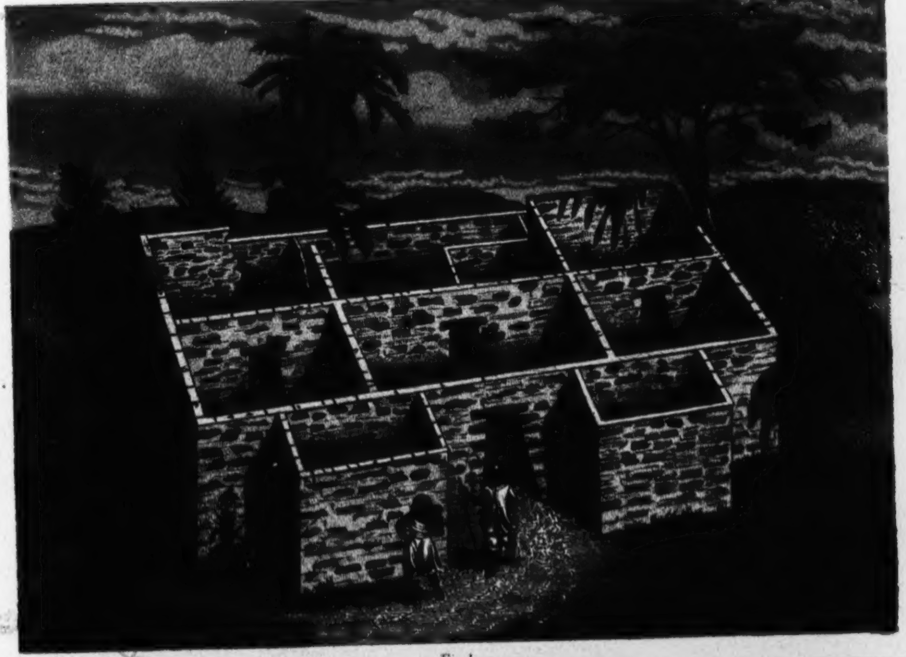
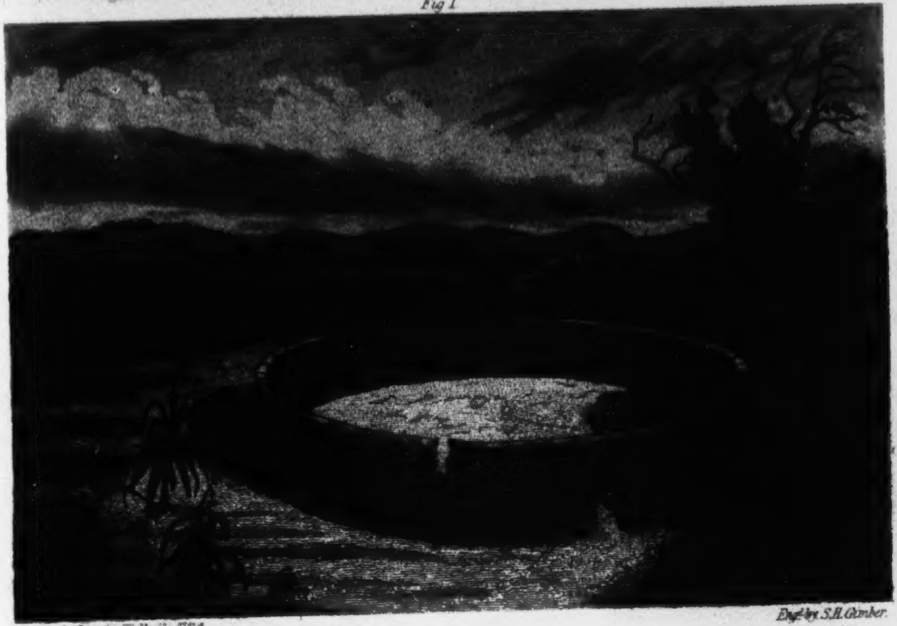


Fig 1



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Engd by S.H. Gimber.

ANTIQUE PERUVIAN PALACE AND TEMPLE.

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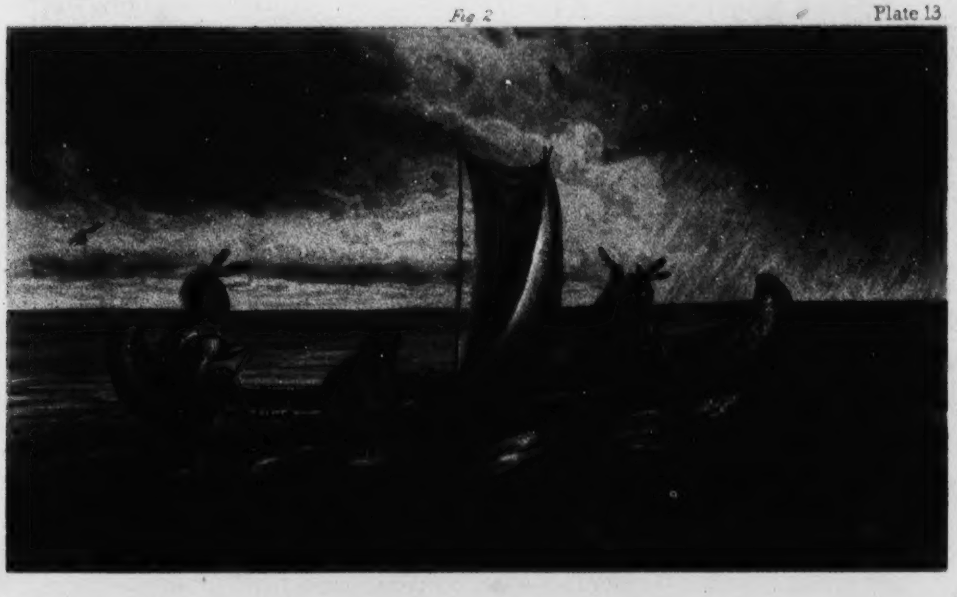
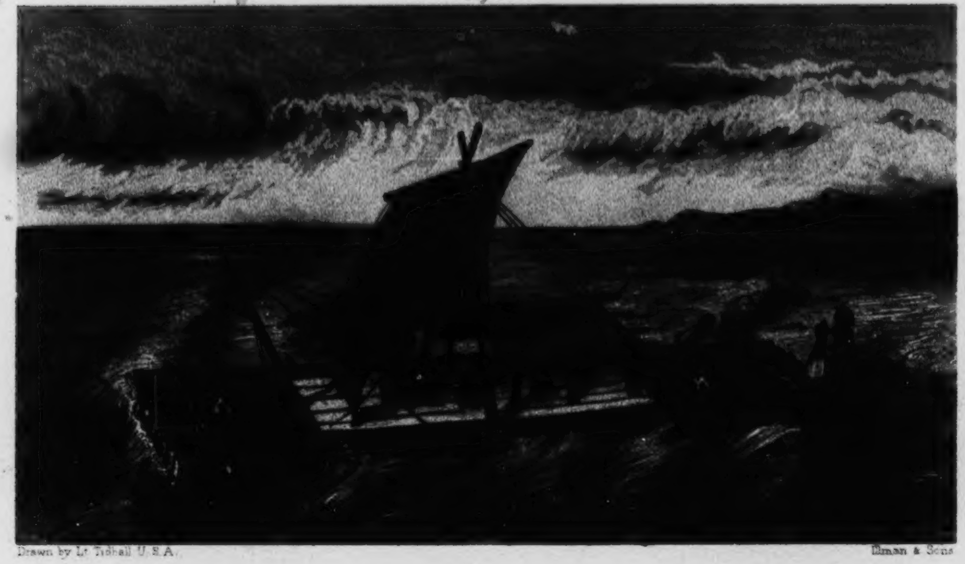
Fig 2 Plate 13



OTTOWA CANOE.

Fig 1



Drawn by Lt Tidball U.S.A. Illman & Sons

BALZA

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lived in temporary huts of the frailest character. The principal material used in the construction of these huts was canes; and this plan of building is yet followed along the banks of the Maricaibo and other streams flowing into the Pacific. The method is, to fix in the earth ten or twelve forked pieces of trees. Cross timbers are laid on them, about twelve feet from the ground. Over these a flooring of the same material, or a kind of boards, is laid, with a roof covered by the long leaves of the vijahua, which are frequently three feet in length, by one broad. The pliant bejucos vine is used as a cord in these simple structures. The ground story is unoccupied, to avoid the intrusion of beasts, insects, or floods: (p. 180).

If it was an object with the conquerors, to overrate the arts of the Indians in these serene and balmy regions, at the era of the discovery, it had been equally so in the tropical latitudes of Mexico, where the nations may be said to have been within striking distance of the Mississippi valley. The time required, at the present period, to traverse the immense plains from Santa Fé, on the Rio Grande del Norte, to Independence, on the Missouri, where a mail is now regularly carried by the United States' government, is twelve days. The Indians, who, from the first landing of Cortez, have had a great reputation as messengers and runners, could hardly, if the occasion required it, have consumed more time. They went from Vera Cruz to Mexico and back in seven days. (De Solis.) The whole region, from the mouth of the Rio Grande extending west to 100° of longitude, was covered with the buffalo, elk, deer, and smaller animals, which afforded abundant means of subsistence. If they crossed the plains of Texas, literally the paradise of hunters, as the name is said to import, the general fertility of the country, and the means of living, afforded them still easier access; and if the tribes chose to resort to their canoes, and followed the coast of the Gulf to the Atchefalaya, or the other mouths of the Mississippi, they had still a more easy mode of reaching its waters, and one quite as agreeable to their habits and tastes.

The passage from the peninsula of Yucatan to Cuba is not, by any means, beyond the capacities of the Indian sea-canoe,[1] and certainly not in the proper seasons, of the balza, with its temporary board keel and power to luff. (Plate 13.) And thence to Florida, is a transition not beyond the enterprise of the maritime tribes.

The Toltecs settled in Mexico, according to D'Aloa, in 387, founded Tula in 498, and terminated their monarchy, according to Clavigero, in 1051. Agreeably to the most authentic writers, the Chichemecas and Acolhuans, or Tezcocans, settled in the valley of Mexico in 963. They were displaced by the Tecpanecs of Acapulco in 1012. These tribes, agreeably to all authorities, came from points west and north of the valley of Mexico. It is thought the most northern hordes had been seated on the eastern shores of the Gulf of California. Differ as they may have done in languages and dialects, the experiment of migrating to more southerly and tropical latitudes, which yielded abundance of the banana and other tropical fruits, of which they were excessively fond, appears to have produced a strong sensation among this genus of tribes. As time elapsed, horde followed horde; and it happened, indeed, as in European prior history, that the most barbarous tribes conquered those that possessed the elements of civilization, and soon partook of these higher modes of life and subsistence. Civilization, even in its rudest forms, appears to have been a prize to barbarians. The delightful climate of Mexico itself was a prize. New impulses, of the same general wave of migration, succeeded. The Nahuatlacs had peculiar traditions of having issued from caves. The last horde that came to dispute for sovereignty in the Mexican valley, was the Aztecs. They left Atzlan, their reputed starting point, in 1160. They advanced by distinct stages, dwelling a time in each place. At length, having reached the valley, and passed Tula, the old Toltec capital, they came, in 1325, to Lake Tezcoco; and their priests, having here verified a prediction of the discovery of an eagle sitting on a cactus, with a snake in its claws, they founded their capital in this lake, which has risen like another Venice. Here Cortez found their decendants under Montezuma, in 1519, in a city built on islets, connected by causeways, after they had sustained themselves through many wars with the other tribes, agreeably to Mendoza, for a period of 144 years.[1]

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[1] Speaking of the Florida coast, Bartram remarks: — "These Indians have large, handsome canoes, which they form out of the trunks of cypress trees, some of them commodious enough to accommodate twenty or thirty warriors. In these large canoes they descend the river, on trading and hunting expeditions to the sea-coast, neighboring islands and keys, quite to the point of Florida, and sometimes across the Gulf, extending their navigation to the Bahama Islands, and even to Cuba. A crew of these adventurers had just arrived, having ventured from Cuba but a few days before our arrival, with a cargo of spirituous liquors, coffee, sugar, and tobacco." Bartram's Florida, p. 225.

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[1] Mr. Gallatin has prepared the following chronological tables of the various Indian dynasties, from the most reliable sources.

ANCIENT MEXICAN CHRONOLOGY.

	Alva.	Sahagun.	Veytia.	Clavigero.
Toltecs.				
Arrived at Huehuetlalpallan	387	......	......	......
Departed from "	......	......	596	544
They found Tula	498	......	713	720
Monarchy begins	510	......	......	667
Monarchy ends	959	......	1116	1051
Chichimecas and Acolhuans, or Texcocans.				
Xoloti, 1st King, occupies the valley of Mexico	963	......	1120	about 1170
Napoltzin, 2d King, ascends the throne	1075	......	1232	13 cen.
Huetzin 3d King, so called erroneously Tlotzin ascends the throne	1107	......	1268	14 cen.
Quinantzin, 4th King, ascends the throne	1141	......	1298	"
Tlaltecatzin, 1st King, according to Sahagun, ascends the throne	......	1246	......	......
Techotlalatzin 5th (2d Sahagun), ascends the throne	1253	1271	1357	14 cen.
Ixlilxochitl 6th (3d Sahagun)	1357	1331	1409	1406
Netzahual-Coyatzin 7th (4th Sahagun), ascends the throne	1418	1392	1418	1426
Netzahual-Pilzintli 8th (5th Sahagun), ascends the throne	1462	1463	......	1470
Netzahual-Pilzintli dies	1515	1516	......	1516

Three Indian dynasties had preceded the Aztecs, producing migrations towards the south, east, and north. Guatemala and Yucatan are believed to have been thus peopled. They escaped from the invaders on all sides. When the flying tribes had reached Tampico, the access to the north was ready. The Mississippi valley was thus within reach, the Alleghanies crossed, the Atlantic shores peopled. The tribes who had been infringed on in the south, infringed on others in the north. They drove the Skrœllings, who, in 1000, lived in New England (Antiquitates Amer.), across the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Labrador. The early traditions of all the New England and Atlantic coast tribes, point to a migration from the south-west. Such were the

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ANCIENT MEXICAN CHRONOLOGY—*Continued.*

	Alva.	Sahagun.	Veytia.	Clavigero.
Tepanecs, or Tecpanecs, of Acapulco.				
Acolhua arrives	1011	......	1158	......
Acolhua 2d, son of Acolhua 1st, arrives	......	......	1239	......
Tezozomac, son according to D'Alva, grandson according to Veytia, of the 1st Acolhua, arrives	1299	1348	1343	......
Maxtlan, son of Tezozomac, arrives	1427	......	1427	1422
Mexicans, or Aztecs.				
Mexicans leave Aztlan	......	......	1064	1160
" arrive at Huelcolhuacan	......	......	......	1168
" " Chicomotzoc	......	......	1168	......
" " Valley of Mexico	1141	......	1227	1216
" " Chapultepec	......	......	1248 1276	1245

	Mendoza's Collection.	Codex Tellurianus.	Acosta.	Siguenza.	D'Alva.	Sahagun.	Veytia.	Clavigero.
Mexicans, or Aztecs.								
Foundation of Mexico, or Tenochtitlan	1324	......	......	1325	1220	......	1325	1325
Acamapichtei, elected King	1375	1399	1384	1361	1141	1384	1361	1352
Huitzilihuitl's accession	1396	1406	1424	1403	1353	......	1402	1389
Chimalpopoca	1417	1414	1427	1414	1357	......	1414	1409
Ytzcoatl	1427	1426	1437	1427	1427	......	1427	1423
Montezuma 1st	1440	1440	1449	1440	1440	......	......	1436
Acayacatl	1469	1469	1481	1468	1469	......	......	1464
Tizoc	1482	1483	1487	1481	1483	......	......	1477
Ahuitzol	1486	1486	1492	1486	1486	......	......	1482
Montezuma 2d	1502	1502	1503	1502	1503	......	......	1502
Duration of reigns of Mexican Kings.								
Acamapichtei	21	7	40	42	150	21	41	37
Huitzilihuitl	21	8	3	11	50	21	12	20
Chimalpopoca	10	12	10	13	70	10	13	14
Ytzcoatl	13	14	12	13	13	14	...	13
Montezuma 1st	29	29	32	28	29	30	...	28
Acayacatl	13	14	6	13	14	14	...	13
Tizoc	4	3	5	5	3	4	...	5
Ahuitzol	16	16	11	16	17	8	...	16
Montezuma 2d	17	17	16	17	17	19	...	17

1st vol. Ethnological Trans., p. 162.

traditions of the Massachusetts group of small tribes, and of the Narragansetts or Wampanoags, of the Mohicans, and the maritime coast tribes. The Lenni Lenapees of Pennsylvania told this tradition to the Moravian missionaries, detailing the crossing of the Mississippi, long after the passage of the Iroquois and the Allegans.[1] (Trans. Phil. Soc., Vol. I.) The southern Indians represent themselves as having come originally from the west; and, after crossing the Mississippi at higher or lower points, and at eras more or less remote, as having conquered the original Florida tribes, and taken their places. They told this tradition to Adair (Hist. Inds.), to Bartram (Travels), and to Hawkins (Sketches, &c.), three of our most reliable authorities. Such were the accounts of the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Cherokees. The Creeks proceeded eastward, across Florida, to the Oakmulgee branch of the Altamaha, their oldest town and permanent resting-place, vestiges of which still exist. The old tribes against whom they fought were the Yamacraws, Ogechees, Wapoos, Santees, Uches, Yamasees, Utinas, Paticas, and Icosans—terms, some of which, only linger in their verbal traditions.

When the old tribes west of the Mississippi are asked the direction they came from, they point south. They came up over the fertile, level plains, and hilly uplands east of the forbidding and impassable peaks of the Rocky mountains. Such is the account of the Quppas (Kapahas of De Soto's day, vide my "Ozarks"), Cadrons, Kansas, and the generality of the great prairie or Dacota group west of the Mississippi, and of the Iowas, Sioux, and Winnebagoes, who had crossed the stream at and below St. Anthony's Falls, and above the junction of the Missouri. (Vide Iowa map, Vol. III., Plate 30.)

The Sioux proper, who are the type, and were the precursors or pioneers of this group of tribes, ultimately reached the head waters of Lake Superior (vide D'Ablon and Marquette), and the sources of the Mississippi river, at Leech and Cass lakes. (Summary Narrative of Ex. Exp. to Sources of the Mississippi, p. 252.) From this position they had begun to recede, about the period of the discovery of Canada by the French, under the severe attacks of the Chippewas of Chegoimegon, of Lake Superior, under Bainswa and Noka, two prominent chiefs, and by the military band of the Mukundwa of Leech lake. In 1825, the Sioux had retraced their steps south nearly five hundred miles, having entirely abandoned the upper coasts of Lake Superior, and retained lands but a day's march (an Indian term of measure), on the St. Croix and Rum rivers. (Vide Treaty of Prairie du Chien, 19th Aug. 1825. U. S. Laws.) Their southern boundary was fixed at the river Watab; and, but for this guaranty of position by the United States, the Sioux tribes would, ere this, have been driven, by the fierce spirit of the Chippewas and Pillagers, to the line of the St. Peter's — now called Minnesota river.

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[1] This ancient tribe, who have left their name in the principal mountain chain of the old area of the United States, have disappeared as a recognised tribe. The tradition states them to have been overpowered by the Delawares and Iroquois, and driven down the Ohio and Mississippi. They are called, in this ancient relation, Tallagewy—a name not very diverse from Chalakee—a people against whom a bitter feud was still urged, at and after the colonization of the country. In this war, ditches and circumvallations were used, the vestiges of which still exist. Iroquois tradition, as related by Cusic (Hist. Six Nations), confirms this. See my Notes on the Iroquois, Alb. 1835.

In leaving the sources of the Mississippi, the Sioux tribes abandoned to their fate the Assinabwoines of Red river, of Lake Winnipek, a Sioux tribe with a Chippewa name, who had, in fact, revolted from their rule — and this tribe, who speak the Dacota language, have made their political alliances with the Chippewa and other Algonquin tribes of that quarter.

Of the ancient Indian tribes of Florida, who existed there before the coming of the whole Appalachian group, we have no traditions. If we are to believe Bristock, who wrote one hundred and forty-five years after the conquest of Mexico, these Floridians, or "Apalachites," had a system of sun-worship, with a class of priesthood, and rulers, and jurisdictions, which appear to be almost wholly imaginative. (Davies' Hist. Carribees.) That some of the descendants of these primordial Floridians still exist, as elements, in the great Muscogulgee confederacy, as the Utchees, &c., is past doubt; but their nationality has departed with the fall of the primitive falcon flag, under which they fought.

By the term Vesperic tribes, we mean the entire aboriginal stocks of the United States, comprehending Appalachians, Cherokees, the Powhatans of Mr. Jefferson, the Algonquins, quite to and throughout New England, the tribes of the upper lakes, and the sources of the Mississippi, the Iroquois, or Six Nations, the Monacans of Virginia, the Wyandots of the west, and the Dacota group of tribes of the western shores of the Mississippi and Missouri. The point of migration of all these tribes was, generally, from the west; before crossing, it had been, generally, prior to crossing the Mississippi, from the south. It is the geographical area occupied by these tribes, after they came to the east of this river, that constitutes the principal theatre of American antiquities. It was also the location of some antiquities of the prior tribes, of a more antique and rustic class. (Bartram, 182, 370, 403.) These vestiges, of both epochs, denote a state of art, which is in no respect, superior to that of the semi-civilized stock of the south; but the grade of it is, generally, quite inferior to it, if we except the vestiges of labors in mining, of which the evidences have been recently discovered, and the features of intrusive archæology existing. These latter are thought to be due to Celtic, Scandinavian, Iberian, or, at least, European sources; and can, by no means, be assimilated with any of the Indian remains, whether of ancient, the mediæval or middle period, or existing state of aboriginal art. (Anti. Amer.)

The Lenni Lenapees tell us that they had been preceded by the Iroquois and the Talligewi, or Allegans. (Heckewelder.) The Muscogulges, or Creeks, landed above the Natchez, or Chigantualga of De Soto, who were then the great power. The Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, speak of tribes having two different languages; of which we hear of the dialects of the Natchez, Taënsa, Savanuca, and other above mentioned. All the southern tribes of the secondary period of the Appalachian group appear, from their traditions, to have crossed the Mississippi river at comparatively high points, extending as far as the influx of the Arkansas. They had, according to their traditions, fought their way, during all their migratory track, west of the Mississippi, and found the same difficulties to be encountered on its eastern borders. The Creeks told Mr. Bartram, that their ancestors had reached the Oakmulgee, after contests with valiant tribes over the entire country from the Mississippi to that place. Here they made a stand, and fortified themselves: it is the site of their oldest antiquities, which are pronounced, by this reliable traveller, of a striking character—"A stupendous conical pyramid, or artificial mount of earth, vast tetragon terraces, and a large sunken area, of a cubical (square?) form, encompassed with banks of earth:" (p. 37.) The latter is what is now popularly called a CHUNK YARD; and though he regarded these as of the ancient period, at first, he was convinced, on entering the Creek country, that they were due to that people.

The tribes who had reached the Mississippi in their migrations, are traced on their back track by their peculiar kind of earth-works and vestiges, which are the chief monuments of their history. They did not come down to the forest and fertile prairie lands, on the west banks of this river, from the elevated, bleak, and barren deserts stretching at the east foot of the Rocky mountains. There are no indications that they crossed that broad and forbidding barrier, where travelling, in modern days, has required the utmost capacities of European and American skill, energy, and endurance. Frémont takes no notice of antiquities of any kind. (Exp.) Lewis and Clarke found the Indians of the Missouri to possess the capacity of fortifying involutions and strong points on the Missouri river, extending to the tribes in their ethnologic dispersion northward, as high as the country of the Tetons — a Sioux people. For this species of fortification see Plate 14. It is remarkable, as embracing the principle of the Tlascallan gateway, of which the principal forms, existing in the earth-works of the Mississippi valley, are shown in Plate 4, Vol. 1. A prominent object in these forms, as in the instance before us, seems to have been, not so much absolutely to bar approach, as to put the enemy in doubt which way to go. A detailed description of this earth-work is given in Appendix No. 3. It is the most northerly locality of an earth-work, of this kind, which has been noticed on the Missouri, if we except, perhaps, the remains of a simple ditch across the prominent doubling of the river, at the old Mandan site.[1]

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[1] TETON FORTIFICATION.—It is interesting to trace the art of fortification, of the Mississippi tribes, down to a comparatively recent period. The same natural principles of defence prevailed — namely, lines, trenches, an envolved gate, and a mount, or redoubt, to defend it. In the contentions of the various leading bands of Indians for the possession of the profitable game lands and hunting ranges of the Missouri, no antiquities have been noticed by the modern traveller more striking than the remains of entrenched or palisadoed villages, embankments which were designed as curtains to bowmen, and small mounds, or pyrola—intended, generally, as redoubts for

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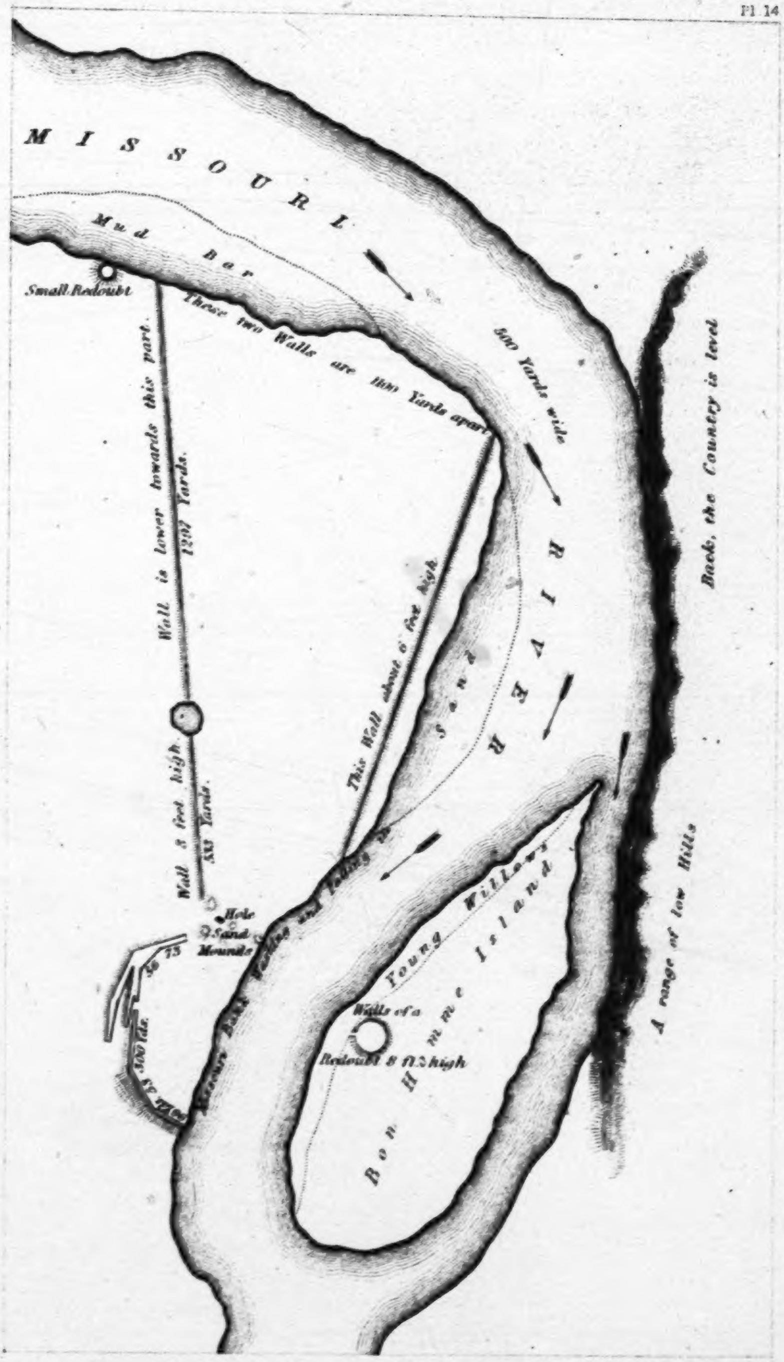

TETON FORTIFICATION.

To determine the point, whether the Indian migration had crossed the Rocky mountains by the usual passes of the Columbia, attention has been devoted to the state of antiquities in Oregon, California, and Washington. The result has been decidedly unfavorable to the existence of antiquities in that quarter. Those tribes seem to have roved over the immense regions of the Pacific coast, with nearly as little evidence to mark their ancient residence, as the deer and bear they hunted. There is not a mound or earth-work analogous to those of the Mississippi valley, or indeed of any kind, in Oregon and Washington. The testimony of Mr. Ogden, for many years the chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company in that quarter, is conclusive on this head. His employées have often passed over those regions from Puget's Sound to the Bay of San Francisco. One of my correspondents in that quarter has been a zealous inquirer on this head, during a residence of four or five years on that coast; and has been unable, north or south, to find a mound, or any thing resembling it. I had been led to urge this inquiry with the more zeal, on account of some rumors on this head, relative to the valley of the *Dachutes*, but such vestiges on that stream have proved to be entirely apocryphal. The most recent researches have discovered some slight vestiges on the Yakama river, a stream rising in the Cascade mountains; but, on close inspection, they are found to enclose two old cellars, or perhaps traders' cachés, and are evidently of little antiquity. The notes of Mr. Astor's factors, employed by Mr. Irving, in the preparation of "Astoria," do not appear to have contained any antiquarian notices. Captain Wilkes found no mounds or earth-works on the coast; nor is there the slightest notice of such works in the journey of Lt. Emmons, U. S. N., which is related in a prior part of these pages, Vol. III., p. 200. In the journey of Col. M'Kee, on Indian business, in California, from Benicia to the Klamath, bordering the Pacific coast, he notices nothing of the kind. (Vol. III., p. 99.) Small eminences resembling barrows are stated to exist near Puget's Sound; but it is doubtful whether these are of artificial construction.

If it be conceived that the Toltecs, Tezcucos, or Aztecs of Mexico passed this coast prior to their arrival at the Bay of California—a prime point in the archæology of the semi-civilized tribes—it must have been before the tumuli, the pyramid, or the teocalli forms of art were developed. For, if people with their strong traits had made points of occupancy in the course of their exodus, as the Boturini picture-writings attest, there could not fail to be some vestiges of this kind. And this may serve to create the belief, that the Aztalan of their story was south of these latitudes. It may also serve to denote, that the Toltec race originally struck the coast probably as low

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hand-to-hand combatants. In these cases, the artificial mound, or cone of earth, occupies the position of a redoubt to gates, or an open space in the entrenchment. Sometimes, in this plan, this elevation constituted a conical tower or pinnacle in a rectangular wall, or line of embankment. There is also unmistakeable evidence, in these locations, of ancient strife for tribal mastery, at the zig-zag gate—an entrance peculiar to the Indian tribes, which is so contrived that the assailants are left in doubt as to the right way, and led into a *cul de sac*, from which retreat is either impossible, or very perilous.

down as the Bay of California, or else proceeded in their canoes, or balzas, to that latitude.

The rise of nations from barbarism seems to require some individual to bring them to the culminating point. A Coxcox, Quetzalcoatl, a Bochica, or Capac, appear to have been necessary to light the flame of improvement in America. It has ever been thus in the history of the old world; and if even the labors of a SOQUOIAH (Cherokee Alph., Vol. II., p. 228), are deemed to have given an impulse to his tribe in our day, it must be remembered, that of him, as of his celebrated predecessors in the semi-civilized tribes, it may be affirmed, that European blood flowed in his veins. To disentangle the thread of Mexican history was not, perhaps, practicable, had it been attempted at the period of the conquest; and when the study was commenced, writers seem to have been carried away by looking for perfections in art, or attainments in government and policy, which never existed. What was rude in art, was described as polished—the grotesque was deemed artistic, and the irregular elaborate. Yet, in art, they were incomparably ahead of their morals. Their system of religion was so completely pervaded by the darkest spirit of dæmonology, that the Bishop of Zurraga directed as many of their picture-writings, the only records they had, as he could collect, to be piled together and burned. The loss is not, perhaps, as great as might be expected. "It has been shown," says Mr. Gallatin, "that those which have been preserved contain but a meagre account of the Mexican history for one hundred years preceding the conquest, and hardly any thing that relates to prior events." (Eth. Trans., Vol. I., p. 145.) Both the true state of their arts and of their manners are left indeterminate. "There were strange inconsistencies in the principles and conduct of the Mexicans," observes a recent writer, "and strange blendings of softness and brutality—for the savage was, as yet, but rudely grafted on the citizen; and the wandering and predatory habits of a tribe were scarcely tamed by the needful restraints of municipal law." (B. Mayer's Mexico, p. 99.)

"It is to be regretted," says the same writer, "that we are not more fully informed of the condition of property among the masses of this singular empire. The conquerors did not trouble themselves with acquiring accurate statistical information, nor do they seem to have counted numbers carefully, except when they had enemies to conquer, or spoil to divide." (Ibid, p. 36.)

There was but one class of the Aztecs who had rights. They were the caciques. The lower orders had none. "The masses," observes the same writer, "who felt they had no constant abiding-place on earth, did not, in all probability, build for themselves those substantial and beautifully embellished *homes*, under whose influence modern civilization has so far exceeded the barren *humanism* of the valley of the Nile. It was useless, they deemed, to enshrine in marble, whilst living, the miserable spirit that, after death, might crawl in a crocodile or burrow in a log." (Ibid, p. 94.)

Cortez and Pizarro sought rather to make the heart of Charles V. wonder at what the tribes *were*, than what they *had been*. "The conquerors and their successors were not men devoted to the antiquities of the Mexicans, with the generous love of enthusiasts who delight in disclosing the means by which a people emerged from obscurity. In most cases, the only object they had in magnifying, or even manifesting the real character of the Mexicans, is to be found in their desire to satisfy their country and the world, that they had indeed conquered an empire, and not waged an exterminating war against naked and wealthy savages." (Ibid, p. 94.)

When Cortez ascended the great teocalli of Mexico, he found two altars to the Sun, on which a perpetual fire was kept burning. This had, alone, been the elder and original form of worship. The theory of sun-worship was still believed and kept up; but the practical working of the system had introduced human sacrifice. It was, at least, wholly corrupted by that sanguinary and brutal system. Sacrifices were offered to Heutzilapochtli, the god of war, who had supplanted the oriental rites, and Xolotol, who had created all things from infinitesimal parts of matter. Before the rude and gigantic statues of these idols human hearts, warmly torn from the victim, were offered. It was here that the Spanish prisoners, taken in conflicts with Montezuma, paid the forfeit of their lives. And it was this horrid ritual which doubtless induced Zurragua to obliterate, as far as possible, every trace of the history of such gross barbarians.

It may be affirmed, that it was these sanguinary rites — this departure from the more simple and symbolic rites of the worship of the sun, unmixed with bloody sacrifices, that, if it did not raise dissensions among the Indian priesthood, made the outer tribes the more willing to scatter themselves abroad. But, from what we know of the Indian character, there is every reason to believe that the non-sanguinary sun-worshipping tribes were conquered and rudely driven off. The dominant tribes had created new gods, and assumed the power to control them; while the people were commanded to worship them. Asia had done the same thing before.

When we turn the view from this picture of the Aztec society and its rites — from the power, political and ecclesiastical, which their priests had acquired — from the utter nothingness, in point of rights and happiness, to which the lower classes were reduced — when, indeed, we leave this prospect of a wild, dæmoniacal Indian priesthood, striking for power, and sealing their acquisitions in blood, to survey the manly, council-governed, and independent hunter and warrior tribes of the north, it is not difficult to perceive the causes of the disturbances and separations of the tribes of the equinoctial latitudes. Nor is it difficult, in viewing their manners and customs, to recognise, as a substratum of their religious system, evidences of the former existence of the wide-spreading rites of the adoration of the Sun.

The devotion to the principles of this worship prevailed extensively over the North. It was not inaugurated in these northern districts with all the same ceremonious rites as among the Natchez, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, and the Cherokees on the banks of the lower

Mississippi; but it pervaded these dispersed tribes to the shores of Lake Superior. It spread to the prominent peaks of the Monadnock, and to the waters of the Narragansett. (Vide antique copy of pictographs on Taunton river, Vol. I.) In our view, the tribes of the Vesperia[1] appear to be of the oldest era among the North American stocks, and these stocks seem to have been pushed on by more recent hordes, who contended for their tribal seats in the milder latitudes. The worship of fire, in its modifications, had evidently prevailed, in the first ages of the occupancy of the continent, from Patagonia to the Arctic; and its rites were brought to these temperate regions, with their admired zea-maize and nicotiana. The batata found in the guacas of Arica is the same species raised in the Carolinas. They had also, and they still possess, the same veneration for ancestry as the southern tribes. The latter erected their guacas and earthen tumuli from Peru to Mexico. The former imitated them—or rather persevered longest in the simple practice of using earth alone in their sepulchral constructions, long after the southern tribes had learned the art of cutting, or, at least, of building with stone. Evidences of the parity of the art of erecting earthen tumuli, in both hemispheres, are exhibited in Plate XII. If the southern tribes erected their earthen tumuli, large and small, at Cayambe and Panacillo, the Vesperic tribes did the same along the coasts of Florida and throughout the Mississippi valley, to the highest latitudes to which they reached. The tumulus was never a part of the entrenched camp, town, or village, either there or here. It is almost always found near such works, but is seldom or never within them. The tumuli here are large or small, agreeably to the respect signified, or as they are public or private.

Neither in the SOUTH or NORTH were the spirits of ancestors worshipped, but they were revered; there was a great respect paid to their memory. Their spirits were recognised as hovering around the lodge-fires and the burial-ground; and though they were never worshipped, the Indian theory of immortality was such, that both food and libations were offered at the graves as a token of this respect and sacred remembrance. (Vide Plate 3, Vol. I., p. 38.)

To raise a heap of stones, as that of Ochquaga or Niagara, was a memorial of boundary, or some important transaction between the tribes, partaking, more or less, of a national character. But to raise a pile of earth, large or small, was a sacred memento to some chief or sage who had deserved well of his village or tribe. The spirit of the person whose bones had been buried under a mound had gone to the Indian elysium. It was a point in his religion to believe so. The resurrection of the dead is a truth universally conceded by the Indians, however erroneous may be their views of the true purpose of such resurrection. And if they lit a fire to the Sun, which was the symbol of the Deity, on the apex of such of these structures as aspired into the air, it was a rite quite germain to their forest theology. What they *were*, they still

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[1] This term was proposed, some years ago, by the late Judge Story, to the N. Y. Hist. Society, as a national cognomen for the regions embracing the United States.

are. They mourn their dead with pious lamentation. They often visit the spot, and linger around it, with a belief that such visits are known to be agreeable to the departed spirit. This trait of reverence for the departed is one of the most universally observed characteristics of Indian life. And it is one which, at the same time, most emphatically denotes the Indian to be a man of heart. Here is a more palpable recognition of that original unity with the civilized and refined branches of the human family, than is found in all other rites and customs. Stoical he is, by his very position as an outcast among men. The hard lessons of war and plunder have steeled his heart against all expressions of sympathy. He has been said to be as imperturbable as the cliffs he often gazes on with fixity of muscle. He recounts his atrocities and achievements in war, at the recitations of the war-post, with shouts. He maintains his stoical indifference at the stake, and even breaks forth in a funeral song of triumph: but he is subdued by the stroke of death in his social and family circle. It is at this moment that he finds he has a heart. Tombs, cenotaphs, and mausolea have marked the history of the most civilized and refined nations of antiquity — the pyramids of the Nile themselves rose to testify to this fact. And if the North American Indian evinces a sensibility at this point, which he has at no other—if he acknowledges the hand of Providence, and mourns his bereavements with a manly dignity — when he piles up the fertile soil of his mother earth to mark the place, it is an acknowledgment that his bosom is made of the general materials of the human affections, and at the same time does honor to his head and heart.

COMPARISONS AND TRAITS OF AMERICAN ANTIQUITIES.

What Manco Capac did in the civilization and arts of Peru, Quetzalcoatl[1] did in Mexico. He taught them arts, and drew them into habits of fixed industry. The native authorities all regard him in this light. They refer to him as a benefactor who had lured them from the forest. They depict him as a man superior in knowledge and energy of character; and the Aztecs, who had shrouded his disappearance under some form of an allegory or mysticism, expected his return from the land of the East. This had been the national expectation; and it was one cause of the Spaniards being hailed, as if Quetzalcoatl had made a new advent in Mexico. Montezuma plainly told Cortez this, after he had, however, in vain exerted his power to resist him.

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[1] This term appears to be a compound from the word *coatl*, a serpent, and an adjective phrase signifying, in a transitive sense, great. It has much the meaning of *gitchikinabik* among the Algonquins. The Toltecs, like the old Phœnicians (Sanconiatha, 196), deemed the serpent tribe to be the most gifted of the animal creation; it was regarded as the most fiery, sacred, and subtle; its image was sculptured in stone, as an ornament to their architecture, and its figure drawn in their picture-writing. It was the symbol of wisdom, as it had been among many of the ancient nations. All other species of the creation moved themselves by feet or wings, but the serpent glided over the ground with great celerity, without either. All other animals and reptiles have eyelids to shield the brightness of their gaze, but this has none. Its glances are the most piercing, betokening the deepest spirit and guile. By having poison at the root of its fangs, it possesses another source of dread. It ascends trees and rocks, and appears to move as if by magic. It lives to a great age, and has the power of casting its skin, and renewing its youth. It is dreaded for its subtlety as much as it was respected for its wisdom. But it was never worshipped, as it is represented to have been by a recent writer. (Squier's Serpent Symbol.) Its sculptured image was placed at the foot of public stairways, by the natives of Mexico and Yucatan, precisely as the lion is sculptured in British architecture, and the eagle is painted in America. Because an Indian carves an owl, hawk, lizard, or snake, on his pipe, does he, therefore, worship the owl, hawk, lizard, or snake?

There was another benign element of civilization in the central American tribes, of which history has lost the trace; though its vestiges present themselves to us in a very striking shape. But whether a portion of the Acolhuan or Tezcocan stock who reached Mexico, according to Clavigero, in 1170, had fled there, or these ruins are due to some foreign source, is unknown. We allude to the people who left the ruins of Palenque, which were first described by Col. Galindo, and have been elaborately illustrated by Waldeck, and more recently by Mr. Stephens. (Incidents Trav. in Cent. Am. and Yucatan.)

This element appears to us, indeed, to be of more ancient date than either that of Cuzco, or Cholulo. The projecting ornament in the ruins of Uxmal, which has been called the elephant's tooth (Stephens' Inc. of Travel in Yucatan, Vol. I., p. 171), resembles the Chinese structures of the oldest dynasty, and is not far removed in style from the angles of the pagodas of the existing period. Nor is the compound cubical ornament of the façade of Iten Itza, dissimilar to a very common ornamental geometrical figure in the buildings, arts, and manufactures of that people. In the ornamental sculptures above the main entrance of the principal edifice at this place (Plate 1, Vol. II., p. 168), we have, in the extravagant and heavy-feathered ornament above the fallen figure, an unmistakable evidence of the Toltec style. The mere fact that these ruins were overgrown by the forest, and forgotten in the traditions of Anahuac, at the period of the discovery, and not, indeed, found or revealed in any manner to the Spanish, till a very late period, is presumptive evidence of great comparative antiquity.

It is denoted by the investigations in Vol. IV., p. 438, Plate 39, that the ancient Peruvians possessed bronze instruments. Both the groups of the tribes of Peru and Mexico were without the ancient distaff; but they possessed the art of drawing out the thread, in a manner which is believed to be precisely analogous to that which now prevails among the Navahoes, and Moqui, and other indigenous tribes of New Mexico. Hand-weaving appears to have been performed in the same manner. (Vol. IV., p. 436, Plates 36, 37.) Their workers in metallurgy had the blow-pipe and the crucible. (Vol. IV., p. 448.) Not having the ox or horse, or having domesticated any animal capable of labor, they had no plow. Lands were cultivated by the use of wooden instruments hardened in the fire.

Allusion has been made to these elementary vestiges in the antique semi-civilized tribes of the south, but as a mere point of transition to the antiquities of the Mississippi valley. In most things, the character of the antique civilization of the southern tribes has been viewed very favorably to their advance in arts and knowledge. In a few particulars, but little noticed, this has not been done. The arts of the semi-civilized tribes of Mexico extended to north latitude about 34°. Towns, with municipal regulations and the industrial habits and manners of the people, were found by the Spanish in the area on the eastern borders of the Gulf of California; extending northward to the river Gila, and to Cibola, the modern Zuni, reaching onward north-eastwardly to Isleta, on the Rio Grande del Norte, and to Quivera and to Pecos, the ancient Cicuyé, east of that stream.[1] The route of Coronado, in 1540–41, is described, in prior pages, from personal examinations of the country. (Vol. IV., p. 21.) It is denoted that the Spanish commander finally reached the sources of Red River, of Louisiana, and the Canadian fork of the river Arkansas. The expedition reached longitude about 104°, and north latitude, 36°—which latter is, indeed, north of the position of Natchez, in the Mississippi valley.

When the English (half a century after Coronado,) landed on the coasts of Virginia, in lat. about 35°, the tribes whom they encountered resembled, indeed, in their physical traits, those of Mexico; but they were in the state of savage hunters. Hudson, in 1609, found the same remark applicable to the Manhattanese and Mohicans of New York; and the same observation was made by the English pilgrims who landed in New England in 1620. Their early writers describe the tribes as being in a very low state of barbarism; and, as dæmon-worshippers, under the power of Ka-mato-wit. (Life of Eliot.) Cartier, who had discovered the St. Lawrence in 1535, six years before Coronado's expedition to New Mexico, describes them as having only the manners and arts of hunters. (Vide Oneöta.) Champlain, the real founder of Canada, in 1609, takes the same view; although he found both generic stocks of the Iroquois and Algonquins, as is perceived from comparisons, a decidedly more athletic, vigorous, and brave people than the Tras-Gila or Mexican tribes. Among the Iroquois, especially, he noticed them to be cultivators of large quantities of the zea-maize, very brave in war, and actuated by the centralized and progressive principles of a confederation of cantons. Colden, indeed, informs us, that the Algonquins had preceded the Iroquois in their attainments; but leaves us to infer, that they fell behind in their power and influence in consequence, mainly, of their want of confederation, the existence of which rendered the Iroquois ONE and united in their efforts, external and internal.[2] (Colden's History of the Five Nations. London.) In this respect they stood out prominently among all the northern tribes, evincing a degree of wisdom and policy that would not have been unworthy of Greeks; and they continued to exercise this influence and standing through all the colonial period, till the close of the American Revolution.

As the other colonies were planted, their leaders concurred in the views originally expressed by their predecessors, of the Indian tribes; and also in the opinion of the very obvious advantage which the politico-agricultural element had given to the Iroquois. Robert de la Salle, in 1678, laid the foundations of Fort Niagara, and proceeded, the following year, to the Mississippi river; of which, through Joliet, the commissioner, and of Marquette, he is the discoverer, at the influx of the Wisconsin. These explorers found the western tribes, as well as the Iroquois, to be cultivators of the zea-maize. But neither himself, nor any of his lieutenants or missionary teachers, make detailed observations on the history, migrations, antiquities, or traditions of the tribes. It was not, in fact, the age for this species of research. The subject of antiquities is never named. It does not appear, from this comparative silence, that during the settlement of New France, the active adventurers and missionaries of the period observed any evidences of skill or arts, which they did not suppose to be common to the existing tribes, or which their predecessors had not erected. Pipes, the nicotiana, sea-shells, copper ornaments, mica, flint-stones, and Indian corn, were objects of native traffic. They viewed the entrenchments and ditches formed to protect villages from the sudden attacks of hostile bands, as requiring no labor which the population was not adequate to bestow, or which called for remark. The heaps, or mounds of earth, at that period, were regarded as simple mausolea for the dead. It was not necessary to imagine a state of arts and semi-civilization which, at best, was very far inferior to what the same race of tribes had performed, a few degrees further south, in a far superior manner.

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[1] See Plate 3, Vol. IV., p. 38.

[2] Before this, the Five Nations fought against each other, and built forts to defend themselves. (Oneöta, N. Y. 1845.)

When De Soto marched through Florida, searching for cities, and towns, and mines, and arts, which he did not find, he observed, as he passed through the magnificent plains and forests, tetrahedal, or platform-mounds, and small tumuli or burial-mounts, and other elevations, which were familiar sights to the Spanish eye, accustomed as it had been to the monuments of the south. They resisted him in one or two strongly-built, wooden forts. It did not appear to the historiographers of the times, as denoting nations of greater degrees of civilization than the North American Indians generally. He found the fortifications of Mauvila, on the Mobile, and of Alabama, on the banks of the Yazoo, capable of sustaining sieges. It was not remarkable to him that the Chitanqualgi worshipped the Sun. This was a familiar thing to him in scenes where he had before fought. He had himself taken the sceptre out of the hands of Atahulpa, on the heights of the Andes.

Louisiana was colonized late in the 17th century. Lasalle made the effort in 1683; a settlement had been made at Bolixi, in 1699, but New Orleans was not founded till 1717. This was ten years after the settlement of Vincennes in the country of the Illinois (Law's paper), and sixteen after the establishment of a military post at Detroit, and full eight-and-thirty years, agreeably to my own researches, after the foundation of old Michilimackinac—the *Peckwutinong* of the Indians—on the peninsula of Michigan. This view opens the panorama of the settlements in the Mississippi valley, and the great chain of lakes. The French admired the tribes, and spoke well and warmly of their character; but it did not appear to them that they possessed arts, or any power of applying labor, beyond that of their actual condition as foresters. They made bows and arrows, clubs, and spears, skilfully. They carved their pipes artistically, from statites and other soft material. They chose the sites of their villages often on eminences, which denoted good taste, and a poetic feeling, and surrounded them often with pickets. They buried their dead in mounds, or simple graves, with pictographic head-posts. Fires were often lighted on these at night. No discrimination was made between new and ancient works of this kind, which latter had been often abandoned from sickness, fear, or superstition. When the Neuter Nation and their allies, the Andastes and Eries, built forts to sustain themselves against the attacks of the Iroquois, between 1635 and 1655, the period of their first overthrow, it did not appear to the French an exercise of military art beyond the general condition of the tribes. Neither did such an impression result from the train of explorers, civil and religious, who, in 1678, followed in the track of La Salle, in his explorations of the west. Marquette expresses no surprise at the "earthen pots," or shapely "calumets" of native manufacture, in the tribes he passed amongst. He saw nothing of antiquarian value to notice, though he must have seen the Totemic mounds of the Wisconsin, and the platform mound at the ancient site of Prairie du Chien; nor do D'Ablon, Alloez, Le Clerq, or Membre, in their numerous adventures, extending through the whole area of the Upper Mississippi valley, at that period, express a syllable on the topic. (Vide Shea.) Charlevoix, in 1721, travelled through the Indian country of New France, from Quebec to Michilimackinac, and thence to the Mississippi, which he descended to New Orleans, without seeming himself to have passed antiquarian vestiges attributable to any other races of men except the ancestors of the existing tribes. He regards the tribes whom he had visited — namely, from the mouth of the Mississippi, lat. 30°, to the banks of Lake Superior at Chagoimegon, or Sandy river[1] — as one in manners, customs, and history.

In the year 1749, the Marquis de la Galissonière, Governor-General of Canada, directed medals, with inscriptions, to be deposited in the soil at the mouths of the principal rivers in the west, as an evidence of the occupancy of the country by the French. One of these, consisting of a leaden plate, was discovered near the confluence of the Muskingum with the Ohio, about 1816 to '20. (Arch. Amer., Vol. II., p. 535.) The contest for the possession of that country, between the French and English, began so early to assume importance. Sir William Johnson had sent his agents to the far west, as far as the Scioto, in 1748. (Vol. IV., p. 605.) In 1754, Fort Du Quesne was founded at the junction of the Alleghany and the Monongahela. The only remains of it known to posterity were discovered in the summer of 1854 (just a century after its erection), by some workmen engaged in excavations for a rail-road, who found vestiges of the magazine. (Braddock's Exp., p. 184.) By far the most striking evidence of the French struggle for dominion, is the mess-house of old Fort Niagara, built in 1678, whose well-cemented stone walls are in a good state of preservation at this day. But this is far from being the *earliest* evidence of French enterprise. The stone bastions of old Fort Michilimackinac, cemented in like manner, still exist to tell the wide-spread influence the French exerted over the Indian tribes. (Vide Plate 53, Vol. II.) There is reason to believe that the zealous missionaries had founded the mission of St. Mary, at the outlet of Lake Superior, in 1654. The only vestiges of the mission and post, in 1822, when an American garrison arrived at that position, consisted of some of the bones interred in the grave-yard of the chapel; and the rude brass handle of a sword, the blade having been wholly oxydized, which was disclosed by some excavations.

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[1] Lat. 46°, 35′, 20″. Douglass' Nar. Ex. Ex. Sources of the Mississippi, p. 290.

It is important carefully to distinguish between the antiquarian vestiges of the early French, and of the Indian occupancy. Many of the articles of each period have been confounded, because they have been found in the same locations, and some of them in the same graves or sepulchres. This is the case with all articles of glass-beads, enamel, and porcelain, transparent or opake, and all substances requiring vitrification. (Vide Vol. I., Plate 25, Fig. 7 to 13.) It has even been thought, that pipes of pottery, of the peculiar kind figured in Plate 9, Vol. I., were used, at ancient dates, by the common people of France, Germany, and Holland, and are consequently of European make. Many antique articles of enamel, glass, lead, &c., found in the settlement of the Onondaga country, and in upper Louisiana and Illinois, are wholly due to the early French periods. (See Appendix No. 3.) The antique Indian gorget and medal, Fig. 29, 30, Plate 25, Vol. I., and Plate 18, Fig. 3, were made from the conch.

Prior to the confederation of the cantons of the Iroquois, those tribes erected forts, to defend themselves against each other. The Muscoculges and Choctaws practised this art of defence during the early expeditions of the Spaniards in Florida. The Wyandots were found to have a notable work at Hochelaga, on the first visit of Cartier, and the Tuscaroras might have successfully defended themselves, in 1712, on the Neuse, in North Carolina, had not the colonists brought cannon. It is surprising how soon the Indian arts fell into disuse, after the introduction of the higher order of European arts Bartram, on entering Georgia and Florida, in 1773, found the remains of earthen structures on the sources of the Atamaha, which, from their plan and outline, he pronounced as of a former race; but after he became familiar with the Muscogees, he found the same arts and plans still in use. (Travels, 53, 93.) He mentions a peculiar species of earth-works, which were erected, by the existing race, as mounds of refuge from the effects of floods: p. 323. It appears that the rivers which pour from the Appalachian south, into the Gulf of Mexico, rise with such rapidity as often to endanger villages on the bottom lands. Artificial mounts are erected on these bottoms, for escape, and have a raised way, to connect them with the high grounds. Col. Hawkins, in his sketch of the Creek country, in 1798, mentions similar mounds of escape on the banks of the leading rivers. These observers disclose a fact believed to be of some importance in estimating the age of antiquities. It is this—that vestiges and remains of ancient towns and villages are on the lowest grounds, being the first positions selected. In these places they resided till the suddenness of the rise of the rivers taught them their insecurity.

There is another fact, in regard to American antiquities, which deserves attention. It is the geological changes, in the surface of the country, which have supervened. Accumulations of soil along the rivers have buried the older antiquities to a considerable depth, and large forests are found, in some situations, growing on these new deposits of alluvion. Such is the case on the banks of the Arkansas and White rivers, where the archæological evidences of ancient metallurgic operations are covered by the river soil and forests. (My Adventures in the Ozarks.) Such is, also, the position of some of the antiquarian vestiges in the great lake basins. In 1834, a vase was discovered at Thunder Bay, on Lake Huron, at the base of the roots of a large hemlock tree, which had been torn up by a tempest, bringing to the surface a large mass of clay-soil, many feet in depth. This vase contained a pipe of earthen-ware, which is figured in Plate 8 (1, 2, 3,) Fig. 1; together with some dorsal fish-bones, which may have been employed as instruments. In the St. Mary's valley, a well-hammered copper chisel (Plate 21, Fig. 2, Vol. I.), was raised from the soil, at several feet depth.

In the beginning of 1855, discoveries were made on Isle Royal, Lake Superior, by persons mining for copper there, which denoted that antique labors of the same kind had been performed at the same place. A series of ancient pits were opened, on the line of one of the copper veins, to the depth of four or five feet. In these excavations, now filled with accumulations of soil, pieces of flattened copper were found, together with stone hammers, with the marks of hard usage. These old excavations in the trap rock seem to have been made by burning wood in contact with the rock, and then breaking it up with stone hammers. A large quantity of charred wood, coal, and ashes, is invariably found in these pits. A piece of oak wood, in the bottom of one of them, was, with a portion of the bank, in a good state of preservation. One end shows the marks of the instrument by which it was cut as plainly as if it had been just done. It is the most perfect specimen of the kind yet seen. The stick is about five inches in diameter, and seems to have been cut standing, by a right-handed person, with an instrument similar to an axe, having a bit at least two-and-a-half inches broad. The first blow penetrated, in the usual slanting direction, about three-fourths of an inch, cutting the bark smoothly, and leaving at its termination the mark of a sharp-edged tool. The antiquity of these excavations does not appear to be great—not probably anterior to the first arrival of the French in this lake.

On the banks of the Ontonagon river, there were found several implements and pieces of native copper, of the same apparent age. In preparing a brick-yard, about a mile above the mouth of the river, two feet of sand was removed from the surface, when a stratum of clay was exposed. Digging still lower, about six or eight inches, into the clay, and overturning a stump, these articles were brought to light:—

First, a copper spear, about fourteen inches in length, and at its base a groove or dovetail is made, in which to insert a wooden shaft or handle.

Two other spears, each about twelve inches in length, and similar to the first.

Third, two pieces of copper that had evidently been very nicely forged, but for what purposes they could ever have been applied, is by no means plain; and it is quite difficult to give in writing a clear description of them.

These are about fourteen inches long and two inches wide. Upon one end there is the appearance of an attempt to make a cutting edge.

They weigh about three pounds each, and are specimens of good workmanship. Similar indications of metallurgic industry, at a former epoch, have been noticed in California, in the gold mining districts.

About a mile above the town of Portersfield, or lower crossing of Sutter's Creek, some miners, while engaged in mining in a flat, at the depth of five feet from the surface, discovered a rastra or mill, such as is now used for grinding quartz. There is every appearance of this rastra having been used, as a quantity of crushed stone was found in it. Extensive veins of gold-bearing quartz and rich ravines, have been found in this vicinity, near one of which this wonder is to be seen.

From New Mexico we hear like accounts of the labors of a civilization which claims to be due to very ancient and forgotten periods. "Properly speaking," says a correspondent, "there are but two valleys in New Mexico—the most extensive is that of the Rio Grande; the other, as yet, the Pecos, is not fully explored—on these streams depends the agricultural interest of the country—should either go dry, starvation and famine would ensue. From north to south they flow nearly parallel, and distant fifty miles from their sources (which are near together), about sixty miles apart until they flow into Texas. The valley of the Rio Grande is thickly inhabited in all its length; not so with the Pecos, for the habitations of cultivators of the soil do not extend farther than Anton Chicon. There are many evidences existing, however, that in olden times the Pecos valley was the most numerously inhabited, and report says that a reservoir leads from that river as large as a wagon-wheel, full forty miles in length, to the ruins of a town near the east side of the Sarento mountains, that covers in space over two miles square—some of the corners of the houses still exist, three stories high, built of sun-dried brick, and the streets regularly laid out in rectangular form—there are no signs of cultivation near this town—directly before it, *i. e.* to the east, lies a low, flat prairie, frequently a lake, but in dry time a salt plain; wood is exceeding scarce near it—and why, or for what purpose this town was built, at what date settled, and when destroyed?—are mystifications that puzzle all."

Pl 15

INDIAN DEVICES SCULPTURED ON ROCK AT INDEPENDENCE, OHIO

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A strong disposition to exaggerate the importance of these, and the like discoveries, is manifested by the public press. Egypt and Assyria, and the Oriental world, are at once quoted, without remembering that the art of mining and the mechanical powers were perfectly developed, in those countries, at very early epochs, and not, by any means, confined to the mere hammering out of copper, and other native metals in very rude forms. This disposition shows itself, not only in respect to the working of mines, but to other classes of antiquities.

Prior to 1820, an owl, well carved in stone, and of artistic proportions, was found in a tumulus in Ohio. Subsequently, a lizard, carved as an ornament to a pipe, was discovered in some excavations in the St. Mary's valley. What rendered this remarkable was, its being carved out of a compact piece of carbonate of lime. About 1847, numerous specimens of these imitations were found in the class of small altar-mounds in the valley of the Scioto. They are, in all cases, it is believed, ornaments of the stone-pipe, which appear, in the latter cases, to have been acted on by fire. They were, generally, carved from the secondary grits of the Silurian strata of Ohio. But are these discoveries evidences that the people were sculptors of a higher grade than the Red Race? — or that they possessed manners of superior refinement and polish?

Attention has been called, in the prior volumes (I., II., III., IV.), to the readiness and dexterity of the hunter tribes in pictography, as a mode of ideographic notation, inferior, indeed, both in its style and execution, to the Mexican picture-writing, but still exhibiting, in the rock inscriptions, that general desire of the human heart, to be remembered. This method has been traced, in its various forms, from New England to the Rocky mountains. Recently, a specimen of this pictography, rude indeed, has been found on the shores of Lake Erie, at Independence, in Ohio. (Vide Plate XV., Fig. 1 to 13.) "The stone," observes an eye-witness, "was taken from a sand-stone quarry. This sandstone belongs to the formation which our geologists sometimes call the 'sandstone grit,' and is the same as the Berea stone. The rock to which this piece belonged the quarrymen found covered with earth and trees; and a maple, not less than eighteen inches through at the stump, stood on this particular portion. When the surface of the rock was uncovered, there appeared thirteen figures, of different sizes, cut into the rock with great distinctness and much mechanical skill. Sharp-pointed metallic tools were evidently used by the sculptors. Some of the figures are cut a full inch deep. That they are not fossil, as has been suggested, but mechanical, is most obvious.

Of the thirteen figures, two were figures of men, of life size. These were ruined before their importance was perceived by the discoverers, and no good description of them is preserved.

The remaining eleven figures occupy the slab mentioned above, which is six feet by four. They consist of — 1, a large, crooked serpent, with a flat head. This figure occupies the centre and left of the slab, and is about six feet long — 2, over it is a cut resembling a lobster, very distinct—3, forward, or immediately to the right of this cut, is a figure too much defaced to be identified, but which appears to some eyes to be an eagle. It is, perhaps, one foot long, and of equal breadth—4 and 5, to the right of 1 and 2, are two deeply-cut figures, resembling a human hand, but of small size, and supposed to be tracks of animals—6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11, are tracks of animals, apparently buffaloes, and occupy the lower part, and extreme right of the slab. The position of these figures indicates that all the objects which they represent looked or moved north-west.

In respect to date and formation, these figures evidently belong to the class, a specimen of which has been found on the rocks of Cunningham's Island, near Sandusky City. Does the inscription on the Dighton rock belong to the same? Mr. Schoolcraft has copied the inscription of Cunningham's Island into the work on the Indians which he has edited under the direction of the general government. (Plates 40, 41, Vol. III.)

There are earth-works on the Cuyahoga river adjacent to the original location of these inscriptions, such as abound in this State, and which are ascribed to ancient races of Indians. The mounds and the sculptures will be naturally attributed to the work of one people, though the inscriptions are not known to have been found near the mounds elsewhere, as in this instance. Have readers similar facts which will throw light on the origin and meaning of these works?" (Vide Appendix No. 3.)

There is nothing, perhaps, which constitutes an object of greater interest, as traits of existing Indian art, than those delicately-wrought and artistic arrow-heads of obsidian which the Pacific coast tribes of Oregon and California execute. Even the tribes on the Rocky mountains, who draw their means of subsistence from the lowest orders of animated nature, exhibit the same skill in the construction of this instrument. (Vide Plate 36, Vol. I.) Yet these tribes are of the most normal grades of hunters, living in shelters and caves, little superior to the beast, and have never erected, so far as we can infer, a building equal, in its mechanical requisites, to the granary, or even poultry yard, of civilized society.

Of the principles of natural fortification, by occupying hills and defiles, the ancestors of the present race of Indians have availed themselves often, in a most admirable manner. Their works were accurately suited to the enemy they had to encounter, and the localities where they were likely to meet in conflict. They surrounded a camp or village with a ditch and palisade. They occupied a defile, in which a few could resist many. They threw lunettes on a commanding eminence. They excavated orifices in the earth, to shield themselves from arrows. They made the entrances to the gates of forts intricate for the enemy to penetrate. They sometimes constructed a hay-cock mound or rampart before it. They even occupied, with lines and works, the entire summit of a narrow abrupt hill, making a talus, as that which Dr. Lock has described, in 1838, as existing in Adams county, in Ohio. (Vide Appendix 3.) Their works were all intended for defence against the simple missiles of the hunter state. But they and their generations were strangers to the higher principles of the Vaubanic art. Bartram, a writer and traveller of eminent merit, as a naturalist, and close observer of the Indian arts and society, who, in 1773, passed through their territories from Florida to the Mississippi, speaks often of the "Indian mounts or tumuli, and terraces—monuments of the ancients" terms applied by him to Indian nations who had preceded the then existing stocks. Tradition among them had denoted such prior occupants, of manners and customs like themselves, whom they had displaced. The great Muscoge or Muscogulgee confederacy was then at its height. The Natchez had fallen forty years before. The Utches had been conquered; and, with the Coosidas and Alabamas, had become a part of "The Nation," a term commonly applied to them in the south. He had observed some works of this ancient race of tribes, and particularly a stone sepulchre at Keowe (p. 370), of which tradition ascribed the origin to these "ancients." Yet, he closes his travels with this observation — "Concerning the monuments of Americans, I deem it necessary to observe, as my opinion, that none of them that I have seen discover the least signs of the arts, sciences, or architecture of the Europeans, or other inhabitants of the old world; yet evidently betray every mark of the most distant antiquity:" (p. 524.)

In the view which has been given of antiquities, which formerly covered the American forests, it appears evident, if we dismiss the class of intrusive vestiges of the Copenhagen period, that they preserve a parallelism with the manners, customs, and arts of the tribes. They seldom or never rise above it — and where they do, we have reason at once to suspect the intrusive foot of the ante-Columbian European. While the arts of the northern tribes had a manifest prototype in the tribes of the central and equinoxial regions of the continent, they did not keep a parity of advance with the southern tribes. The arts of the latter culminated in teocalli of stone, tumuli, and temples—and in despotisms founded on a very strong religious element. The former terminated in terraces of earth, square platforms, mounds of refuge from floods, and of sepulchre, and of sacrifice; and continued to retain the government of chiefs and councils, composed, in part, of the independent warrior class, with a voluntary priesthood, supported by opinion, and having so simple and typical a ritual, that they often appeared to have none at all. The very magnificence of the forests, rivers, and lakes of the northern hemisphere, wooed them to the life of hunters and nomades. The division into clans, and tribes, and languages, became multiform, as a matter of course. Where there is no written language, and of course no standard of comparison, the change in the sounds of words goes on rapidly; while the great principles of utterance, or general grammar, remain. Mere change of accent, under such circumstances, produced a dialect. The exploits of hunting and war were carried to the greatest extent. Agriculture and drudgery remained, as we found it in 1600, in the hands of females, and boys, and old men. The war spirit led to fortifications. They felled trees, not by cutting them down with sharp instruments, but by surrounding the trunks with girdling fires, and the use of the coal-hatchet, or peck. (Vol. I., Plate XIV.)

They fortified the strong and commanding parts of hills and peninsulas, by digging ditches around them—often a whole village was thus defended. The principle of the Tlascallan gate is found in several of the still existing vestiges. (Plate 4, Vol. I.) They raised large tumuli to the dead, as at Cahokia and Grave Creek, wherever the strength of a village had admitted, or the respect paid to their heroes or sages demanded it. They pursued veins of native copper on the surface, as we see on Lake Superior, or a few feet below it, by building fires to heat the matrix or enclosing rock, and pouring on water to crumble it. Mauls of hard stone were used to beat off the rock, after it had been rendered friable by heat. A sapling, with its limbs cut short, made a practical ladder to descend into pits. (Plate 16.) Did not the Toltecs and Aztecs mine the same metal by the same rustic process?

With regard to garments, the dressed skins of animals formed the staple reliance. They were often prepared with great skill, and ornamented with the quills of the porcupine, dyed grass or sinews, and sea-shells. Court dresses had a mantle of soft skins, covered with plates of mica, which made a conspicuous covering. Small and beautiful species of sea-shells were strung with wreaths for the neck. The heavy conch, with its flesh-colored nacre, was cut into medals, with orifices artistically bored horizontally through the plates. (Plate 25, Fig. 29, 30.) They wrought disks for public games out of the hardest porphyry. (Plate 23, Vol. II.) Their canoes of bark and wood, their war-clubs of heavy iron-wood, or maple, their bows and arrows, tipped with the finest darts of chert, quartz, or chalcedony — their bowls, pots, and household implements of wood, stone, and pottery, have been often the topic of admiration.

Their old men liked to talk of their ancestry. All nations like to discourse on this subject. The old times were always the best, with our Indians. Their chiefs, their laws, their manners, their very morals and languages, as they told me in the north, were purer and better. Speaking of the earth-works of the Mississippi, Decoign of Kaskaskia referred them to his ancestors. (Vol. IV., Antiquities.) As to the class of intrusive antiquities, Indian traditions have not entirely failed to reach them. Wappockanita, a Shawnee chief, one hundred and twenty years old, referred them to white men who had once lived in the Ohio valley. (Maculloch, p. 211.) It seems, therefore, that both in North, as well as South America, the white man has had an influence on, if he was not the originator of, the higher arts of civilization. The progress of discovery leads to the expectation, that we may yet, by a course of patient investigation, receive new lights on this subject.

But human art cannot long withstand the phasis of barbarism, any more than Indian skill in works or fabrics can resist the introduction of civilization. How long, it may be inquired, would these arts continue to be cultivated, after European fabrics were introduced, when the price of a few beaver-skins would clothe a man in a robe of scarlet or green list cloth, or fine blue broad-cloth, from English looms? When a few pounds of stout linen net twine could be bought for the skin of the smallest

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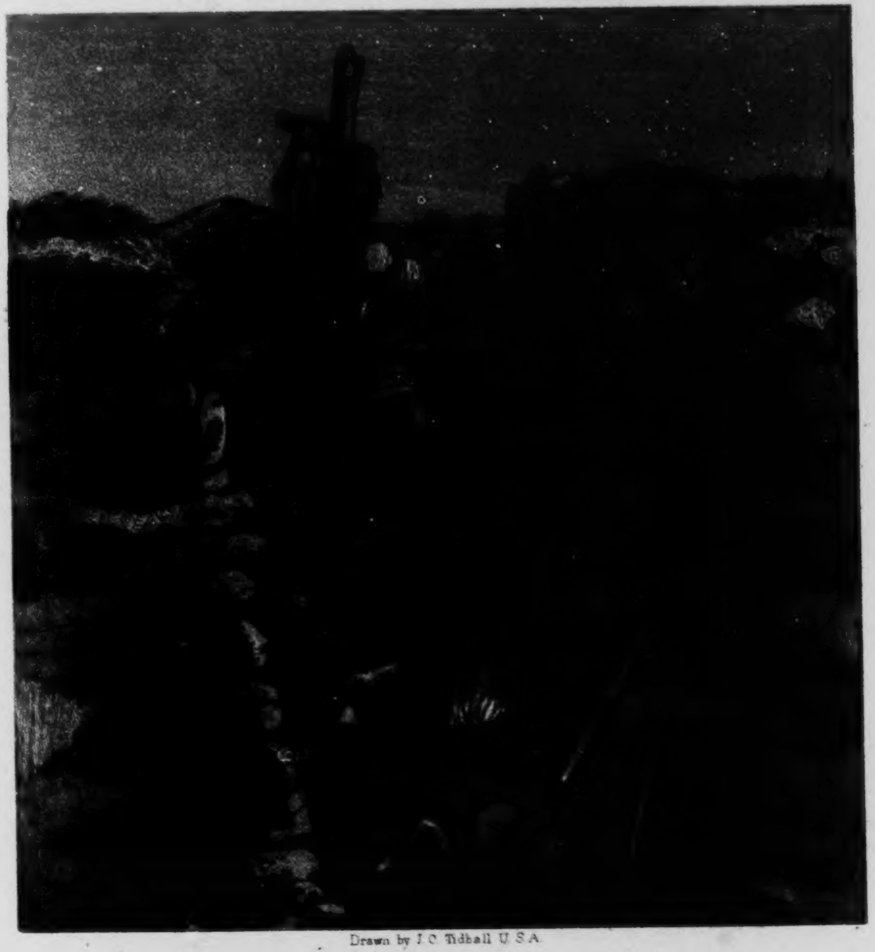
Plate 1[illegible]

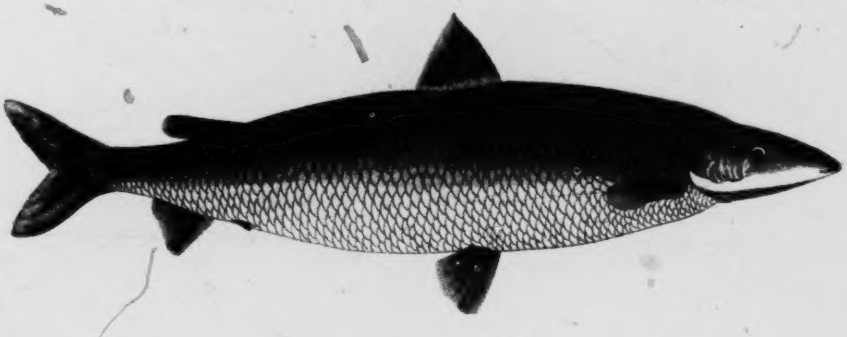
Fig 1



Drawn by J. C. Tidball U.S.A.

ANCIENT MINING ON LAKE SUPERIOR

Fig 2



WHITE FISH — SUSTENANCE OF ANCIENT MINERS

[illegible] & Sons

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mustela, and half-a-dozen muskrats would procure as many of the best steel fish-hooks and needles as an Indian family would require in a year? How long would an Indian use a stone, after he could get an iron tomahawk—or a blade of flint or obsidian, after he could get a knife of steel? Would the heavy, clumsy Indian clay-pot, the fragments of which now cover, or lie scattered over the territory of the United States, stand long in the commercial contest against the light brass or copper kettle? Would the heavy *multatos*, or state beaver-robe, be worn by the Indian chiefs and magistrates, when its value in merchandize would clothe a family? Would the bow and arrow compete in trade, as an arm, in hunting or warfare, a single year, in a band that could procure fusils, and powder, and flint? A rude Indian breast-work, or an open Tlascallan or barricade gate, could not be long trusted for defence, when a few cannon-shots would demolish these light structures. Instead of the Vesperic tribes maintaining the arts which they knew and practised at the opening of the 16th century, to the present time, against the influx of the far better and cheaper articles of European manufacture, it would be most extraordinary if the native skill and handicraft cunning had not rapidly declined. It would be remarkable if such a race of men, who have only verbal traditions to refer to, and who, living under the stimulus of indulgence and enmity, forget to-day what they knew yesterday, should not, with their sensual and nonchalant habits, have forgotten even a knowledge of their antiquarian vestiges.

IV. GEOGRAPHY. E.

[5th Paper, Title IV.]

TITLE IV.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, GEOGRAPHY.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE IV.

TITLE IV., LET. A., VOL. I. [1ST PAPER.]

Geographical Data respecting the Unexplored Area at the remote Sources of the Mississippi. Character of the Gold Deposit discovered in 1848, on the Territories of the California Indians. Reported Discovery of Tin on the Kansaw Lands. Lead, Copper, and Silver Ores on the Lands of the Winnebagoes, Menomonies, and Chippewas. Petroleum on the Chickasaw Lands, West. Saline Borings in the Country of the Onondagas. Geography of the Ancient Domain of the Iroquois in Western New York. Lake Action in the Area of Lake Superior. Antique Bones discovered on the Grounds of the Osages. Description of the Oneida Stone. Description of the Chippewa and Sioux Lands which constitute the Territory of Minnesota.

TITLE IV., LET. B., VOL. II. [2D PAPER.]

Natural Caves in the Sioux Country, on the Upper Mississippi. Data illustrating the Character and Value of the Country of the Yuma and Diegunos Indians, in Southern California, along the surveyed line of boundary between San Diego and the mouth of the River Gila.

TITLE IV., LET. C., VOL. III. [3D PAPER.]

Inquiries respecting the Character and Value of the Indian Country in the United States, with a Map of the Area still possessed by them. Further Facts respecting the Saline Strata of Onondaga. A Geographical Reconnoissance of the Indian Country in California, situated between San Francisco and the boundary of Oregon, being west of the Sacramento River, with estimates of the Indian Population, and sundry illustrative facts.

TITLE IV., LET. D., VOL. IV. [4TH PAPER.]

Geography of the Indian Country. The Area of the United States still possessed by the Indian Tribes, and its ultimate division into States and Territories. The Policy of early designating Refuges for the Tribes. Sectional View of the Great Lake Basins—being the ancient seats of the Algonquin and Iroquois power, and their striking inter-oceanic position between the Atlantic and Mississippi Valley Tribes. The Sources of the Mississippi a suitable position as a Refuge for the Chippewas.

TITLE IV., LET. E., VOL. V. [5TH PAPER.]

Present Geographical Position of the Indian Tribes of the United States.

GEOGRAPHY.

PRESENT GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE changes which have occurred in the position of the Indians of this country, constitute one of the most striking traits in their history. Once spread out along the Atlantic and the Gulf coasts, from the St. John's, in Maine, to the mouths of the Mississippi and the Rio Grande, not a tribe remains on its original hunting-grounds. Some remnants of them have betaken themselves to nooks and corners of their once wide domain, where they linger, in dreams of a pleasing forest philosophy, in thinking on the past. A few men, who yet show, by a piebald costume, a preference for the tastes of their fathers, are found to gain a subsistence as lumbermen on the banks of the Penobscot — delighted with the fierce and wild currents of waters, where they once guided their canoes. Others, living on the stormy coasts of Cape Cod, and the islands of Massachusetts, attached as gulls are to their sea-rocks, have adopted the vocation of seamen and whalers. The converts of the days of Eliot and the Mayhews, are gone. The fiery and subtle Pokanoket, King Philip, no longer alarms the disturbed Pilgrims of England; who dared hardly turn to the right or the left for fear of the scalping-knife. Uncas has joined his great rival, Miantonimo, in the land of spirits; and if the ghosts of red men come back to visit their hunting-grounds, Tamenund, the St. Tammany of our history, stalks over his old island of Manhattan, literally, the place of the whirlpool, called Hell-gate, to ask what all this incessant clamor of ships, and buildings, and temples, and the endless roar of wheels and carriages, night and day, imports? The once haughty Iroquois, who trod the earth with a high step, has withdrawn to one of those nooks on the western skirts of his once lordly patrimony, where he ploughs the soil and drives oxen. He no longer, like the ancient Idumæn chiefs, holds the olive-branch in one hand and the tomahawk in the other, to sway the destinies of councils. His simple and proud eloquence is no longer exerted to hurl irony at La Barre, from the tongue of a Garrangula, or touch the deepest recesses of the human heart, with the appeals of a Logan. The conquered Lenni Lenapees are no longer cowed down in council, with the keen reproof of a Canassatigo—"who gave you authority to sell lands?" The Eries have not come back to occupy the position from which they were driven, from near the vicinage of the ceaseless roaring of the Niagara. The Susquehannocks have never wandered from the symbolic hunting-grounds to which they were suddenly dispatched by the Iroquois tomahawks. The Powhatans, who once swept the forests of the Potomac, the Rappahannock, and the princely James river, are no more alarmed by traces of the footsteps of the sanguinary Massawomacks, who have ranged the heights and skirts of the Alleghanies a thousand miles, to wrench off the scalps of a Mannahoac, an Erie, a Catawba, or a Cherokee.

The position of the tribes is wholly changed. The Arabian magician could scarcely have done it more quickly, or, at least, more effectively. The Alleghanies, which cost a British and colonial army such peril to cross, in 1755, have been surmounted without an effort; and the Ohio valley, so often essayed by the sword, has at last been conquered by the plough. The tribes have learned this art from the white man. And they have gone west, beyond the Father of Rivers, with the implements of peace in their hands. The Delawares now plant corn on the banks of the Kansas, or hunt the deer in Texas. The Mohicans, who once attracted the love of Zinzendorf and his brethren, and who so long and prominently, under Edwards, enjoyed the care of the London Society for propagating the Gospel, yet linger, in fragmentary bands, in eastern Wisconsin, or share the hospitality of their Delaware brethren west of the Missouri. There are found, also, spread out over the territorial length of Kansas, the Shawanees, the true Parthians of our history—the Miamis, who so long battled for the Wabash—the elementary bands of the once famous Illinois—and the numerous other tribes of the wide-spreading Algonquin stock. Pontiac no longer battles for nationality at Detroit, nor Minniwawinna at Michilimackinac.

The whole Atlantic coasts are as free from the footsteps and presence of those once proud, populous, and dominant races, as the ruins of Palmyra are from the tread of their builders—unless, indeed, we admit an exception in behalf of those delegates from the tribes of the west, who, having adopted arts, letters, and Christianity, visit the City of the Republic periodically to inquire into their affairs.

The wilderness has ever been a very attractive position to the Indian. If it is emblematical to him of the promised paradise to the hunter soul hereafter, apparently it is not less so to the man while here. So early as 1796, before the United States were developed, while Louisiana was still under Spanish rule, two of the most active, restless, and enterprising of the Algonquin group of tribes, namely, the Shawnees and the Delawares, made arrangements for crossing the Mississippi, and occupying positions in the central and wild parts of that province. They were followed, in the design of finding better hunting-grounds, about 1816, at the close of the war with Great Britain, by a part of the Cherokees, who, in the treaty with the United States, of 1817, secured the right to occupy a tract therein referred to, lying on the northern borders of the

Arkansas. Small bands and remnants of tribes, of the Gulf shores and lower parts of Louisiana, had, at earlier dates, passed into the region of the Red River and its tributaries. It is not the object of this sketch to describe the order and progress of the movement of the tribes west. Causes were in operation, as the settlements were developed, to produce voluntary migration to a region which offered advantages to a hunter population. It will suffice to say, that a period of forty years, from the first separation and emigration of the Cherokees, has transferred to the west of the Mississippi all the elder, and what may be termed, *home* tribes, who were situated south of north latitude 46° 45′ 35″. (Douglass' Ex. Exp. Sour. Miss., p. 140.)

The introduction of gunpowder and fire-arms among the American tribes, has produced the great changes in Indian industry. The fur trade had, at first, stimulated the chase, and roused up the Indian hunter to greater activity. But it at length reacted; and, by furnishing him greater facilities to gratify his tastes, produced depopulation and weakness. His lands have been quickly denuded of game, remaining an encumbrance on his hands; but, at the same time, best fitting it for an advancing white agricultural population. By ceding these surplus territories, from time to time, he has repaired the declining fortunes of the fur trade, and had the means of subsistence and clothing. Taking annuities in money has had a dissipating, if not a paralyzing effect; for, while the periodical possession of wealth, which could not be prudently expended, has not only operated as a bar to industry, but fostered his native bias for a life of ease, freedom, and idleness, scarcely any thing has been thought of, when want began to impinge, but to continue the course of cessions, and fly to remoter locations in the West. Thus the entire maritime borders of the colonies were originally relinquished; and we have seen him in our own day cross, at separate points, the Alleghanies and the Mississippi; and the east line of the expatriated and colonized tribes now rests on the Missouri.

For the names and relative positions of the tribes in their western locations, reference is made to Plate 24, Vol. IV. Their numbers, names, and statistics, generally, are given in detail in the succeeding tables. (Vide Population and Statistics.) The present location of all the tribes within the Union, is shown by Plate 21, Vol. III. The position of the tribes in Oregon is delineated in Plate 26, Vol. III. Recent information from that region, derived from an officer who has served in the country he describes, is exhibited in the Appendix, No. 4.

The name of Oregon is derived from the Spanish word for the artimesia, or wild sage. This plant is found in the country east of the Cascade mountains, to the Rocky mountains, and to the sources of the Nebraska. By the early Spanish traders from Santa Fé, it was called *Orégano*. The oldest mountain men corrupted this term to *Oregan*. (Appendix, No. 4.)

V. TRIBAL ORGANIZATION, HISTORY, AND GOVERNMENT. E.

[5TH PAPER, TITLE V.]

TITLE V.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, TRIBAL ORGANIZATION, HISTORY, AND GOVERNMENT.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE V.

TITLE V., LET. A., VOL. I. [1st Paper.]

Generic Remarks on the Groups of Tribes in the United States.

1. Shoshonee or Snake Indians.
2. Indians of Oregon, the Rocky Mountains, and Pacific Coasts.
3. Comanches, and Texas Tribes generally.
4. Indian Tribes of New Mexico.
5. Dacotahs of the Mississippi, with respect to their Medical Knowledge.
6. Missouri Valley Indians, as affected by Smallpox.
7. Tribes on the Santa Fé Trail.
8. Muscogees or Creeks.
9. Massachusetts Indians.
10. Indian Population of Kentucky.
11. Menomonies and Chippewas.
12. Mascotins and Assiguaigs.
13. Chickasaws.

TITLE V., LET. B., VOL. II. [2d Paper.]

14. Niuni or Comanche Nation.
15. Ojibwas — their Traditions.
16. Sioux or Dacotahs, (*a*.)

TITLE V., LET. C., VOL. III. [3d Paper.]

17. Iroquois Republic.
18. Tribes of Oregon and California.
19. Sioux or Dacotah Proper, (*b*.)
20. Mandans.
21. Iowas, (*a*.)
22. Iowas and Sacs, (*b*.)
23. Hochungaras.
24. Winnebagoes, (*a*.)
25. Eries, (*a*.)
26. Catawbas.
27. Pimos of the Gila.
28. Moqui of New Mexico.

TITLE V., LET. D., VOL. IV. [4TH PAPER.]

29. Eries, (*b*.)
30. The Neutral Nation.
31. Navajoes of New Mexico.
32. New Mexican Tribes generally.
33. Root-Diggers, &c., of California.
34. Winnebagoes, (*b*.)
35. Mascoutins — a lost Tribe.

TITLE V., LET. E., VOL. V. [5TH PAPER.]

1. TRIBAL INFLUENCE AND GENERAL CHARACTER.

36. Alleghans.
37. Delawares.
38. Chippewas.
39. Oneidas.
40. Onondagas.
41. Kenistenos.
42. Athapascas.
43. Blackfeet.
44. Pillagers.
45. Michigamies.
46. Utahs.
47. Apachees.
48. California Tribes.
49. Pennacooks.

V. TRIBAL ORGANIZATION, HISTORY, AND GOVERNMENT. E.

1. TRIBAL INFLUENCE AND GENERAL CHARACTER.

In their manners and customs, arts and antiquities, and in their physical and mental traits and character, the Indian tribes are very much alike. All that relates to their origin and general history, admits of the same degree of generalization. It is the same with those characteristic traits which constitute the object of particular inquiry by the physiologist, the moralist, and the philosopher. It is only when we come to discuss their languages, and their tribal histories, within the period of their vicinage to European civilization, since the discovery of the continent, that their history begins vividly to instruct, and assumes coherence. It is as tribes that they attract that species of deep interest which links the sympathies of the human heart in the fate and fortunes of a race, who appear to havè been the first pioneers, in the dispersion of man, on the continent. All which we can be truly said to possess, is their modern history; and it is desirable that we should gather this, in relation to every prominent tribe in the land, while we still have the means to do so. The antiquarian may discourse of the monuments and vestiges which are buried in the soil, and the philologist speculate profoundly on the principles of the languages, which denote coincidences with other parts of the world. When all has been done, that is practicable, on these heads—and we confess them to be themes of deep humanitarian and philosophical interest — it is but trying to prove, by physical and mental data, and from the remains of objects of human art, what we knew very well before—namely, that man, in a state of barbarism, will adopt habits and arts very much alike, notwithstanding long epochs of separation, without proving, by such resemblances, the history of his descent, from particular nations, in any appreciable epochs. Craniological deductions, however profoundly drawn, if not warped by imaginative theories, may denote varieties of development, which arise from various causes, without overturning the fundamental fact, that man was designed to separate into varieties, which are adapted to every climate of the globe. Originally created in mild and genial central latitudes, which required the least possible exertion of labour for the support of life, he has been dispersed over every region of the globe, and acquired habits, and skill, and adaptations, which fit him for all climates, from the torrid to the frigid zone. To borrow a term from natural history, it is still the *species*, and not the *genera*, that we are most interested about.

The Vesperic[1] stocks of the Indian carry a peculiar type of these traits, and of this family likeness of character. No one is at a loss to know what constitutes the physiognomy or manners of an Indian—his easy, gliding steps, and stately deportment—his imperturbability under excitements of art or fashion—his stoicism of life, his contempt of death—his confidence in looking up to the Great Spirit, and as his peculiar guardian—his nonchalance at the great progress of the world in arts, letters, and life. All knowledge which has broken in upon the world, at least since the advent of Christianity, he cavils about or resists. No one need to mistake him in this point; nor, while the eye or mind of the observer is directed merely to his generic traits or character, is there awakened a closer or holier sympathy. But the moment he sinks the race in the individual, or the nation in the tribe, there is a new historical interest excited—a new and specific point of attraction. It is no longer merely the Indian who is contemplated, but the Cherokee, the Chippewa, the Choctaw, the Delaware, the Iowa, the Shawanoe, the Chickasaw, the Sauk or the Pottowattomie, the Winnebago, or the Iroquois.

Much attention has been given to this tribal feature of the Indian, in the preceding volumes; and it is one to which is allotted a prominent space in the present. Observation on this part of the Indian history was more readily made, as it required, in most cases, but to elicit and collate the traditions of their oldest men, and to compare them with the recorded traditions of prior eras. It is in this department that the tribes, too, assume their relative rank and importance. Of the more outer forest bands and tribes, who rove over the surface of the earth, and have done nothing but kill animals and men, little need be said; for they have excited little interest. In proportion as the tribes have produced exalted leaders, who have assumed a heroic position—speakers who have risen to eloquence in their oratory—and councillors or captains who have exhibited powers of combination, the measure of interest has increased. The reader of these sketches of tribal history advances in knowledge when he is reminded that Philip was a Pokanoket, Miantonimo a Narragansett, Uncas a Mohican, Tamenund a Manhattan, Skenandoah an Oneida; and, in this manner, of the other sages, warriors, and orators, who have figured in the moving panorama of aboriginal history.

That mere savages should have arrived at these positions, without letters, or teaching, or refinements of any kind, is, indeed, the most striking and wonderful problem. And when it is considered, that civilized nations have reached their points of elevation by means of schools and academies, and in colleges, in which, to use the phrase of an English divine, they have often "had to fag hard,"[1] or to be confined, for years, in the studies of professional men, or in work-shops and manufactories, while the Indian has had no such advantages, it should teach us a lesson of humility, since he has often exhibited a nobility of sentiment, a power of eloquence, or a disregard of self, which are above all praise.

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[1] Of the territorial area of the United States.

The author formed his first acquaintance with the Indians while he was a young man, and when his opinions were much like those still entertained by many persons at the present time. He regarded them as but little elevated above the brutes; and believed them to be, in a great measure, destitute of those traits of character, and that intellectual capacity, which belong to civilized men. Such more favorable views of the Indians as he may present, may, therefore, be justly regarded as the results of conviction forced upon him by facts, and by no means the pictures of a romantic fancy. He began his observations with too many impressions founded on theories, such as those learned in books are prone to inculcate; and some of these he yielded with a degree of reluctance, as he had been taught to rely upon them as just, and feared the want of something in their place. Happily he was not too strongly wedded to his prejudices to be drawn away from them by the force of evidence, and early began to examine with candor in the light of truth.

This course he has prosecuted for a series of years, and among scenes and circumstances peculiarly favorable. In the course of twenty years, he has met with many characters among the wilds of America, who would have struck any observer as original and interesting. With numbers of them he has formed an intimate acquaintance, and with not a few contracted a lasting friendship. Having been not merely a long resident among them, but closely connected with them, he has been, for some years, regarded as one identified with them, and received many marks of their entire confidence.

The Indians have some peculiar views, which are not easily discovered by a foreigner, but which yet exert a powerful influence on his conduct and life. These cannot fail to escape the observation of a superficial or a hasty observer; and the author had passed many months in constant intercourse with the Indians before he had any suspicion of their existence. He witnessed many practices and observances, such as travellers have often noticed; but, like others, attributed them to accident, or to some cause widely distant from the true one. By degrees, however, he became more acquainted with their opinions on certain subjects, which exert a dominant influence on their actions; and the life of an Indian no longer appears to him as a mystery. He sees him acting as other men would act, if placed exactly in his condition, prepared with the education he has received, and surrounded by the same circumstances.

The gentler affections have a much more extensive and powerful exercise among the Indians than is generally believed; although to a less degree than in civilized society. This was one of the truths least expected by the author; but it was early taught him by facts which came under his personal observation. An interesting scene, which first gave a change to his opinions on this subject, made a lasting impression on his mind, and will be narrated in the next chapter.

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[1] Jay's Life.

The most powerful source of influence which affects the Red Man, is his religion. This is a compound of peculiar doctrines and observances, in which all are early instructed; and taught, by precept and example, to connect with every act and scene of life. It would surprise any person to become acquainted with the variety and extent to which an Indian is influenced by his religious views and superstitions. To the author, the facts have been developing themselves for many years; and, while he is able to account for the peculiar differences between the conduct of Indians and that of white men, in given cases, he can easily perceive why the latter have so often been unable to calculate on the actions of the former, and even to account for them after they have taken place.

It may be here remarked, that the civilized man is no less a mysterious, unaccountable being to the Indian; and because his sphere of action is alike unintelligible to him. If the following pages shall afford the public any means of judging of the Indians with greater accuracy, he hopes they may lead to our treating them with greater justice and humanity. The change of opinion which has been wrought in his own mind by the facts he has witnessed, has been accompanied by a still more important change of views with respect to their intellectual capacities, moral susceptibility, and claims on their civilized brethren. He would esteem it a qualification of the highest kind, if he might so display the facts before his countrymen, as to enable them to see as he sees; being confident that nothing else would be wanting to make them feel as he feels. His desires are still not limited to this object, interesting as it is. He would fain hope to do something to break down the wall which so generally divides civilized and savage men, all over the continent.

There is one more point to which he will here invite a momentary attention, though one less immediately connected with subjects of a moral nature, and plans and exertions for the improvement of the Indian race. Some of the most venerated writers present a theory on the origin of nations, governments, languages, and institutions, difficult or impossible to be conformed with the nature of man in society, and unsupported by such evidence as their doctrines require. Such I regard the doctrine of Social Compact, except it be viewed in the most undefined and general sense possible. Such also is the theory of the origin and improvement of languages. The system of government generally prevailing among the Indians is, indeed, so simple and natural, under their circumstances, that it is thought no person would long seek for the traces of any great legislator, giving them laws in some past period. When, however, we consider the curious structure of their languages, we find an ingenuity and complexity of forms and compounds far surpassing anything to be discovered in that of the Greeks. As the latter tongue has been long held up as a model, and the excellencies of its plan attributed to some unknown, but most sagacious, learned, and refined mind, we might feel justified in assigning the invention of the wonderful excellencies of the Indian tongues to a mind of far superior wisdom, ingenuity, and experience. Yet how gratuitous would this be! All history bears testimony against the human invention and designed alteration of language; and none but a mere theorist can ever embrace the idea, that it is, or ever was, in the power of any man to fabricate and introduce a new language, or to effect a fundamental change in the ground-work of any one before in existence.

This, at least, is the decided opinion of the author; and he firmly believes, that whoever will contemplate the subject, amidst such scenes as he has long been accustomed to, will inevitably come to the same result. He has seen changes in dialects, commenced and progressive, and indications of many others going on; but these owed their origin and impulse to accidental circumstances, and were not the result of any plan or design. Necessity and the laws of custom; these two powers, if properly appreciated in their influence, and traced with care to their effects, will develop the causes of many things, whose origin has been sought at too great a distance.

Books, and the readers of books, have done much to becloud and perplex the study of the Indian character. Fewer theories and more observations, less fancy and more fact, might have brought us to much more correct opinions than those which are now current.

ALLEGHANS.

The oldest tribe of the United States, of which there is a distinct tradition, were the Alleghans.[1] The term is perpetuated in the principal chain of mountains traversing the country. This tribe, at an antique period, had the seat of their power in the Ohio valley and its confluent streams, which were the sites of their numerous towns and villages. They appear originally to have borne the name of Alli, or Alleg, and hence the names of Talligewi and Allegewi. (Trans. Am. Phi. Soc., Vol. I.). By adding to the radical of this word the particle *hany* or *ghany*,[2] meaning river, they described the principal scene of their residence—namely, the Alleghany, or River of the Alleghans, now called Ohio. The word Ohio is of Iroquois origin, and of a far later period; having been bestowed by them after their conquest of the country, in alliance with the Lenapees, or ancient Delawares. (Phi. Trans.) The term was applied to the entire river, from its confluence with the Mississippi, to its origin in the broad spurs of the Alleghanies, in New York and Pennsylvania; and the designation, to its sources, is still continued in use by that people. (Notes on the Iroquois.) The transparency and brightness of the waters of the Alleghany river, and the liveliness and force of its current, correspond strikingly with those of the Ohio, attesting the discrimination and propriety of the original designation; while the Monongahela, its southern fork, is a still, dark, and turbid stream.

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[1] The *Irega* of the South Atlantic coasts are of a prior era; but the tradition, resting on a single authority, has not been examined. The same remark may be applied to the Utinas, Icosans, Savanucas, Patticas, Wapoos, and some others of the Floridian regions, extending to the Mississippi, who constitute interesting themes of research.

[2] This inflection is written *hannah* in Susquehannah and Loyalhannah, and *hannock* in Rappahannock; but retains its original shape of *gany* in Yoghiogany, the main fork of the Monongahela. These rivers all originate in the Alleghany range — the eastern precincts of the ancient Alleghans.

The French, when they came to behold the Ohio[1] river, and to admire the enchanting vistas presented by its banks, as scene after scene opened up to them, like the scrolls of a beautiful panorama, literally translated the Iroquois name, and called it *La Belle Rivière*. To contend for the possession of this country, blessed with a fertile soil, genial climate, and a much-prized fauna and natural productions, had been the cause of great aboriginal wars, ages before Columbus turned his prow towards the new world. From the traditions of the Lenapees, given to the Moravian missionaries, while the lamp of their traditionary history still threw out its flickering but enlivening flames, the Alleghans had been a strong and mighty people, capable of great exertions and doing wonders. There were giants among them. The Lenapees came from the west: on reaching the Mississippi, they found the Alleghans occupying its eastern borders. They also found the Iroquois, whom they call UNCLE, seated north of them. A long war ensued, in which these two prime stocks were allied. To defend themselves, the Alleghans surrounded their villages with intrenchments, and built fortifications. (Phi. Trans., p. 30.) This relation is sustained, and enlarged, in some particulars, by Iroquois tradition. (Cusic's History, vide Appendix 1.) By it, the combination of the northern against the southern tribes, is made to appear more extensive, and the power possessed by the latter, in building forts and compelling labor, is considered as very strong. Agreeably to both the traditions quoted, the Alleghan confederacy was finally defeated, and driven down the Mississippi.

We scan the plains of Troy and Marathon, to descry vestiges of events recorded by history. Balbec is visited to wonder at its broken columns, and decipher its mutilated inscriptions. The valley of the Euphrates has been ransacked, in modern days, to discover vestiges of Babylon and Nineveh. There are indeed no mutilated columns or inscriptions to guide the antiquarian in his researches. But there are a species of archæological vestiges, which carry historical proofs of the state of arts and manners of the tribes, who have left their rude vestiges beside the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi. These vestiges sufficiently tell the story of the people who once dwelt here, and are as well adapted to show their arts and condition, as the ruins of civilized nations do theirs. A pipe of the lapis ollaris, or of serpentine — an awl, fish-hook, or needle of bone — a knife or dart of obsidian or flint — a discoidal stone, to be used in athletic amusements — a medal of sea-shell — a gorget of mica — an arm-band of native copper — a tumulus raised over the dead — a mound of sacrifice to the sun — a simple circumvallation, or a confused assemblage of ditches, mounds, and lines, around a village—a ring-fort on a hill—or, in fine, a terraced platform of earth to sustain the sacred residence of the Indian priest and ogema — these must be deemed evidences which accurately restore, to the mind of the inquirer, the arts of their authors. They answer, I am inclined to think, the oft-made inquiry— who erected these earth-works? If the Alleghans built altars to the sun, on which they offered the pipes which had been used in burning the incense of the nicotiana— if they raised mounds and mausolea to the distinguished dead—if they fortified their positions to resist sudden attacks—if they worked, by a rude process of mining, as we see on Lake Superior, prominent veins of native copper, and exchanged the products for the obsidian of Mexico or the Rocky mountains, the sea-shells of the West Indies, or the glittering mica of distant regions, as their tumuli indicate — there appears nothing wonderful in it. The only wonder is, that, with such vigor of character, as the traditions denote, they had not done more in arts and refinements. It is not to the rude hunter and nomadic tribes, confined in position, and without industry, that we are to attribute these relics. Horde after horde doubtless passed in, from the west and south-west, during a long lapse of centuries. It is the natural effort of the wild and unmitigated tribes of barbarians, to destroy the beginnings of civilization among their fellows, if they cannot share them. It is not, at least, to such hordes that we can ascribe the vestiges and monuments of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, or of the borders of the Great Lakes. There are evidences of antique labors in the alluvial plains and valleys of the Scioto, Miami, and Muskingum, the Wabash, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Illinois, denoting that the ancient Alleghans, and their allies and confederates, cultivated the soil, and were semi-agriculturists. These evidences have been traced, at late periods, to the fertile table-lands of Indiana and Michigan. The tribes lived in fixed towns, cultivating extensive fields of the zea-maize; and also, as denoted by recent discoveries (Plates 6, 7, Vol. I.), of some species of beans, vines, and esculents. They were, in truth, the mound-builders.

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[1] The true Indian sound is Ohéo, but, as the letter *i* in French orthography represents the English *e*, long, it took this form of notation. The exclamatory transitive particle *io*, as heard in this word, and in Ontario, &c., when preceded by the interjection Oh! *shortly uttered*, may be translated—How beautiful a scene!

DELAWARES.

At the beginning of the 16th century, this tribe occupied the banks of a large river, flowing into the Atlantic, to which they applied the name of Lenapihittuk. This term is a compound of *Lenapi*, the name given to themselves, and *ittuk*, a geographical term, which is equivalent to the English word domain or territory, and is inclusive of the specific *sepu*, their name for a river. After the successful planting of a colony in Virginia, the coast became more subject to observation, than at prior periods, by vessels bound to Jamestown with supplies. On one of these voyages, Lord De la Warre put into the capes of the river; and hence the present name of both the river and the tribe.

The true meaning of the term *Lenapi* has been the subject of various interpretations. It appears to carry the same meaning as *Inaba*, a male, in the other Algonquin dialects; and the word was probably used, nationally, and with emphasis, in the sense of men. For we learn, from their traditions, that they had regarded themselves, in past ages, as holding an eminent position for antiquity, valor, and wisdom. And this claim appears to be recognised by the other tribes of this lineage, who apply to them the term of GRAND-FATHER. To the Iroquois they apply the word UNCLE; and this relation is reciprocated by the latter with the term NEPHEW. The other tribes of Algonquin lineage the Delawares call BROTHER, or YOUNGER BROTHER. These names establish the ancient rank and influence of the tribes.

Most of the tribes are organized on the principle of emblematic totems. The Delawares originally consisted of three of these subdivisions. They were, the turtle, or *unami*, the *minsi*, or wolf, and the *unalachigo*, or turkey. The French, who had little intercourse with them till they crossed the Alleghanies, called the whole nation *Loups*, or wolves; from confounding them with the Mohicans of the Hudson, who appear, in the formative tribal ages, to have been descendants of the wolf totem.[1] The Delawares, from all accounts, held a prominent place in Indian history. Their wars against the ancient tribes of the Ohio valley—the great influence they possessed, for so long a period, among the Algonquin tribes along the Atlantic coasts, extending from the Nanticokes on the Chesapeake to the Hudson, and quite into New England—the wisdom of their ancient chiefs and councillors—and the bravery of their warriors—these are the themes of their ancient traditions. And these reminiscences of the Delaware golden age appeared to rest upon their minds, at late periods, with more force, in proportion as they became weak and lost power. It is, indeed, characteristic of the Indian, that his pleasures arise more from reminiscence than from anticipation. He appears to be a man with little hope. Their ancient alliance with the Iroquois, during the war against the Alleghans, continued, we may infer, while they retained their ancient character for military prowess and enterprise. After the Five Nations confederated at Onondaga, a new impulse was given to these tribes. No longer engaged in petty quarrels among themselves, the Iroquois united their energies against the tribes east, west, north, and south of them. By cultivating the zea-maize, they had an element of subsistence to fall back on, after the spring and early summer season of war was over. The accidental circumstance of their living on the genial summit-lands of Western New-York, which originate many of the leading streams of America, gave them a great advantage in descending, in their canoes, suddenly on the plains of their enemies. They descended the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, the Delaware, the Susquehannah, and the Alleghany, from their own hunting-grounds. The whole range of the great lakes, from Ontario to Michigan, and even Superior, was soon at their command. They repaired the losses of battle by adopting their prisoners. In this manner, their population began at once to increase. They not only subdued the Mohicans of the Hudson, and placed them in the condition of tributary wards, but carried on a most persevering and unsparing war against the whole Algonquin stock, whom they called, ironically, Adirondacks, or bark-eaters; but warred, with even more fury (for it was a family quarrel), against the Wyandots, or Hurons, of the lower St. Lawrence, whom they defeated finally, in 1649, and drove entirely out of that valley. The Neutral Nation, the Eries, and the Andastes, of the southern borders of Lake Erie, having compromised themselves in the war, shared the same fate of expulsion. The Susquehannocks, who appear to have been of the Alleghan lineage, after admonitions, were suddenly fallen upon and extinguished. The Nanticokes and Conies, and the Tutelos, had been brought off from Virginia.

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[1] The French writers, from the earliest period, uniformly class them as Algonquins. Had they investigated the Delaware claims to antiquity, this tribe would have been found to assume a high position. The attempt, in modern days (Arch. Amer., Vol. II.), to restore their name to the Algonquin family, is a just appeal to their antiquity; but, in point of history and phraseology, we gain little by the compound term "Lenapi-Algonquin," unless it be by substituting two terms for one. Philologically considered, the tribes of the Lenapi branch of the Algonquin substitute the letter *l* for *n*. In this respect, the Foxes denote a high antiquity among the lake tribes.

In the rise of the Iroquois power, the Delawares lost their independence; and appear to have been placed under a ban. We have no date for these mutations. They were most kindly treated, in 1682, by William Penn. We hear of no Iroquois protests to their selling their lands, at that era. It is probable none had been made. The progress of the settlements, however, shows that, in a few years, such a power to control the Delawares was made. A very striking evidence of this occurred in a treaty at Lancaster, in 1744. The Iroquois, at this large assemblage of the tribes, denied the right of the Delawares to alienate lands. Canassatego, one of their chiefs, upbraided them, in public council, for some former act of that kind. Speaking in a strain of mixed irony and arrogance, he told them not to reply to his words, but to leave the council in silence. He ordered them, in a peremptory manner, to quit the section of country where they then resided, and to remove to the banks of the Susquehannah. (Vol. III., p. 19[illegible] Whatever may have been the state of submission in which the Delawares felt themselves to be to the confederate power of the Iroquois, it does not appear that the right to control them had been publicly exercised, prior to this time. It was, however, with this proud nation, but a word and a blow. They accordingly quitted for ever the banks of their native Delaware, the scene of many memories, and the resting-place of the bones of their ancestors, and turned their faces towards the west.

Twelve years afterwards, namely, in 1751, we find them living at Shamokin, and at Wyalusing, on the Susquehannah—positions in which they were threatened, on the one hand, by the intrusive tread of the white emigrant, and, on the other, by the momentary dread of the Iroquois tomahawk. It was the misfortune of the Delawares, that an impression prevailed in the English colonies, that they were under French influence. (Vide Loskiel.) This impression, whether well or ill founded, pervaded society, in southern New York, to such a degree, in 1744, that the Moravian mission at Shikomico, in Dutchess County, was broken up and transferred to Bethlehem, on the Susquehannah; where Count Zinzendorf, three years before, had established the seat of his operations. (Vide Appendix V.) The impression lost none of its force from an avowal, by the band at Wyalusing, of the principles of peace and non-resistance taught by the conscientious disciples of both Penn and Zinzendorf. This doctrine was embraced, with great zeal, by one of their speakers called Papanhank; who, in 1756, visited Philadelphia by a journey of 200 miles, where he addressed an assemblage of moral persons, and concluded by kneeling down and making an impressive prayer. (Benezet's Observations, p. 18.)

Men who devoted themselves, with simplicity of intention, to one object, did not probably make as much effort to disabuse the public mind on this head as would appear to have been desirable at the period. The country was engaged in an Indian war, which raged on the frontier, from Quebec to New Orleans. Braddock had been defeated the year before, most clearly owing to the want of a proper force of Indian scouts. France was making a most formidable effort to save her Indian empire; and England and America, as formidable a one, to destroy it. It is certain that this impression followed the Delawares in their removal across the Alleghanies, and during their settlement, under the auspices of their teachers, on the waters of the Muskingum. Nor did their position here tend to remove the impression, but rather to strengthen it. Gnadenhutten became to the Delawares in heart, as it was in name, the Tents of Peace. They addressed themselves to agriculture and grazing. They were devoted to their teachers. They refused to join all warlike parties who passed through their towns, on their forays of murder and plunder against the frontiers. It was not in their power to refuse these parties victuals, but they supplied them with no means of offence, and expressed their principles of peace, both as among the Indian tribes and the whites. But the impression grew stronger and stronger in the Ohio valley, that they were in communication with the enemy. The borders of the new States were literally drenched in blood by marauding parties of Indians, who butchered the pioneers in their cabins, and led their children away in captivity.[1] And this impression against the Delawares finally led to the most tragic results.

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[1] Between the year 1777 and 1779, not less than fourteen persons of the name of the author (relations), were killed by the Indians, in their houses or on their premises, in Clark county, Virginia, by skulking war-parties. (De Hass's Border Warfare.)

But it was not alone the frontiers-men who were excited. The Indian tribes, to whom they had observed the policy of neutrality, were alike displeased. Councils of peace to them were thrown away. They could neither understand nor tolerate such a course. They lived in war and plunder; and the result was, after repeated threats, that a Wyandot war-party suddenly appeared on the Muskingum, and ordered the Delawares to upper Sandusky. It was in vain that excuses were pleaded. The party were inexorable. They killed many of their cattle and hogs, and in 1781 removed the population of three towns, numbering between three and four hundred persons. After living at Sandusky a year, they were permitted to return to the banks of the Muskingum. When the alarmed settlers on the Monongahela heard of this return, they regarded the movement in a hostile light. The British not having yet surrendered their northern posts on the Miami of the Lakes, and at Detroit and Michilimackinac, and the Indians throughout that vast region continuing to manifest the deepest hostility, as shown by the fierce battles against Generals Harmer and St. Clair, the return of such a body of men, who had been, it seems, removed by the authority of the commanding officer at Detroit, (Benezet, 20) appeared in a threatening light. Such it was not, as is now known, for the Moravian converts among the Delawares had been instructed in, and sincerely adopted, the principles of peace and non-resistance. Of all doctrines, these were the least understood by the hardy frontiers-men, who, through a long and bloody experience, had been led to deem the Indian, when under the excitement of war, as a tiger in his thirst for blood, and alike destitute of mercy or sympathy. This may be said in apology for the inhuman and unjustifiable massacre in 1782 of the unresisting Moravian Delawares, who witnessed, in their submissive deaths, no little share of the spirit of St. Stephen. This massacre wrought up the feelings of resentment of the Wyandots and other hostile tribes of the west, who were under the influence of the basest white counsellors, to the highest pitch of fury. And hence, when at a later period of the same year Colonel Crawford and his command were defeated on the plains of Sandusky by the Wyandots and their allies, they assumed the guise of fiends in human shape, and in the presence of some of their renegade white counsellors, sacrificed that officer and his son-in-law at the stake.[1]

The Delawares, along with the Wyandots, Shawanoes, Miamies, and other western tribes, who had been in arms on the frontiers, were parties to the general treaty of Greenville of 1795, and were admitted to the terms of peace. These relations were further strengthened by the treaty of Fort Wayne, in 1803, and of Vincennes in 1804; and from the earliest of these dates the frontiers were relieved of their war-parties, and rested in a general peace with all the tribes, till the primary movement made by Tecumseh, in 1811–12. The idea of Indian supremacy in America, so strongly inculcated on the tribes by Pontiac in 1763, when Great Britain was the impinging power, was re-enacted by this leader after the lapse of fifty years. But fifty years' decline had sunk the scale of the population, and almost annihilated Indian nationality.

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[1] The day is yet to arrive when Americans will erect a monument to the memory of this patriotic officer.

The Delawares have been regarded by some as an ancient tribe in the Ohio valley. (Gen. Harrison's Hist. Dis.) Their traditions denote, indeed, that they had, in former ages, crossed the Mississippi from the west; but their domiciliation there, as a tribe, was recent. Their first movement from the Delaware river towards the west appears to have been within fifty years of Penn's landing. We find by the manuscript journal of Conrad Wiser (Vol. IV., p. 605) that he reported the number of Delawares in the Ohio valley, in 1748, at one hundred and sixty-five warriors, which, agreeably to the usual rate of computation, would give 800 souls. By going back from this date, namely to the French tables of 1736 (Vol. III. p. 554), it is perceived that there were no Delawares in the west at that time. So that it is in a period of twelve years from 1736 to 1748, that they must have arrived from the east of the Alleghanies. Yet within sixteen years of this time, Colonel Bouquet estimates them as capable of bringing 500 warriors into the field (Vol. III, p. 558), a manifest exaggeration.

Once west of the Alleghanies the Delawares, at least the body of the tribe, do not appear to have adhered with much tenacity to the excellent teachings they had received on the banks of the Delaware and the Susquehannah. The labors of the plow, the loom, and the anvil, do not make much impression on a tribe after it has quit the precincts of civilization, and come under the exciting influence of war and hunting. After a few years they took shelter on the White Water river of Indiana; and from this position, finding themselves pressed by the intrusive feet of a rapidly gathering civilized population, ceded their lands, and went over the Mississippi. The author visited their cottages in the upper valley of Maramec, in 1818 (Scenes and Adventures in the Ozark Mountains); they are now situated on very eligible and fertile tracts on the waters of the Kanzas, in the new Territory of that name.

Delaware history has little to distinguish it, in the principles of action, from that of the other tribes. They sometimes agreed, in their negotiations, to perform what they could not accomplish; and were persuaded into measures which they could not well comprehend, and had, perhaps, no heart to execute. The west had been regarded in their traditions as the paradise of hunters; and when they were disturbed by the footsteps of white men, they fled in that direction. Evidences that the pressure they felt in the east would follow them a long time in the west, are found in the permission to settle in upper Louisiana, by Governor Carondalet, on the 4th of January, 1793. (Indian Treaties, p. 539.) In a treaty concluded at Fort Pitt in 1778, during the hottest of the Revolutionary war, they entered into terms of amity with the United States, granted power to march armies through their country and procure supplies, in return for which it is stipulated to build a fort for the protection of their women and children against the hostile tribes. This was the origin of Fort M'Intosh. This alliance was seven years before the Iroquois succumbed at the treaty of Fort Stanwix. (Indian Treaties, p. 4.) How well this treaty was kept by the nation at large, appears from the supplementary articles of the treaty of Fort M'Intosh of 21st January, 1785, the year after the war, in which it is agreed by them, that Kelelimand and other chiefs who had taken up the hatchet for the United States, should fully participate in all the beneficent provisions of the treaty. (Indian Treaties, p. 7.) This is further perceived by the treaty of Fort Harmer, of the 9th of January, 1789, in which they renew certain unfulfilled conditions of the prior treaty, and agree to deliver up all American prisoners in their hands.

It will be sufficient to state the commencement of our intercourse with this tribe. To continue the record of these negotiations, from era to era, would only exhibit dry details of facts, similar, in their general aspect, to the changes in residence, and mutations of time and place, which have attended the transference of most of the tribes from the Atlantic borders to the west of the Mississippi. There is much resemblance in the principles and general incidents of these removes. There is one generic truth which applies to all. They were perpetually at open war, or variance, with each other. They had not elevation of mind enough to appreciate each other's motives, principles, sentiments, or character. The suspicion they had of their chiefs, priests, and warriors, kept them in continual dread. They believed firmly in witchcraft and necromancy, which could be exercised on all, present or absent. Treacherous themselves, in point of fealty, they expected treachery from the neighboring tribes. Good motives were ascribed to bad actions, with a plausibility which would have done credit to a Talleyrand or a Metternich. Tarhe was burned at the stake under the accusation of witchcraft, but really to take him out of the way of Elksotawa and Tecumseh.

The tribes agreed also in this. Each remove was at the loss of something in civilization, which they had before attained. By throwing them into new regions of wilderness, it exposed them to new temptations in the line of hunting, and rivalry for distinction in the war-path. Thus, a considerable portion of the Delawares, when they had reached Missouri, and the Indian territory west of it, went into Texas, where they have the reputation of first-rate guides, hunters, woodsmen, and, if necessity call for it, warriors. All the tribes felt sensibly the effects of the failure of game on their lands, as they pursued their line of migration west; and would have suffered miserably, had it not been for the increased demand for, and value ascribed to, their refuse hunting-lands. Acres took the place of beaver-skins. But while this gave them, at least periodically, a plethora of means, it exposed them to the influence of indulgence. The Indian who had lost the industry of hunting, had no other kind of industry. It was noble to hunt, but mean to labor. And when he found that, in the shape of annuities, his lands could be briefly turned into money, he fell into the snare of luxury. The hunter and nomadic Indian has but little idea of the value of money, or silver coin; he appears to regard it as something to dispossess himself of, and often deals it out freely to those who have, indeed, ministered to him in some of his minor needs, which he warmly appreciates, but who have rendered but inadequate services for the princely rewards. His acres have thus, too often, rapidly vanished: agreeably to the strong figurative expression of Canassatego, at a council, in 1744, the tribes have literally "eat up their lands." (Vol. III., p. 197.)

The period from 1814 to 1824, made it evident that the tribes, and remnants of tribes, could not remain in prosperity, in the growing American settlements of the States and Territories, without certain and speedy destruction. President Monroe took the initiative, in recommending their removal, with their own consent, to a territory to be set apart for them, west of the Mississippi. (Vol. III., p. 573.) Congress formally sanctioned this plan, in 1830. The number of Delawares west, in 1840, was 830. (Vol. III., p. 609.) The entire population of the tribe, in 1850, was returned at 1500. Their present population, west of that great line of demarcation, is estimated at 2500 souls. They possess 375,000 acres of fertile land at the mouth of the Kansas river, in the territory of Kansas, besides about thrice this amount of acres lying at higher points on the same river and its tributaries. A considerable portion of the population resident on these tracts, are cultivators of the soil — raise horses, cattle, and hogs — dress, in most respects, in civilized costume — and are under favorable influences. The long-foretold time of the counsels and visions of their ancient wise men, recorded in their cherished OLA WALUM, prefiguring a land of prosperity in the west, may, indeed, be deemed at hand, if they are true to themselves.

CHIPPEWAS.

This term is derived from OJIBWA, the cognomen of the tribe for themselves. Its meaning has not been satisfactorily given. Mr. Nicollet, in his etymology (Appendix V), is believed to be mistaken. Although they live in a land of lakes, and are celebrated for the use and artistic structure of both the canoe and paddle — the *chimaun* and *abwi* — there is no instance of a tribe having named themselves in this manner, besides that the proposed compound is at variance with the principles of the grammar.[1] The name of the tribe appears to be recent. It is not met with in the older writers. The French, who were the earliest to meet them, in their tribal seat at the falls, or *Sault de Ste. Marie*, named them Saulteur, from this circumstance. M'Kenzie uses the term JIBWA, as the equivalent of this term, in his voyages. They are referred to, with little difference in the orthography, in General Washington's report, in 1754, of his trip to *Le Bœuf*, on Lake Erie; but are first recognised, among our treaty-tribes, in the general treaty of Greenville, of 1794, in which, with the

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[1] It is affirmed by some persons familiar with the Chippewa history, that the term is prefigured by a condition disclosed by the pictographic figure No. 18, Plate 51, Vol. I.

Ottawas, they ceded the island of Michilimackinac, and certain dependencies, conceded by them, at former periods, to the French.[1]

To the family of tribes who speak this language, the French uniformly apply the term Algonquin; and, if M'Kenzie's vocabulary of this language, as spoken at the Lake of Two Mountains, near the confluence of the Utawas with the St. Lawrence, be taken as the standard, admitting the principles of the French orthography, nothing could more completely represent the language, as spoken at this day on Lake Superior. The Chippewas are conceded, by writers on American philology (Arch. Amer., Vol. II.), to speak one of the purest forms of the Algonquin; and may be regarded as identical in history, manners, and customs.

History is clear as to the unity of origin of the Algonquins and Chippewas, while it fails to inform us when or why the latter term was adopted. The Nipissingos, also written Nipissiriniens, are the basis of both tribes. This was a term applied to the people who lived on the banks of Lake Nepissing, at the source of French river, of the north shores of Lake Huron. This lake, lying on summit-lands, occupies the line of the portage between Lake Huron and the great Outawas river, of the St. Lawrence, and was the route of communication, and the transportation of merchandize, from Montreal to the great lake basins, and to the uttermost regions of the sources of the Mississippi, and the trading-posts of Hudson's Bay. It avoided altogether the hostile Iroquois country, by the route of Niagara; and was, at the same time, by far the nearest route.

In fixing on early points of movement of the Indian tribes of the North, it is a point of primary importance to refer to the period of 1649. It was in this year that the Iroquois finally succeeded in overthrowing, and driving the Wyandots, whom the French call Hurons, out of the lower St. Lawrence. They fled up the Outawas to the lake, since called Huron, after them, where they finally settled; after having been pursued by the infuriated Iroquois to their refuge on the island of Michilimackinac, and even to the upper shores of Lake Superior. Their flight carried with them their allies, the Atawawas, or Atowas, and other Algonquin bands, who had been in close alliance with them.

A more particular reference to the events of this period, as detailed by missionary writers, may be made.

Le Jeune, and the early writers of Lettres Edifiant, inform us, that at the earliest known period, there was a group of tribes living in the northern latitudes of the Great Lakes, who called God, Manito; the rest of their vocabulary answering to this test, and showing them to be of one family or mother stock. The most ancient point to which they refer, as the place of their origin, is the summit of Lake Nepissing, north of Lake Huron — a summit which cast off its waters, easterly, through the Utawas river into the St. Lawrence, and southwardly, through French river, into Lake Huron. This was the ancient Indian route of travel, long before Canada was settled, between the valley of the lower St. Lawrence and the great area of the upper lakes. It was not only the shortest line of travel, but avoided the numerous cascades and rapids of the St. Lawrence, above Montreal, which appeared so formidable to Cartier, in 1534; as well as the portage at Niagara. Besides these great advantages in point of time and distance, it was entirely *within* their own territory; and although the elevation of the summit was reached by numerous rapids, these were easily overcome by short portages, which permitted them to transport their light canoes by hand. This was the route which the Indian trade from New France first took, and long maintained; even from the period of Champlain down to the close of the supremacy of the North-west Company, about 1820. After this time, all the main supplies of goods and merchandize were shipped direct from England into Hudson's Bay.

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[1] This grant became the basis of the cession made by them at Sault Ste. Marie, in the treaty of June 16th, 1820. (Ind. Treaties, p. 280.)

To the people who were early found on this summit, and who had migrated down the Utawas into the St. Lawrence valley, occupying its north bank between Montreal and Quebec, the French at first applied the name Algonquin. This became a generic for all the bands and tribes of the same language, of the continent, whom they subsequently discovered; however widely dispersed from their summit home, and by whatever other tribal or local names they were called by themselves, or by other tribes. The French, indeed, kept up and multiplied these local names, by applying to each of the new-found bands a *nomme de guerre;* which was done that they might lull the active suspicions of the natives, by apparently making no reference to them in conversation.

To such of this people as had migrated down the French river to Lake Huron, and along its north shores to the Mississaging or Big-mouthed river, they gave the term of Mississagies — a people who, at a later day, migrated eastwardly to the head of Lake Ontario, and the valley of the river Niagara below the Ridge, where, according to Indian tradition, they were in bonds of close alliance with the Iroquois, and aided them in exterminating the Wyandots from the territory in Canada, which is still occupied in part by the Mississagies.

To those of the Algonquin or "Nipercinean" type who had, prior to the discovery, proceeded north-west through the Straits of St. Mary into the basin of Lake Superior, and to the countries north of it, they simply gave the name of *Saulteaur*, or Falls-men. These three local tribes, that is to say, the Nipercineans, or Algonquins proper, the Mississagies, and the Saulteaur, or Odjibwas, were originally one and the same people. They spoke, and they still speak, the same language.

It would be easy to pursue this ethnographical chain, denoting names, boundaries, and events, which mark the multiplication of the numerous North American family of the Algonquin tribes. But it is unnecessary to the purposes in hand. It will be sufficient to say that the new names given by their enemies, often in derision, or assumed by themselves, contain no evidence whatever of their national genealogy. To a particular branch of those who distinguished themselves during their residence in the St. Lawrence valley, and afterwards in Lake Huron, they applied the name of Traders, or Odawas, denoting a falling off in the habits of the pure hunters and warriors, or a probable industrial trait, which is yet strikingly observable in the descendants of that band. To another, and one of the latest multiplications of the tribe, they gave the name of *Pottawattomies*, or Fire-makers, that is to say, a people who are building their own council-fire, or setting up a separate government. To another, they gave the name of *Kenistenos*, or Killers, on account of the sanguinary character of the war which they maintained north-west of Lake Superior. This people the French call Crees. Another branch, who subsisted on wild rice in the interior or Rice Lake region, between Lakes Superior and Winnebago, they called *Monomonees*, or Wild Rice Men. The bands north of Lake Nepissing, extending to Hudson's Bay and Lake Abittabi, they called People of the Swamps, and Low Grounds, or Muskigoes. Others of the same latitude, but more westerly in longitude, they called Nopemings, or Inlanders, named by the French *Gens des terres*. The Saganaws are so called from Sauk-i-nong, Sauktown, from the Sauk tribe who lived in Michigan in the 17th century.

To a band of energetic warriors who went to Leech Lake, on the sources of the Mississippi, but who, at a subsequent period, plundered the boats of a leading trader while lying at the mouth of the Crow-Wing river, they gave the name of Mukkund-was, or Pillagers, literally Takers. This summary penalty was inflicted for his temerity in disobeying the commanders of these fierce barbarians, interdicting him from selling arms and ammunition to their enemies, the Sioux. All the local tribes above named, although dispersed at various and distant points, call themselves Od-jib-was.

The Miamies, Weas, and Piankeshaws, the Sacs and Foxes, Kaskaskias, Peorias and Kickapoos, the Shawnees, Munsees, Stockbridges and Mohicans, together with several tribes not here recited, constitute another class, or more properly, sub-genus of the Nipercinean or Algonquin type, in whose history, however, the date of their separation from their present stock, whether that was the immediate Algonquin or remoter Lenapian branch, is shown by dialectic evidences to have been more remote; while at the same time the strong affinities of language, and its absolute agreement in grammatical forms, are not less fixed or certain proofs of a common origin. Call them Algonquins, or Lenapi-Algonquins, with a recent writer,[1] we are equally on safe grounds.

It is seen from the text of Eliot's translation of the Bible into the Natic or Massachusetts language in the year 1664, that the language he employs, as well as that of the Narraganset, as given in Roger Williams' key, are likewise of the Algonquin type; while the phrases embodied in the early history of Virginia, and the still existing names of prominent streams of that coast, denote the ancient extension of this generic form of speech very extensively along the Atlantic borders.

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[1] Amer. Archs., Vol. II.

By denoting this enlarged extension of the parent Algonquin language in former eras, its importance in the Vesperic circle of tribes is indicated. In the course of centuries they must have revolved curiously, making almost the entire circuit of the United States. Nor can we conceive that, in so long an epoch as they have taken to march round the Union, fewer discrepancies and changes of language should have occurred. There is no reason whatever to believe that the Algonquin group of tribes, as assimilated by language, came from more northerly points to the Nepissing summit. The parent language, varying as it progressed, appears to have been propagated from the south and south-west to the Virginia, the Chesapeake, and the Pennsylvania coast; and it was thence deflected off, multiplying in dialects exceedingly, towards the east and NORTH-EAST, along the north Atlantic, and finally it extended NORTH-WEST up the St. Lawrence valley into the region of the lakes. All the American tribes appear to have migrated tribally—in small bodies—abiding for periods at a place until the pressures of population, want, or feuds, pushed them further—a result which may be supposed to have given great scope for the multiplication of new tribes, and the formation of new dialects, by which the parent language of each tribe was more and more shorn and deprived of its verbal integrity, while its grammar or plan of utterance itself essentially remained. This result is indicated by language.

These preliminary remarks denote the position, geographically and ethnologically, in which the modern Chippewas, or Algonquin Chippewas of Lake Superior, stand, in relation to the other members of the general group, and their absolute identity of origin with the Nipercineans, or the old Algonquins of 1608, this being the assumed period of the discovery of Canada. The Chippewas of the lakes occupy now the same general district of country which was ascribed to the old Algonquins of the St. Lawrence, and to the Atawas, and Nipercineans, or natives of Lake Nepissing. They speak the same language, if we examine the earliest recorded vocabularies of the missionary fathers, remembering only that the latter used the French system of notation. They relate the same ancient traditions, have the same manners and customs, the same mythology and religious rites and opinions; and, for all the purposes of general history and philology, may be regarded as identical.

It was with this stock of people that the French formed an early and unbroken alliance. They ascribed to them, in ancient periods, a degree of progress superior to that of any other tribe inhabiting the northern latitudes.[1] They learned their language, which they found easy and copious, and by which their traders and mission-

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[1] Vide Colden.

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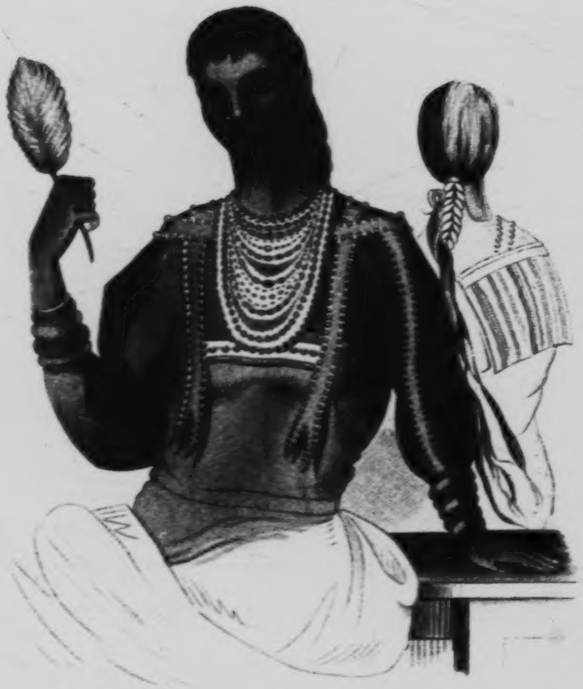
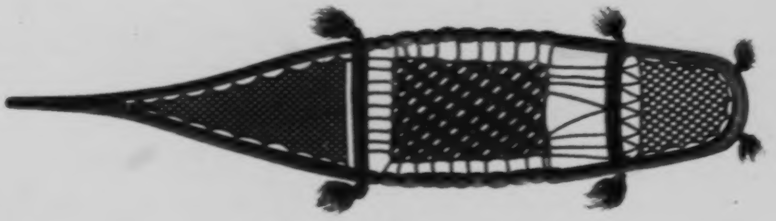


A CHIPPEWA BELLE IN COSTUME.

Plate



CHIPPEWA FEMALE SNOW SHOE.

Bowen & Co.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & Co. PHILAD.

aries could penetrate to the farthest points in the early admired countries of the Illinois, the Lakes, and to the farthest Mississippi. They called it *par excellence*, the court language of the aborigines; and they spread abroad the praises of the people throughout Europe. Nor were these vain praises. The fur trade, which immediately on the settlement of Canada started into activity, was by far the most lucrative branch of their commerce; and they relied on the far-reaching and numerous group of the Algonquins not only as active hunters, but as their best and only efficient local allies in their wars against the English colonists and the Iroquois, the latter of whom carried desolation in 1687 to their very firesides at Montreal. The grasp with which the French took hold of the Algonquins was therefore a firm grasp, cemented by interest as well as friendship; and it was soon perpetuated by the more enduring ties of intermarriage with the native females. (Plate 17.)

That the Chippewas, along with all their affiliated tribes in the west, should preserve at this day the liveliest recollections of the era of French rule, and the strongest attachments for the French as a race beloved above every other European stock, is very natural. I have found this feeling universal, and without an exception. Not quite ninety years have elapsed since the conquest of Canada and the fall of Montcalm, but the tradition is as fresh as if it were but an event of yesterday. Their reminiscences run freely back indeed to the era of the first arrival of the French in the St. Lawrence — an event which they have perpetuated by the common term for that people, namely, *Wa-mit-ig-ozh*, or People of the Wooden Vessel.

Chippewa tradition relates that they came from the east — a term which is to be understood as relating to the track of their migration on this continent. They call the north-west wind Ke-wa-din-oong, or the home-blowing wind. They refer to having descended a large stream and visited the ocean, where they first descried the signs of white men. They speak of old wars with the Mungwas, and other tribes. They refer to Chegoimegon on Lake Superior, and Poiwateeg on the straits of St. Mary's, as ancient sites, and seats of central power. They represent themselves as having been under the government of a MUDJEEKEWIS — a magistrate ruling by descent of blood. Some traditions state that they kept an eternal fire burning at Chegoimegon. Formerly, they say, their language was spoken with greater purity, and their lives and manners were less barbarous. Relations and reminiscences of this kind are not, perhaps, peculiar to this tribe. The Lenapis also spoke of a golden age in their history. The Iroquois trace themselves to Atahentsic, the queen of heaven. The Delawares dwell much on their ancient glories. The Chippewas trace the mother of Manabozho, their great mythological creation, to the Moon. This is very different from the predatory Osages, who ascribe their origin to a humble shell. There are few tribes who do not attempt to solace themselves by reminiscences, which are some compensation to the mind for their loss of consequence in the circle of tribes, or the actual miseries by which they are surrounded.

Abandoning the periods of Indian cosmogony and fable, most of the tribes have little worth respect. The Chippewa traditions, such as may be relied on, reach back about 250 years. They aver that their first knowledge of white men was of the French in Lower Canada, whose rule they regard with admiration. In 1824, they asserted that but seven generations had passed since the event. Their reminiscences are fresh of the fall of Canada; of the great chief Montcalm; the stand made by Pontiac to repel the British at Detroit; and the massacre of old Fort Michilimackinac on the Peninsula. Of men who have reputably led them in battle, they mention Noka, Bianswa, and Waub-Ojeeg, or the White Fisher, under the latter of whom they conquered the region of the St. Croix valley, and defeated the Sauks, Foxes, and Sioux. Ondaigweos of Chigsimegon, and Shingabwassin of St. Mary's, were men of wisdom and benevolence, whose memory is respected.

It is the remote past, however, which is the favourite theme of Chippewa glory and credulity.

The Chippewas relate the following oral tradition of the creation of this continent, and of the Indian tribes. They call the continent a little island, namely, MINNISĄ.[1]

When the Good Spirit created this island, it was a perfect plane, void of any trees or shrubs—he first created the Indian man, and then the Indian woman. They multiplied—and when they numbered about ten persons living, death was known to come in the midst of them. The first man that was created lamented his fate—he went to and fro over the earth, and, addressing himself to the author of his being, said, "Why did the Good Spirit create me, that I should so soon know death, weakness and frailty?" The Good Spirit from on high heard the man lamenting his condition. Touched by the appeal, he commanded his angels, or those beings whom he had created in heaven, to assemble to a great council. The Good Spirit, addressing himself to his conclave of counsellors, said, "What shall we do to better the condition of man? for I have created him frail and weak." The host of assembled angels answered and said, "Oh, Good Spirit, thou hast formed and created us, and thou art self-existent, knowing all things, and thou alone knowest what is best for thy creatures."

The consultation lasted six days; and, during this time, not a breath of wind blew to disturb the surface of the waters—this calm is now called *Unwatig* by the Indians. On the seventh day, not a cloud was to be seen, the sky was blue and serene — this is now called *Nägeezhig* by them.

The Good Spirit having consulted his angels during six days, on the seventh day sent down a messenger to the Indian, placing in his right bosom a piece of white hare-skin, and in his left, part of the head of the white-headed eagle — the hare-skin, and the part of the head of the bald-headed eagle, were painted blue, representing a blue sky — the symbol of peace, observed on the six days' consultation in heaven. The messenger was directed to tell the man who lamented, that his words were heard, and that they had come before the Good Spirit—that he was the messenger of glad tidings to him. And that he must conform himself strictly to the Good Spirit's commandments — that he had brought a piece of white hare-skin, and part of a white eagle's head, which they must use in their Medawi (or Grand Medicine Feast) — and whatsoever they should ask on those occasions, would be granted to them, and a prolongation of life would be given to the sick. The messenger also presented the Indian a white otter-skin, painted on the back of the head with a blue stripe—the paint used being, in fact, a piece of the blue sky which appeared so beautiful in their eyes. [The blue earth now-a-days used as a paint on pipes, pouches, and other cherished articles, is typical of peace and kindness.] The messenger held in his hands a bunch of white flowers and plants, and said — "This will be a medicine for the healing of your sicknesses; I have been directed to scatter it over all the earth, so that it may be readily found when the Indian needs it"— scattering it over the earth as he spoke.

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[1] The cedilla to the terminal *a*, in this word, is intended to carry the inflection once.

At this time, a very large tree was sent down from heaven, and planted in the midst of the island; its roots, which were very large, extended to the extremity of the earth, east and west, so that the winds could not root it up; on the east side of it a blue mark was set, representing the blue stripe of the sky. The messenger instructed the Indian how to make use of its bark, as a mixture to other medicinal herbs and roots; cautioning them always to take it from the east side.

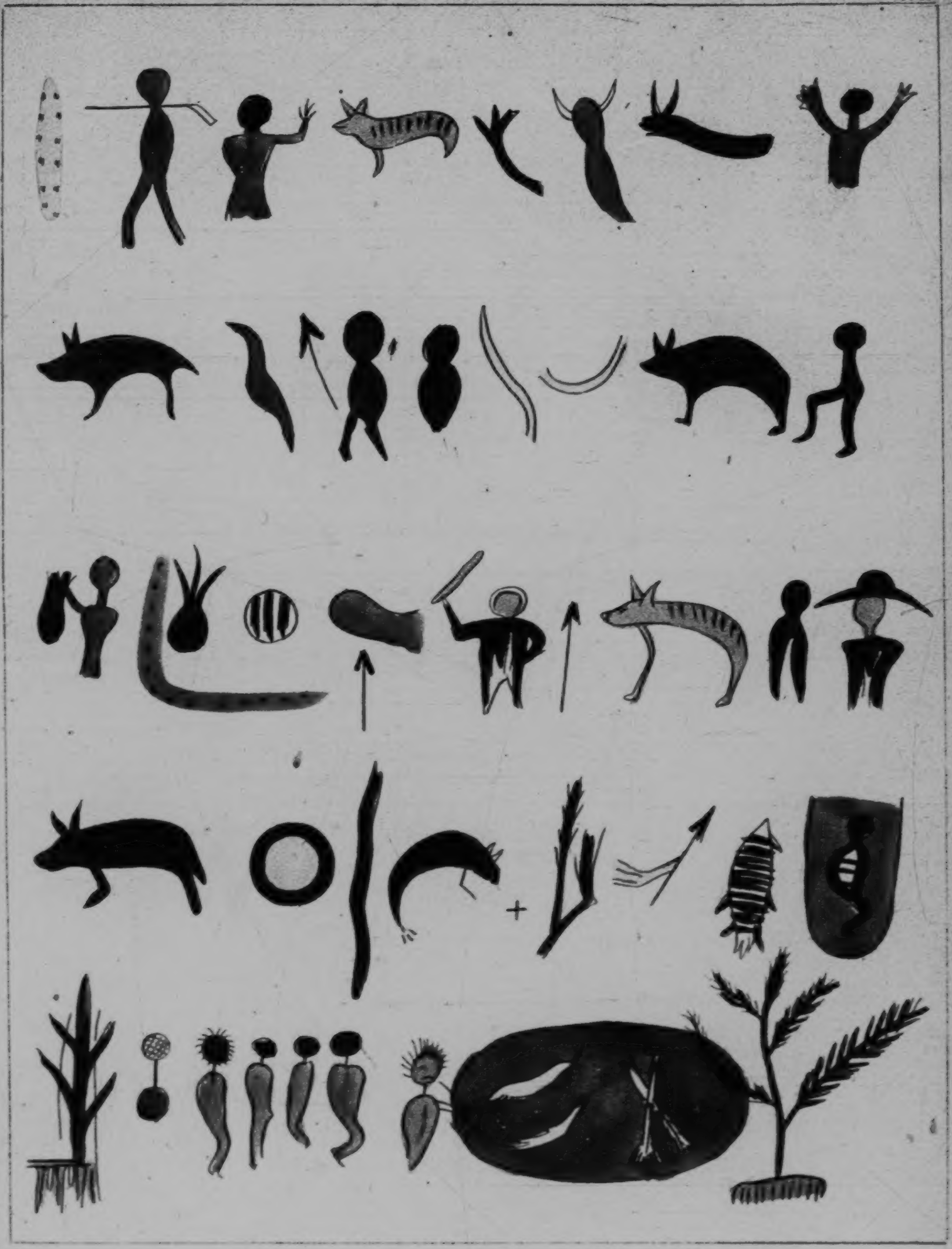
In the traditionary reminiscences of the Chippewas, they embrace quite a body of mythology. It is not only the Great Good and Great Bad Spirit that plays the chief part in their cosmogony, with the whole endless catalogue of minor deities and spirits, good and evil; but they profess to have been visited by beings, of a power superior to mere men, from the land of spirits and dreams, and from the sacred precincts of the dead. One of these is called Chebiabose, or the keeper of the country of souls. They tell of Pauguk, who is a human skeleton, armed with a bow and arrows, typifying death. Many of their winter's tales — for winter is the season of stories — are of fairies, having supernatural powers; many of them are of giants, who are generally represented as cannibals; and still a greater number of these oral narrations are connected with sorcerers, wizards, and the wide agency of evil spirits of the land and water. The author has collected, both from this and other tribes, and published, in 1839, two volumes of these oral, traditionary, and imaginative legends; gathered from the Indian wigwams, with a view of illustrating Indian opinions and beliefs on the great mysteries of life, death, good and evil spirits, and dæmonology, witchcraft, magic, and immortality — for there is scarcely one of these relations which does not exhibit the belief of the tribes on these subjects. (Algic Researches, 2 vols. 8vo., N. Y., 1839.)

Very prominent among the mythological legends and lodge-stories of the Chippewas, are the acts of Manabosho. He appears in a thousand forms, assuming as great a contrariety of character as Mercury himself. For, while the theory always regards him as a god, he is often put to the lowest shifts of a man. Though he can transform birds and quadrupeds into men, he is often necessitated for a meal; and resorts to tricks of the lowest kind. But he has always his magic drum and rattles with him, to raise up supernatural powers to help him out of his straits. He has the power to send the birds and beasts on all sorts of errands, yet will sometimes, as when they danced before him (Alg. Res.), snatch a fat duck or two to make a meal. He survived a general deluge of the earth, and afterwards re-created it, by telling the beaver and muskrat to dive down after a little mud. If the Indians are often pinched by want, during the season of tales, they are excessively amused by these grotesque stories.

Besides his wisdom, they ascribed to him great necromantic power; and the tradition affirms, that he drew out for them, on strips of betula bark, for the use of all good hunters, and zealous followers of the original arts and manners of their forefathers, the subjoined pictographs. (Vide Plates 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22.) They have been collected from Chippewa hunters on the banks of Lake Superior. What adds prodigiously, beyond all doubt, to the interest and value of this occult species of knowledge, is the assurance, given by one of my Indian informants on the path of the hunter, who says of these devices, "that he had tried them, and found them to succeed."

Viewed as a distinct and leading branch of the Algonquins, the Chippewas are, pre-eminently, expert and brave warriors, and woodsmen, and foresters—delighting in seclusion, forests, and mysticisms, but placing their main stake in life on the chase. As such they may be described during the period we have known them, and as contemners of arts, fixed industry, and letters. They have regarded the use of the bow and arrow, the war-club and spear, as the noblest employments of man. War is pursued by the northern Algonquins as the only avenue open to them which is capable of satisfying the thirst for glory. Their appetite for praise is strong, and is gratified, ordinarily, in surmounting the dangers of the forest, or the vicissitudes of climate. Wild adventures of the chase occupy a large space in their lodge reminiscences, mingled, as the recitals usually are, with tales of the supernatural, and the developments of mysterious agencies. But it is success in war, alone, that fills the highest aspirations of the Chippewa mind. To hunt well and to fight well, are the first and the last themes of their hopes and praises of the living and the dead. End

Assuming these pursuits as the best guarantees of their happiness and independence, they have ever looked upon agricultural and mechanical labors as degrading. In all their history, they have ever, till within a few years, steadily and uniformly opposed the introduction of schools, as well as plans of husbandry. The little corn that their women plant, the wild rice that they gather, and the esculent roots which they dig, sufficed, in all time past, to fill their views. On the same principle



MANABOSHO'S DEVICES

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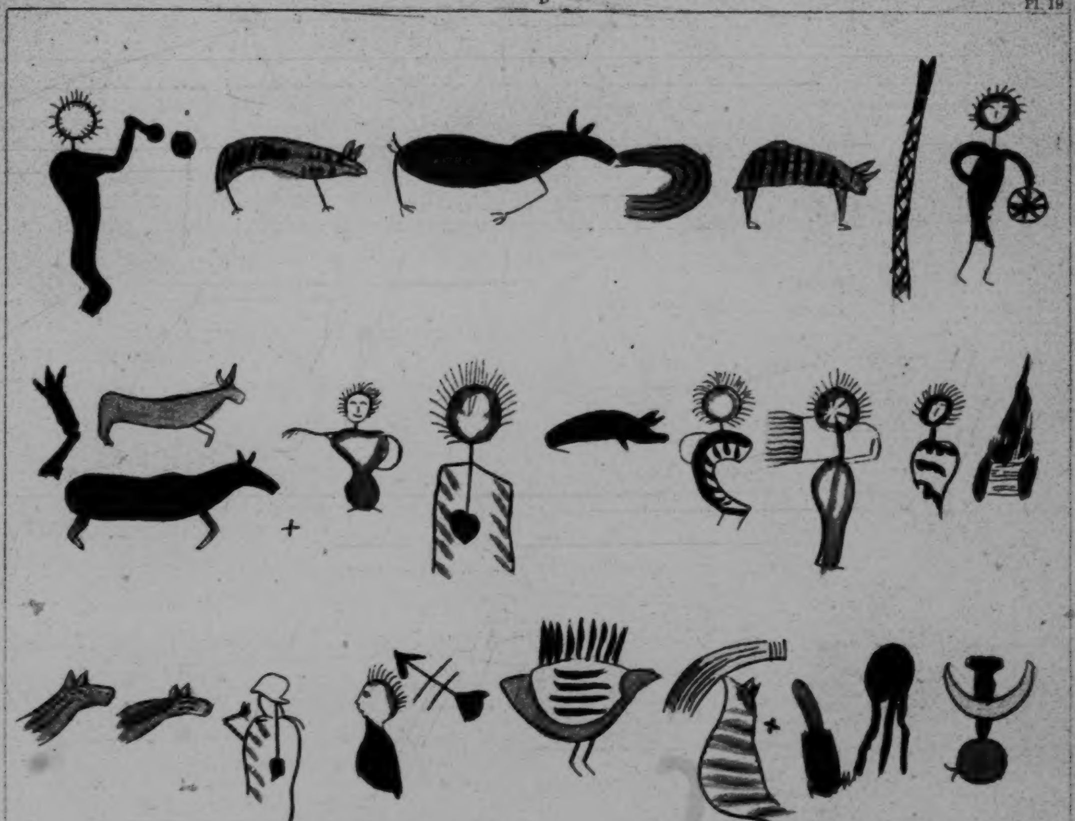
Pl. 19



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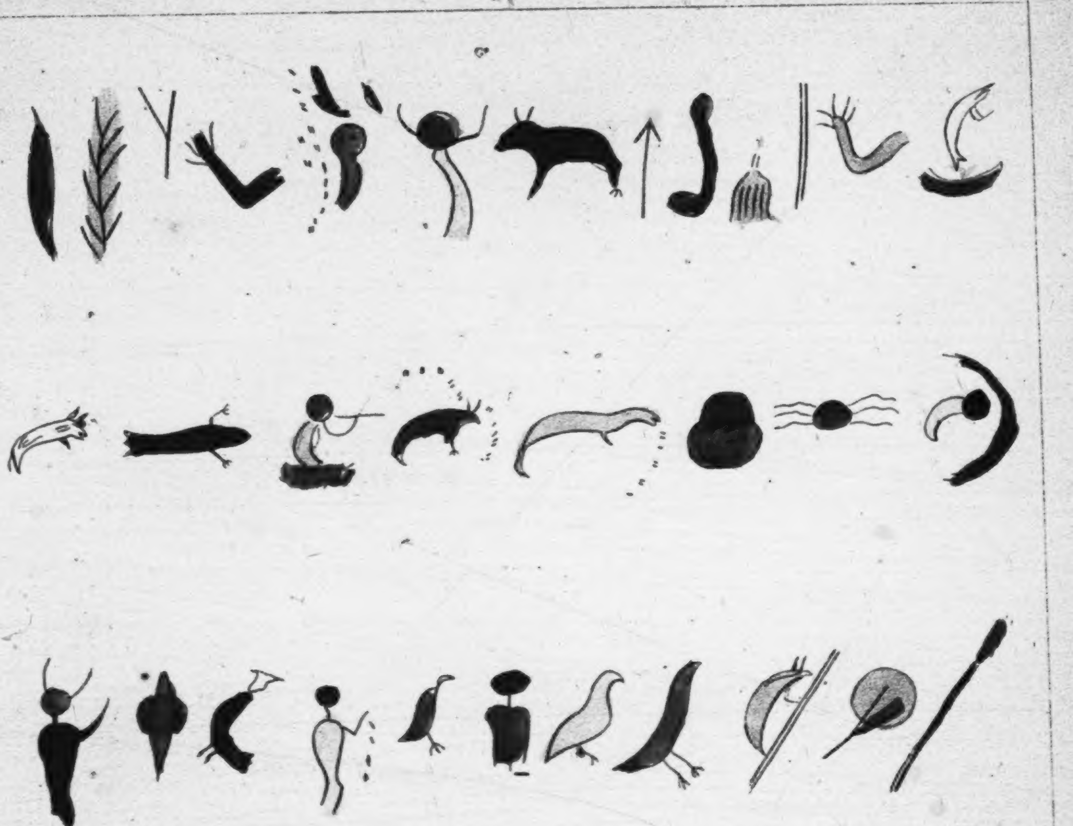

MANABOSHO'S DEVICES

they have also opposed Christianity. They have regarded it, when their views could be obtained, as a system designed to abridge their natural freedom, and to bring them into a state of society which was not originally meant for them, but which is, on the contrary, as their jossakeeds tell them, suited to destroy them. They have ever been nervous and restless when talking on these subjects, under apprehensions of the disturbing and blighting forces of civilization upon their simple and precarious forest system. Hence their chiefs and wise men have planted themselves on the basis of their ancient manners and arts, and given an emphatic negative to the propositions of all teachers, missionaries, and humanitarians. This was the doctrine of Pontiac in 1763, and of Tecumseh, and his wily priest-brother, the prophet Elksatowa, in 1812. They resisted the white man as the advent of a destroyer. We should not deceive ourselves as to the native Indian opinions of themselves and of the European race.

Such has been the thread of argument, or rather the tissue of Indian opinion, down to the present day, in the discourse of their best and most eloquent speakers. They have, with intuitive correctness, conceived the idea that two states of society so antagonistical as the hunter and the civilized state could not long exist prosperously in juxtaposition. They have continually felt, if not realized, that the stronger or superior state would absorb and destroy the weaker or inferior one. "I wandered about," said a Chippewa chief to me in 1822, "after *you*[1] first arrived at these falls, like a bird, not knowing where to alight." "Let us drive these dogs in red clothing into the sea," said Pontiac in 1763, in reference to the British colonies. "Throw away your fire-steels," said the Prophet of the Wabash in 1811, "and use the old method of making fire; put on skins for clothing, as our fathers did, if you would escape the anger of the Great Spirit." It is from such expressions, and a close observation for years on the various tribes of this people, that the foregoing conclusions are drawn. And I have found the sentiments more fresh and vigorous in the northern tribes in proportion as they had felt less of the influences of the frontier life, and occupied profounder and remoter positions in the great and unchanged wilderness.

The writer first visited the Chippewa territories north of latitude 46° in the northwest in 1820. At that time the attention of the War Department was strongly turned to the native population, character, and resources of that hitherto neglected portion of the Union. The public expedition for exploring it, of which he was a member, was organized at Detroit in the spring of that year, and extended its exploratory journey around the shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, to the sources of the Mississippi. The expedition returned by the way of the Falls of St. Anthony and Prairie du Chien to Green Bay, and around the shores of Lake Michigan to Chicago, St. Joseph's, Grand River, and Michilimackinac, where the outward track was intersected. The next year (1821) he was secretary to the commissioners who were appointed to treat at Chicago for the Indian lands in northern Illinois. In the outward track thither, he visited the valleys of the Miami and Wabash, some sections of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and the entire valley of the Illinois. A large number of the bands of the Algonquin family were met at several places on the route, and in very large numbers at Chicago, the terminal point of the journey. These opportunities of witnessing the leading traits in the race, prepared him to assume the official position presented to him in 1822, when the Government determined to establish a military post and agency in the basin of Lake Superior. At this place, and subsequently at Michilimackinac and at Detroit, he resided several years, devoting attention to an investigation of the history, language, and traits of this leading branch of the Algonquin family. These remarks appear to be proper, as indicating a basis for the foregoing observations.

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[1] Meaning the American Garrison and Agency.

The Chippewas are an active, generally tall, well developed, good looking race of men. The chiefs of the bands of St. Mary's, Lake Superior, and the upper Mississippi, are a manly, intelligent body of men, with a bold and independent air and gait, and possessing good powers of oratory. Of stately and easy manners, they enter and leave a room without the least awkwardness or embarrassment. And if one did not cast his eyes on their very picturesque costume, and frontlets, medals, and feathers, he might suppose himself to have been in the company of grave elders and gentlemen. Their marked repose of character and ease of manners cannot fail to strike one; but what is still more remarkable, is to hear one of these noble men of nature, when he arises to speak, fall into a train of elevated remarks, which would often do honor to a philosopher. At the same time that he is thus maintaining a pride of character in the council-chamber, his family, who, perhaps, occupy a wigwam on the shore, are without a loaf of bread or a piece of meat to appease their hunger.

ONEIDAS.

The name of this tribe holds a prominent place in the aboriginal history of the country. Iroquois tradition regards them as one of the youngest members of their confederacy; but as far as the deeds of this noted confederacy were known, the Oneidas ever held a prominent rank. It is averred that an Oneida sage first suggested in council the plan of this confederacy; and the tribe has been noted, down to modern days, for a succession of wise counsellors and benevolent men. The name of Oneida is indicative of the origin of the tribe. They had lived at a prior period on the banks of Oneida Lake, at the confluence of Oneida Creek. They migrated from their first position up the beautiful and fertile valley of the Oneida to Kunalöa, the present site of the town of Oneida Castle, and subsequently to the most elevated lands at the source of the stream. The sachems pitched their wigwams near a large crystal spring on these heights, in a small rural valley, shaded profusely with the butternut tree.

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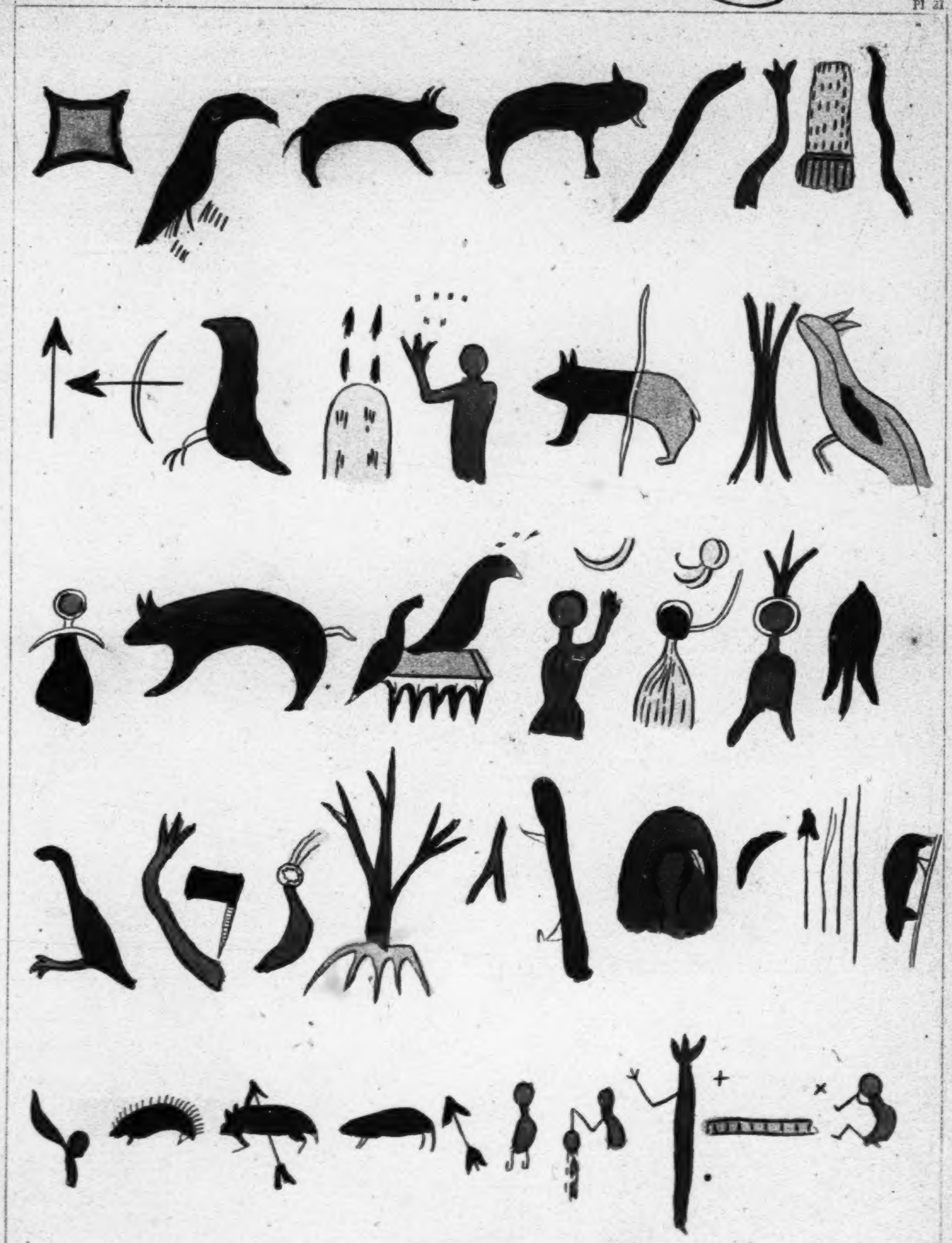

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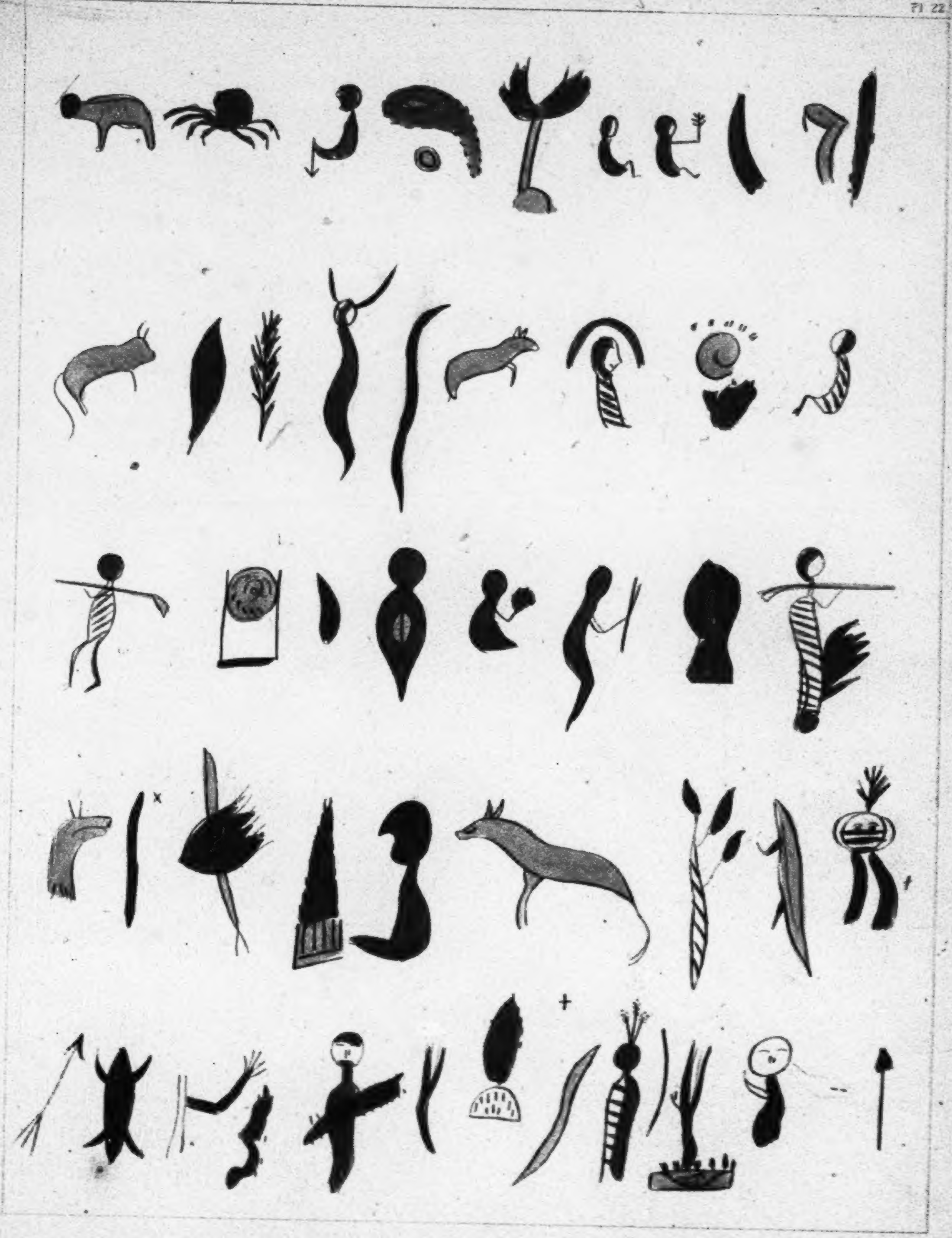

MANABOSHO'S DEVICES

Pl. XXIII

S. Eastman U. S. Army Del.

Ilman & Sons

ONEIDA LAKE FROM THE ORIGINAL SITE OF THE ONEIDA STONE.

Oneida County N.Y.

PUBLISHED BY J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. PHILAD^A

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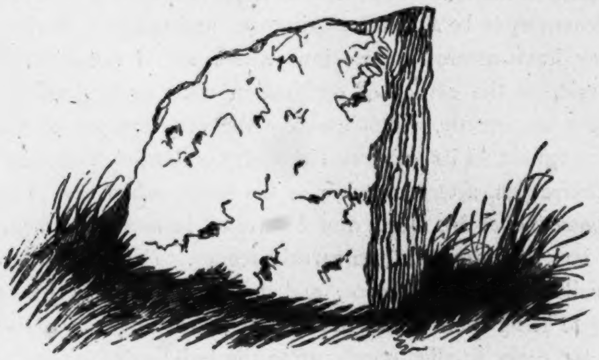
The site was defended from the eastern winds by the contiguous summit of an elevated hill. Its western borders afforded a range for the deer and elk to the banks of the Susquehanna. Near this spring, resting on the grassy plain, stood an upright boulder of white rock—a species of Silurian limestone—which is figured in the following cut. This has sometimes been called by Europeans the Oneida Stone; but not truly.



Some five or six hundred yards east of this secluded and romantic location, the sheltering hill reached its apex. On this elevated position they found an orbicular boulder of rock, partly embedded in the soil, at which they built their council-fire while assembled around it to deliberate on their national affairs. This spot became the site of their beacon-fire when it was necessary to summon the tribe to war. For it was the apex of the summit lands, and a beacon-light erected here could be seen for a distance of forty miles. Oneida Lake can be clearly seen from it, and the curling smoke of this light, kindled by their friends at that place, was the rallying sign. Plate 23 presents a view of the landscape, as it appears at this day, taken from this summit.

The name of the tribe is derived from this council-fire and beacon-stone. The term *O'neö*, in the Oneida language, signifies simply a round stone, and is probably derived originally from the Iroquois *on*, a hill; its local and participial forms in *ta*, and *aug*, being dropped in usage. Nationality, with our Indian tribes, is dated from the period of their assuming to build a separate council-fire. Viewed under these striking circumstances in their history—always present in the minds of the Oneidas—the term carries the signification of the Tribe of the Light of the Council-Fire, and Council-Stone.

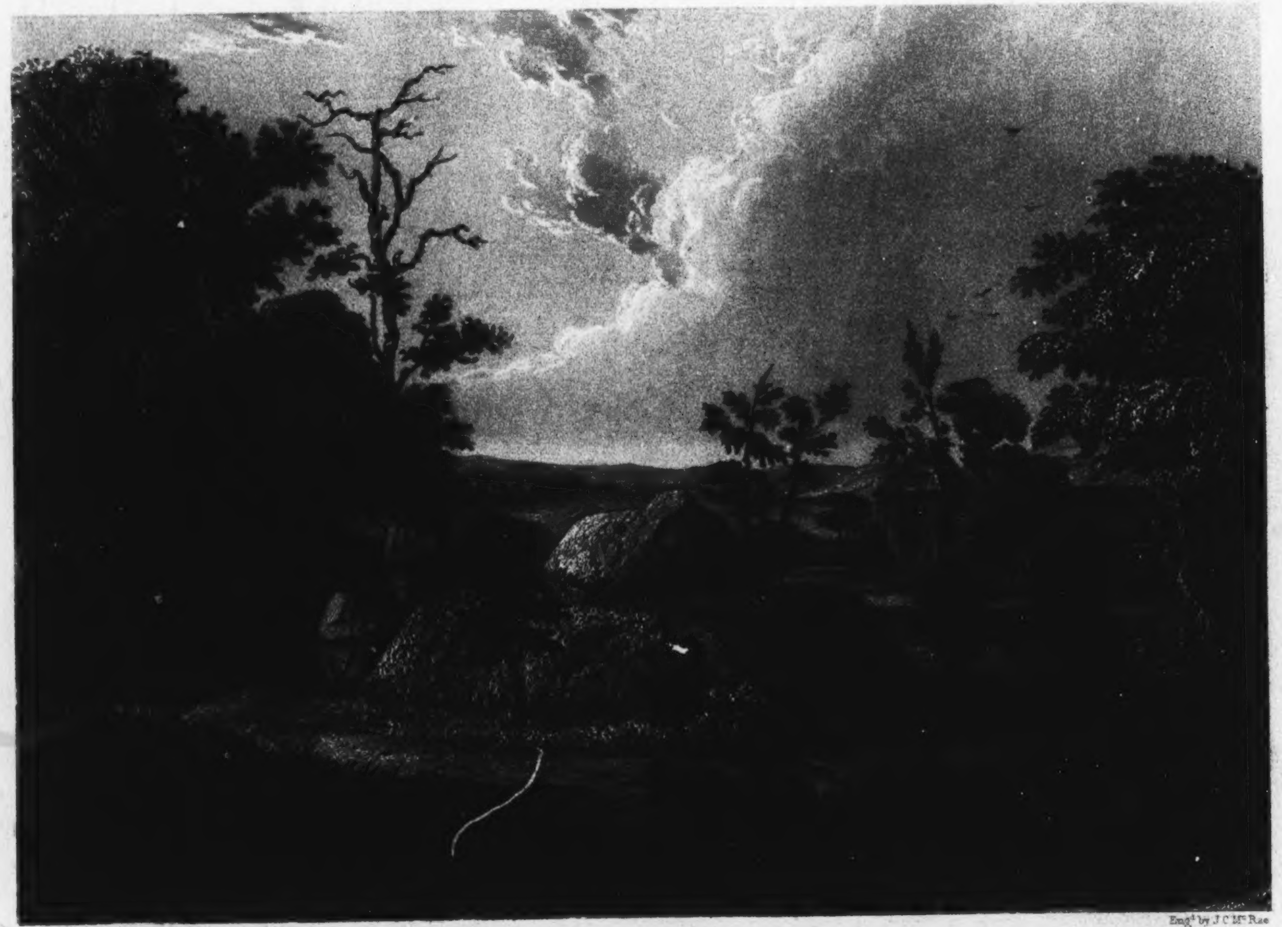
Actuated by the respect which is felt for the tribe, the people of Oneida County (N. Y.) have, within recent years, transferred this monument of Oneida history from the ancient resting-place on its summit, between the waters of the Mohawk and the Susquehannah, to an artificial mound prepared for its reception in the cemetery at

Utica. The accompanying view of it (Plate 24,) is taken in this position. The Oneidas have ever maintained a high rank for the urbanity of their manners, and the wisdom of their counsels. Brave in war, mild in peace, and hospitable under all circumstances, no visitor or wayfarer, white or red, ever entered their cabins without having his wants supplied, and being kindly put on his track. Humanity, thus appealed to, quenched the spirit of vengeance; and it was only necessary for the weak to fall into their power, to be assured of kindness and safety. During the course of our history, they have uttered expressions which would not disgrace the lips of a Grecian sage; and, as the claims of civilization were understood, they have given utterance to lofty sentiments, which embody the very essence of Christianity. No maxim of Seneca equals, in its sublime simplicity or truthfulness, the expressions of the venerable Skenandoa, uttered in view of his death, when the years of more than a century had passed over his head, and he waited in total blindness, and calm submission, for the hour of his recall from earthly scenes. (Vide Biography.)

The French called this tribe *Oniouts;* and the Canadian authorities made early and strenuous efforts to bring them under their influence, during the entire period of the Dutch rule and the early English epoch, up to the building of separate military works at the confluence of Oswego river, on Lake Ontario, and at Fort Stanwix, at the source of the Mohawk. These early transactions are succinctly and consecutively described by Colden, in his History of the Five Nations. Antiquarian evidences of these efforts to exert jurisdiction over the country, yet remain, or remained but a few years since. In 1812, the author visited and examined remains of ancient works, called the "French Fields," situated in the town of Lenox, but a few miles west of Oneida Castle. For a plan of these remains, see Oneota, p. 175.

The relations of the Oneidas with the European races, were friendly, peaceable, and consistent from the beginning. With the United Provinces of Holland, from the era of Hudson, in 1609, they were ever on terms of the closest amity. When Great Britain assumed the sovereignty, in 1664, the same close relations were continued. Trade was uninterrupted—peace was faithfully preserved on both sides. Not a drop of English or Oneida blood was knowingly and intentionally shed, to disturb the long period of harmony; and when, after a rule of more than a century, the United States assumed the sovereignty, the Oneidas, still true to a line of policy due to their ancient chiefs, sided with the rising colonists, and remained their allies throughout the contest. It is an honor to them to say, that, as a tribe, they shared the respect and esteem of Washington, and that their noble sachems stood by him in the dark and perilous days of the Revolution.

Plate 24



Drawn by Capt^{n} S. Eastman U.S.A.

Eng^{d} by J C M^{c} Rae

ONEIDA STONE. UTICA CEMETRY

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ONONDAGAS.[1]

Iroquois history, like that of so many ancient nations of other lands, and of far higher pretensions to wisdom and glory, begins in an obscure and fabulous period of idol-deities, giants, monsters, and nondescripts. Their cosmogonies are not a whit behind those of early Greece for their extravagance and incongruity, though they are, perhaps, less so for the imagination in which the theories are clothed. Beginning, like the tribes of the Mediterranean, in the acknowledgment of a First Great Cause, and recognising, in their history, the general events of a deluge, the Iroquois take into the councils of their Owayneo, a great antagonistical power called Kluneólux, and a multitude of lesser agencies of demoniacal and magic power; and they soon end by getting the creation under the influence of conflicting spirits, which the Evil One alone could furnish with principles. Neither are they behindhand in their fabulous accounts of the origin of things, except in the clumsiness of their narrations. The Arabs themselves do not exceed them in their wild beliefs in the power of necromancy and transformations. Their actors slip themselves into the shape of beasts and birds, reptiles and insects, dancing feathers or sunbeams, and even trees and stones, and inanimate forms, in a twinkling; and as for sorcery and medical magic, Nineveh and Babylon could not exceed the assumed powers of their priests, prophets, wabenos, and medas. Atahentsic, the Iroquois affirm, is a goddess in heaven. To see her, six of the original men ascended to those regions. The ruler of the skies, having discovered the amour, cast her headlong to the earth. Water alone then filled the abyss. She was received on the back of a turtle, which rapidly extended itself, and grew to the dimensions of the earth. Here she was delivered of male twins. One was called Youskika, the other Thonitsanon, who typified the conflicting powers of Good and Evil. Youskika, the elder of these, finally killed the younger. Soon after, Atahentsic resigned the government of the earth into the hands of the murderer. Atahentsic is regarded in a symbolical sense, the same as the moon; and Youskika is identical with the sun.

The origin of the Iroquois they ascribe to the general vicinity of Oswego, and from thence they dispersed over New York. An old tradition related by Cannissatigo, a venerable chief, speaking of the lapse of other days, is in the following words:

"When our good Owayneo raised Akanishiogeny out of the waters, he said to his brethren, 'How fine a country is this! I will make Red men, the best of men, to enjoy it.' Then with handsful of red seeds, like the eggs of flies, did he strew the fertile fields of Onondaga. Little worms came out of the seeds, and penetrated the earth, when the spirits who had never yet seen the light, entered into and united with them. Maneto watered the earth with his rain, the sun warmed it, the worms with the spirits in them grew, putting forth little arms and legs, and moved the light earth that covered them. After nine moons, they came forth perfect boys and girls. Owayneo covered them with his mantle of warm, purple cloud, and nourished them with milk from his fingers' ends. Nine summers did he nurse them, and nine summers more did he instruct them how to live. In the meantime, he had made for their use, trees, plants, and animals of various kinds. Akanishiogeny was covered with woods, and filled with creatures. Then he assembled his children together, and said, 'Ye are five nations, for ye sprang each from a different handful of the seed I sowed, but ye are all brethren: and I am your father, for I made ye all: I have nursed and brought you up.

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[1] The term *aga*, in the Iroquois, signifies place or locality, and is the equivalent expression for the English terminations in *by*, *burg*, *field*, *ham*, &c. *On*, in compound words, denotes a hill; its duplication duplicates and gives intensity to terms. In this manner, the expression Onondaga (*i. e.*, place of hills), has its origin.

"'Mohawks, I have made you bold and valiant; and see, I give you corn for your food.

"'Oneidas, I have made you patient of pain and hunger; the nuts and fruits of the trees are yours.

"'Senecas, I have made you industrious and active; beans do I give you for your nourishment.

"'Cayugas, I have made you strong, friendly, and generous; groundnuts, and every root, shall refresh you.

"'Onondagas, I have made you wise, just, and eloquent; squashes and grapes have I given you to eat, and tobacco to smoke in council. The beasts, birds, and fishes, I have given to you all in common.

"'As I have loved and taken care of you, so do you love and take care of one another. Communicate freely to each other the good things I have given you, and learn to imitate each other's virtues. I have made you the best people in the world, and I give you the best country. You will defend it from the invasions of other nations — from the children of other gods — and keep possession of it for yourselves, while the sun and moon give light, and the waters run in the rivers. This you shall do, if you observe my words. Spirits! I am now about to leave you. The bodies I have given you will in time grow old, and wear out, so that you will be weary of them; or from various accidents, they may become unfit for your habitation, and you will leave them. I cannot remain here always, to give you new ones. I have great affairs to mind in distant places, and I cannot again so long attend to the nursing of children. I have enabled you, therefore, among yourselves to produce new bodies, to supply the place of old ones, that every one of you, when he parts with his old habitation, may in due time find a new one, and never wander longer than he chooses under the earth, deprived of the light of the sun. Nourish and instruct your children, as I have nourished and instructed you. Be just to all men, and kind to strangers that come among you. So shall ye be happy, and be loved by all, and I myself will sometimes visit and assist you.'

"Saying this, he wrapped himself in a bright cloud, and went like a swift arrow to the sun, where his brethren rejoiced at his return. From thence he often looked at Akanishiogeny, and pointing, showed with pleasure to his brethren the country he had formed, and the nations he had produced to inhabit it." [T. Maxwell.]

The next we hear of these kindly instructed and prophetically cared for Akanishiogeny, is their endurance of a long period of conflicts with giants, serpents, and monsters of the lakes and the dry land; and of terrible visitations from meteors and fire-balls. They had also, in these primal ages of their history, most redoubtable and cruel enemies, against whom they fought with mortal arms. And this was also a period of jars and quarrels amongst themselves. Their rise as a nation and confederacy is thus symbolically related. According to the traditions of the wise men, Ta-ren-ya-wa-go was their divine patron. But he assumed the shape of a man, being in all things like the rest of them; and in this shape he visited their original point of origin, near the borders of Lake Ontario. He had a wonderful and magnificent canoe, with which he passed over the lakes, and visited the streams and rivers. This canoe was of the purest whiteness, and appeared to move, when he was seated in it, with the power of magic. With the touch of his paddle it ascended the rapids of the Oswego river. In this canoe he ascended all the lesser lakes, carefully examined their shores, and placed all things in proper order for the sustenance and comfort of good men. He had taught the people of the different tribes the art of raising corn and beans—articles which had not before been cultivated among them. He made the fishing grounds free, and opened to all the uninterrupted pursuit of game. He had distributed literally among mankind the good fruits of the earth, and had removed all obstructions to the navigation of the streams. He now directed and encouraged the people every where to a more faithful observance of the laws and requirements of the great and good Spirit, that these blessings might be perpetually continued to them, and that the nations he had visited might be the favoured recipients of his choicest bounties. These things being accomplished, he deliberately resolved to lay aside his divine character, and in after years to make his abode among the children of men. He accordingly selected for his residence a beautiful spot on the southern shore of Cross Lake, (or "*Te-nugkt'-too*," as called by the natives.) He here erected a suitable habitation, after a time formally relinquished his divine name and title of Ta-ren-ya-wa-go, and in all respects assumed the character and habits of a man. Nevertheless, he was always afterwards looked up to as an extraordinary individual, as one possessing transcendent powers of mind and consummate wisdom. He lost little or none of his influence by this change of state. A new name, Hi-a-wat-ha (signifying very wise man), was spontaneously accorded to him by the great mass of people who resorted to his presence in throngs from all quarters for advice and instruction. The companions of the Spirit-Man were at a subsequent council each rewarded with a seat in the councils of their countrymen, and they became eminently distinguished for their superior prowess in war, and for their dignified bearing in the council-room. After the preliminaries of settlement were made at his new home, and Hi-a-wat-ha had become firmly fixed in his new residence, the light canoe in which his former achievements had been performed was carefully secured, and it was afterward launched only on important occasions, and to convey the wise man to the great national council of the country. Notwithstanding its possessor now claimed to be only an humble individual of his adopted country, yet there was a charm in the white canoe. It possessed a sort of magic which still rendered it to him an object of solicitude and respect, if not of adoration; for it had borne him safely through many perils, and it had ever been a sure prompter and talisman, continually urging him forward to accomplish the magnificent deeds he had performed during the prosecution of the magnanimous mission lately so happily consummated. Years passed away, and every thing flourished under the superintending hand of Hi-a-wat-ha. Under his guidance and administration the Onondagas advanced in consequence; and in his time they assumed an elevated position among the surrounding tribes. They were looked up to as a people counselled by a wise and judicious chief, sent among them for their special benefit by the great and good Spirit. To complete his influence, he married an Onondaga wife.

After a quiet residence of a few years at his new location, the inhabitants of the country became greatly alarmed by the sudden approach of a ferocious band of warriors from north of the great lakes. As they advanced, indiscriminate slaughter was made of men, women, and children. Many had been slain, and ultimate destruction seemed to be the consequence either of bold resistance or a quiet relinquishment of absolute rights. During this signal agitation of the public mind, people from all quarters thronged the dwellng-place of Hi-a-wat-ha for advice in this most pressing emergency. After a deep and thoughtful contemplation of the momentous subject, he informed the principal chiefs that his advice was to call a grand council of all the tribes that could be gathered from the east and from the west; "for," said he, "our safety is in wise counsels and in speedy and energetic action." Accordingly runners were despatched in all directions, notifying the head men of a grand council to be held on the banks of the Lake Oh-non-ta-hai (Onondaga Lake). This council was held on the high ground where the villages of the Saline now stands. In due time the chiefs, warriors, and head men from far and near were assembled together, with great numbers of men, women, and children, to devise means for their general safety and defence. All the principal men had arrived except the wise man Hi-a-wat-ha. The council-fire had been kindled three days, and he had not yet arrived. Messengers were despatched for him, who found him in a most dejected and melancholy mood. He told them that evil lay in his path; that he had a fearful foreboding of ill-fortune, and had concluded not to attend the council at Oh-non-ta-hai. "But," said the messengers, "we have delayed the deliberations of the grand council on account of your absence, and the assembled chiefs have resolved not to proceed to business till your arrival." After a full discussion of the subject, and being over-persuaded, he reluctantly yielded to their persevering solicitations. From the inception, Hi-a-wat-ha had harbored a strong presentiment that he should not return from the council, nor ever again be cheered by a sight of his earthly home, and the peculiar endearments which rendered that home attractive. After making a suitable disposition of his domestic affairs, with a heavy heart he launched his magic canoe, placing therein such provisions as might be needful for his journey. He kindly bade his only daughter to accompany him. She modestly took her seat in the frail vessel, and forthwith they made all possible speed to the council-ground.

Nothing occurred to interrupt a prosperous voyage. The white vessel glided silently down the deep waters of the Seneca, contrasting beautifully with their dark brown hue. The current was sufficiently rapid to preclude the necessity of using paddles, and the only effort necessary was to keep its head with the stream. Arriving at So-hak′-he (Onondaga outlet), the wise man now plied their paddles vigorously and rapidly against the current, till fairly upon the bright bosom of the Onondaga. The council-ground was soon in view, and as the aged and venerable Hi-a-wat-ha approached, a general shout of joy resounded throughout the assembly; and every demonstration of respect was paid to this illustrious sage and counsellor. He soon landed, and while passing up the steep bank towards the council-ground, a loud sound was heard, like a violent and rushing wind. Instantly all eyes were turned upwards to the sky, and a small speck was discovered rapidly descending from the clouds. It apparently grew larger and larger as it neared the earth, and was descending with fearful velocity into their very midst. Terror and alarm seized every breast, and each seemed anxious only for his own safety. The greatest confusion prevailed throughout the assembled multitude; and all, except the venerable Hi-a-wat-ha, sought safety by flight. He gravely uncovered his silvered head, and besought his daughter to await the approaching danger with becoming resignation. At the same time, he briefly reminded her of the great folly and impropriety of attempting to obstruct or prevent the designs or wishes of the Great Spirit. "If he has determined our destruction now," he said, "we shall not escape by removal, nor evade in any manner his unalterable decisions." She mildly acquiesced in his suggestions, and with the most patient submission waited the approaching crisis.

All this was but the work of an instant. No sooner had the resolution of the wise man become fixed, and his last words been spoken, than an immense bird, with long and pointed beak, and wide extended wings, came down with a mighty swoop in the direction of the girl; and while all was fear and confusion, it passed with the swiftness of an arrow, and crushed the beautiful object to the earth. With such force did the monster-bird descend, and so great was the commotion of the air when it struck the ground, that the whole assembly were thrown violently back on the ground. Hi-a-wat-ha, as if influenced by a supernatural agency, alone remained unmoved and upright, and silently beheld the melancholy catastrophe. His darling daughter had been killed before his eyes in a marvellous manner, and her destroyer, the white-winged messenger, had perished with her. This sudden bereavement had the effect completely to paralyze his faculties, and for a time he stood fixed and immovable as a rock. The dismayed warriors cautiously advanced to the spot, and calmly surveyed the dismal scene. It was found that the bird, in its descent, had completely buried its head, beak, and neck, in the ground. This rare bird, the messenger of Owayneo, was covered with a beautiful plumage of snowy white feathers. Every warrior, as he approached, plucked a plume from it, with which he adorned his crown. This unlooked-for visitant thus became the means of furnishing to the warriors a precious ornament hitherto unknown among them, which was ever afterwards held in high estimation, and never omitted in decorations for the war-path, or the important councils of peace. Succeeding generations substituted the plumes of the white heron, as approaching nearer to those of the heavenly bird, than any other.

Upon the removal of the carcass of the huge bird, the body of the innocent girl was found completely crushed and annihilated. Nothing could be recovered of her to indicate that she had ever been a human being. At this distressing sight, the bereaved and dejected parent yielded himself up to the most poignant sorrow. His moans spoke the keen anguish of his heart. He spurned all proffers of consolation, and yielded to feelings of unbounded grief. He became an object of despair, and in desponding hopelessness threw himself down upon his face to the earth, spirit-broken and disconsolate. The few shattered fragments of the innocent girl were carefully gathered together, and interred with all the tenderness and solemnity of grief. All seemed to participate in the afflictions of the aged father and venerable counsellor, and to sympathize in his woe — still, no comfort came to his soul. He remained in this prostrate situation three whole days and nights, unmoved. The fears of the assembled chiefs were aroused, lest he might become a willing victim to his melancholy. Nothing had as yet been done in the grand council; and such had been the causes of delay, that many began to despair of accomplishing anything, and some thought seriously of returning to their homes without an effort. A few of the leading chiefs consulted together as to what course it was most expedient to pursue. It was at once resolved that nothing should be attempted until the voice of the wise man could be heard. A suitable person was despatched to ascertain whether he yet breathed — so fatally had the doleful spell enchained him, that as yet it had not been broken. Report came that he was yet alive. A kind-hearted chief, named Ho-see′-noke, was directed by the council to make to the prostrate mourner a comforting speech, and to whisper kind words of consolation in his ears. After a deal of formal ceremony, he gradually recovered from his stupor, and began to converse. After a while, Hi-a-wat-ha gradually rose upon his seat, embracing his knees, while his silvered locks fell down loosely over his haggard cheeks. His looks were sad and ghastly —

his large dark brows knit firmly and solemnly over the white of his deep-set eyes. His dejected countenance expressed painful thought and long suffering — the suffering of one fallen from a high estate. The whole man seemed lost in the contemplation of the past.

During this interview between Hi-a-wat-ha and Ho-see′-noke, several messages were passed between the chiefs in council and the wise man, all continually urging him to an immediate attendance upon the duties before them. Hi-a-wat-ha at length arose, and desired refreshment. He ate and drank of such food as was hastily provided for him. He acknowledged himself strengthened and refreshed. He was now conducted to the presence of the council. His courtly gait, his majestic mien, his venerable form and noble figure, attracted the gaze, and commanded the respect and admiration of all, as he strode along with his simple wolf-skin robe. All acquiesced in obeisance to the venerable sage. A conspicuous place was assigned him in the council, and all eyes were riveted upon the man who it was supposed could with precision foretell their future destiny. The subject of the invasion was discussed by several of the ablest counsellors, and boldest warriors. Various schemes were proposed for the repulsion of the enemy. Hi-a-wat-ha listened in silence, till all had finished speaking. His opinion was earnestly sought by the surrounding chiefs. After a brief reference to the calamity, Hi-a-wat-ha said: "This is a subject that requires mature reflection, and calm deliberation. It is not fitting that one of so much importance should be treated lightly, or that our decisions should be hasty and inconsiderate. Let us postpone our deliberations for one day. During that time, we will weigh well the words of the wise chiefs and brave warriors who have already spoken. If they are not good, I will then communicate to you my plan for your consideration. It is one which I am confident will succeed, and ensure our safety if adopted."

After another day's delay the council again assembled, and all were anxious to hear the words of Hi-a-wat-ha. A breathless stillness reigned throughout the vast assembly as the venerable counsellor began. "Friends and brothers—you are members of many tribes, and you have come here, many of you, from your homes a great distance. We have convened for one common purpose — to promote one common interest, and that is, to provide for our mutual safety, and how it shall best be accomplished. To oppose these hordes of northern foes by tribes, singly and alone, would prove our certain destruction. We can make no progress in that way. We must unite ourselves into one common band of brothers. Our warriors united would certainly repel the enemy, and drive them from our lands. This must be done, and we are safe. You the people sitting under the shadow of the great tree, whose roots sink deep in the earth, and whose branches spread wide around, shall be the first nation, because you are warlike and mighty. And you the people who recline your bodies against the everlasting stone that cannot be moved, shall be the second nation, because you always give wise counsel. And you the people who have your habitation at the foot of the great mountain, and are overshadowed by its crags, shall be the third nation, because you are all greatly gifted in speech. And you the people whose dwelling is in the dark forest, and whose home is every where, shall be the fourth nation, because of your superior cunning in hunting. And you the people who live in the open country and possess much wisdom, shall be the fifth nation, because you understand better the art of raising corn and beans, and making cabins. You five great and powerful nations, with your tribes, must unite and have one common interest, and no foe shall disturb or subdue you. You the people who are as the feeble bushes, and you who are a fishing people, may place yourselves under our protection, and we will defend you. And you of the south, and you of the west, may do the same, and we will protect you. We earnestly desire the alliance and friendship of you all. Brothers—if we unite in this bond the Great Spirit will smile upon us, and we shall be free, prosperous, and happy. But if we remain as we are, we shall be subject to his frown. We shall be enslaved, ruined, perhaps annihilated forever. We may perish, and our name be blotted out forever. Brothers, these are the words of Hi-a-wat-ha; let them sink deep in your hearts. I have said it." A deep silence ensued, and the council was again postponed to the following day for a final decision of the important question before it. The chiefs, after due deliberation, again assembled, and declared the counsel of the wise man to be good, and worthy of adoption; and immediately was formed the celebrated *Aquinuschioni*, or amphyctionic league of the great confederacy of Five Nations, which to this day remains in full force. After the deliberations of the great council had been brought to a close, and the assembly were on the eve of separation, Hi-a-wat-ha, the divine teacher and counsellor, arose in a dignified manner, and said, "Friends and brothers, I have now fulfilled my mission upon earth; I have done every thing which can be done at present for the good of this great people. I have removed all obstructions from the streams; the canoes can now safely pass every where. I have given you good fishing-grounds and fair hunting-grounds. I have taught you the manner of cultivating corn, and many other arts and blessings I have bestowed liberally upon you. And lastly, I have now assisted you to form an everlasting league and covenant of friendship for your future safety and protection. If you preserve it without the admission of other people, you will always be free, numerous, and happy. If other nations or tribes are admitted to your councils they will sow jealousies among you, and you will become enslaved, few, and feeble. Remember these words; they are the last you will hear from the lips of Hi-a-wat-ha. Listen, my friends; the great master of breath calls me to go; I have patiently waited his summons; I am ready—farewell." As the wise man closed his speech, cheerful sounds burst upon the ears of the assembled multitude, as of myriads of the most delightful singing voices from above. The sky seemed to be filled with the sweetest melody of celestial music, till the whole vast assembly were completely absorbed in rapturous ecstacy. Amidst the general excitement, and while all eyes were turned towards the heavens, Hi-a-wat-ha was seen majestically seated in his necromantic canoe. He rose gracefully from the council-grounds, rising higher and higher through the air, until he became nearly lost from the view of the assembled and admiring throngs, while the fascinating music gradually became more and more plaintive and low, and finally it sweetly expired in the softest tones upon their ears as Hi-a-wat-ha, the godlike Ta-ren-ya-wa-go, entered the celestial regions of Owayneo.)

Such is the legend which the fancy of the Onondagas has constructed to account for the origin of the ancient league once formed by the warlike and illustrious Five Nations.

The Onondagas early attracted notice for their expertness in the chase, and their bravery and enterprise in war. They were also celebrated for the wisdom of their counsellors, and the eloquence of their speakers. The name of Garangula will long continue to be known for the eloquence of his words, if not for the keen irony of his satire, when addressed to an unsuccessful invader of his country. (La Hontan.) No person in their early history, however, appears to have so fully concentrated the popular applause of the tribe as Atotarho.[1] He was not only a hunter and warrior of great renown, but had a reputation for the arts of sorcery and necromancy, which made him the dread of his enemies. When the question arose of placing a permanent presiding officer over the deliberations of the general confederacy, the situation was offered to him. The Mohawks, who appear from the first to have been the advanced or foremost tribe in a military point of view, sent a delegation of their chiefs to announce the choice. They found him, after a search in the forest, sitting in an open space in low grounds deliberately smoking his pipe. His body was surrounded and defended, such was his power of sorcery, by a throng of serpents, who darted out their tongues towards the intrusive delegates. These delegates stood before him with unmoved composure, with their bows and arrows, and spears. Their heads were crowned with the flowing white plumes of the heron, and their necks and breasts ornamented with warlike insignia. This scene, as drawn by an Indian artist, is depicted in Plate 70, p. 420, Vol. I. Atotarho accepted the trust; and his name, like that of Cæsar, became, in after times, the title of this officer, although it had no other point of analogy with the history of that proud line, for the Iroquois government was ever strongly federative and representative. Agreeably to the annalist Cusick, there were thirteen successors to this title before the era of Columbus—a circumstance which may be named without attaching any value to the chronology of this writer. (Notes on the Iroquois, p. 91.)

The first attempt of the French to explore the Onondaga country from Canada, and obtain a footing in it, was made in 1653. Le Moine gives us the details of this journey. (Notes on the Iroquois, p. 332.) The war with the Erics was then hotly waged, and the tribe was finally conquered, as we learn from other sources, and either killed or expelled the country the next year. This visit of the French was followed, in after years, by the establishment of a mission and a French colony in the country of the Onondagas. A chief named Karrakonta appears to have been the principal person who extended this invitation. The chapel and fort were located within the present limits of the township of Dewitt. (Vide Sketch, Notes on the Iroquois, p. 178.) The incipient colony extended southerly from that point across the elevated lands to the site of Pompey. It does not appear that either the mission or colony existed in a state of prosperity more than a few years. The native priesthood opposed the introduction of principles which conflicted so directly with their own. Tradition asserts that the entire settlement was secretly risen upon, every soul massacred, and the torch applied to the houses, in one night.[1]

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[1] This name is given in the Seneca dialect in Morgan's League of the Iroquois.

When the Onondaga country came to be explored, and surveyed, and settled, after the close of the Revolutionary war, much interest and curiosity were excited by finding a class of antiquities in the soil, in the same localities as the relics of Indian arts, which betokened a prior period of civilization.[2] Such interest ceased as soon as the sources of the French missionary labors became accessible to American readers. That the event should continue to be unknown to modern inquirers into American archæology, does little credit to our national acumen. (Appendix, No. 5.)

KENISTENOS.

This word is derived from the animate (transition) Chippewa verb *Nisau*, to kill. The people are an early offshoot of the Algonquin family, the language of which they speak, but with less purity and richness of inflection than the Chippewas. We are informed by Mackenzie, that they "are spread over a vast extent of country, and that their language is the same as that of the people who inhabit the coast of British America on the Atlantic, with the exception of the Esquimaux, and continues along the coast of Labrador, and the gulf and banks of St. Lawrence, to Montreal. The line then follows the Utawas river to its source, and continues thence nearly west along the highlands which divide the waters that fall into Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay. It then proceeds till it strikes the middle part of the river Winipec, following that water through the Lake Winipec, to the discharge of the Saskatchiwine into it; thence it accompanies the latter to Fort George, when the line, striking by the head of the Beaver river to the Elk river, runs along its banks to its discharge in the Lake of the Hills; from which it may be carried back east, to the Isle à la Crosse, and so on to Churchill by the Missinipi. The whole of the tract between this line and Hudson's Bay and Straits (except that of the Esquimaux in the latter), may be said to be exclusively the country of the Knisteneaux. Some of them, indeed, have penetrated further west and south to the Red river, to the south of Lake Winipec, and the south branch of the Saskatchiwine.

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[1] This event appears to have occurred in 1666.

[2] A French horse-shoe, a brass pocket-compass, and the gnomon of a dial-plate, are figured in Plate 51, Vol. II.

They are of a moderate stature, well proportioned, and of great activity. Examples of deformity are seldom to be seen among them. Their complexion is of a copper color, and their hair black, which is common to all the natives of North America. It is cut in various forms, according to the fancy of the several tribes, and by some is left in the long, lank flow of nature. They very generally extract their beards, and both sexes manifest a disposition to pluck the hair from every part of their body and limbs. Their eyes are black, keen, and penetrating; their countenance open and agreeable; and it is a principal object of their vanity to give every possible decoration to their persons. A material article in their toilettes is vermilion, which they contrast with their native blue, white, and brown earths, to which charcoal is frequently added.

Their dress is at once simple and commodious. It consists of tight leggins, reaching near the hip; a strip of cloth or leather, called assian, about a foot wide, and five feet long, whose ends are drawn inwards, and hang behind and before, over a belt tied round the waist for that purpose; a close vest or shirt reaching down to the former garment, and cinctured with a broad strip of parchment fastened with thongs behind; and a cap for the head, consisting of a piece of fur, or small skin, with the brush of the animal as a suspended ornament; a kind of robe is thrown occasionally over the whole of the dress, and serves both night and day. These articles, with the addition of shoes and mittens, constitute the variety of their apparel. The materials vary according to the season, and consist of dressed moose-skin, beaver prepared with the fur, or European woollens. The leather is neatly painted, and fancifully worked in some parts with porcupine quills, and moose-deer hair: the shirts and leggins are also adorned with fringe and tassels; nor are the shoes and mittens without somewhat of appropriate decoration, and worked with a considerable degree of skill and taste. These habiliments are put on, however, as fancy or convenience suggests; and they will sometimes proceed to the chase in the severest frost, covered only with the slightest of them. Their head-dresses are composed of the feathers of the swan, the eagle, and other birds. The teeth, horns, and claws of different animals, are also the occasional ornaments of the head and neck. Their hair, however arranged, is always besmeared with grease. The making of every article of dress is a female occupation; and the women, though by no means inattentive to the decoration of their own persons, appear to have a still greater degree of pride in attending to the appearance of the men, whose faces are painted with more care than those of the women.

The female dress is formed of the same materials as those of the other sex, but of a different make and arrangement. Their shoes are commonly plain, and their leggins gartered beneath the knee. The coat, or body-covering, falls down to the middle of the leg, and is fastened over the shoulders with cords, a flap or cape turning down about eight inches both before and behind, and agreeably ornamented with quill-work and fringe; the bottom is also fringed, and fancifully painted as high as the knee. As it is very loose, it is enclosed round the waist with a stiff belt, decorated with tassels, and fastened behind. The arms are covered to the wrist with detached sleeves, which are sewed as far as the bend of the arm; from thence they are drawn up to the neck, and the corners of them fall down behind as low as the waist. The cap, when they wear one, consists of a certain quantity of leather or cloth, sewed at one end, by which means it is kept on the head, and, hanging down the back, is fastened to the belt, as well as the under-chin. The upper garment is a robe like that worn by the men. Their hair is divided on the crown, and tied behind, or sometimes fastened in large knots over the ears. They are fond of European articles, and prefer them to their own native commodities. Their ornaments consist, in common with all savages, in bracelets, rings, and similar articles. Some of the women tattoo three perpendicular lines, which are sometimes double; one from the centre of the chin to that of the under lip, and one parallel on either side to the corner of the mouth.

Of all the nations which I have seen on this continent, says the same writer, the Knisteneaux women are the most comely. Their figure is generally well proportioned, and the regularity of their features would be acknowledged by the more civilized people of Europe. Their complexion has less of that dark tinge which is common to those savages who have less cleanly habits.

These people are, in general, subject to few disorders. The *lues venerea*, however, is a common complaint, but cured by the application of simples, with whose virtues they appear to be well acquainted. They are also subject to fluxes, and pains in the breast, which some have attributed to the very cold and keen air which they inhale; but I should imagine that these complaints must frequently proceed from their immoderate indulgence in fat meat at their feasts, particularly when they have been preceded by long fasting.

They are naturally mild and affable, as well as just in their dealings, not only among themselves, but with strangers. They are also generous and hospitable, and good-natured in the extreme, except when their nature is perverted by the inflammatory influence of spirituous liquors. To their children they are indulgent to a fault. The father, though he assumes no command over them, is ever anxious to instruct them in all the preparatory qualifications for war and hunting; while the mother is equally attentive to her daughters, in teaching them everything that is considered as necessary to their character and situation. It does not appear that the husband makes any distinction between the children of his wife, though they may be the offspring of different fathers. Illegitimacy is only attached to those who are born before their mothers have cohabited with any man by the title of husband.

Notwithstanding the assertions of travellers, it appears that chastity is considered by them as a virtue, and that fidelity is believed to be essential to the happiness of wedded life; and it sometimes happens that the infidelity of a wife is punished by the husband with the loss of her hair, nose, or perhaps life. Such severity proceeds, perhaps, less from rigidity of virtue, than from its having been practised without his permission; for a temporary interchange of wives is not uncommon, and the offer of their persons is considered as a necessary part of the hospitality due to strangers.

When a man loses his wife, it is considered as a duty to marry her sister, if she has one; or he may, if he pleases, have them both at the same time.

It will appear, from the fatal consequences I have repeatedly imputed to the use of spirituous liquors, that I more particularly consider these people as having been, morally speaking, great sufferers from their communication with the subjects of civilized nations. At the same time, they were not, in a state of nature, without their vices, and some of them of a kind which is the most abhorrent to cultivated and reflecting man. I shall only observe, that incest and bestiality are among them.

When a young man marries, he immediately goes to live with the father and mother of his wife, who treat him, nevertheless, as an entire stranger till after the birth of his first child: he then attaches himself more to them than his own parents, and his wife no longer gives him any other denomination than that of the father of her child, *ne näbaim.*

The profession of the men is war and and hunting; and the more active scene of their duty is the field of battle, and the chase in the woods. They also spear fish; but the management of the nets is left to the women. The females of this nation are in the same subordinate state with those of all other savage tribes; but the severity of their labor is much diminished by their situation on the banks of lakes and rivers, where they employ canoes. In the winter, when the waters are frozen, they make their journeys, which are never of any great length, with sledges drawn by dogs. The women are, at the same time, subject to every kind of domestic drudgery; they dress the leather, make the clothes and shoes, weave the nets, collect wood, erect the tents, fetch water, and perform every culinary service; so that when the duties of maternal care are added, it will appear that the life of these women is an uninterrupted succession of toil and pain. This, indeed, is the sense they entertain of their own situation; and under the influence of that sentiment, they are sometimes known to destroy their female children, to save them from the miseries which they themselves have suffered. They also have a ready way, by the use of certain simples, of procuring abortion, which they sometimes practice, from their hatred of the father, or to save themselves the trouble which children occasion: and, as I have been credibly informed, this unnatural act is repeated without any injury to the health of the women who perpetrate it.

The funereal rites begin, like all other solemn ceremonials, with smoking, and are concluded by a feast. The body is dressed in the best habiliments possessed by the deceased, or his relations, and is then deposited in a grave lined with branches; some domestic utensils are placed on it, and a kind of canopy erected over it. During this ceremony, great lamentations are made; and if the departed person is very much regretted, the near relations cut off their hair, pierce the fleshy part of their thighs and arms with arrows, knives, &c., and blacken their faces with charcoal. (Vide Plate 25.) If they have distinguished themselves in war, they are sometimes laid on a kind of scaffolding; and I have been informed that women, as in the East, have been known to sacrifice themselves to the manes of their husbands. The whole of the property belonging to the departed person is destroyed, and the relations take in exchange for the wearing apparel any rags that will cover their nakedness. The feast bestowed on the occasion, which is, or at least used to be, repeated annually, is accompanied with eulogiums on the deceased, and without any acts of ferocity. On the tomb are carved or painted the symbols or Totems of his tribe, which are taken from the different animals, birds, or reptiles of the country.

War is, however, the prime pursuit. Many are the motives which induce savages to engage in it. To prove their courage, or to avenge the death of relations, or in consequence of some portentous dream. If the tribe feel themselves called upon to go to war, the elders convene the people, in order to know the general opinion. If it be for war, the chief publishes his intention to smoke in the sacred stem at a certain period, to which solemnity, meditation, and fasting, are required as preparatory ceremonials. When the people are thus assembled, and the meeting sanctified by the custom of smoking, the chief enlarges on the causes which have called them together, and the necessity of the measures proposed on the occasion. He then invites those who are willing to follow him, to smoke out of the sacred stem, which is considered as the token of enrolment; and if it should be the general opinion that assistance is necessary, others are invited, with great formality, to join them. Every individual who attends these meetings, brings something with him as a token of his warlike intention, or as an object of sacrifice, which, when the assembly dissolves, is suspended from poles near the place of council.

They have frequent feasts, and particular circumstances never fail to produce them, such as a tedious illness, long fasting, &c. On these occasions, it is usual for the person who means to give the entertainment, to announce his design, on a certain day, of opening the medicine-bag, and smoking out of his sacred stem. This declaration is considered as a sacred vow that cannot be broken. There are also stated periods, such as the spring and autumn, when they engage in very long and solemn ceremonies. On these occasions, dogs are offered as sacrifices; and those which are very fat, and *milk-white*, are preferred.[1] They also make large offerings of their property, whatever

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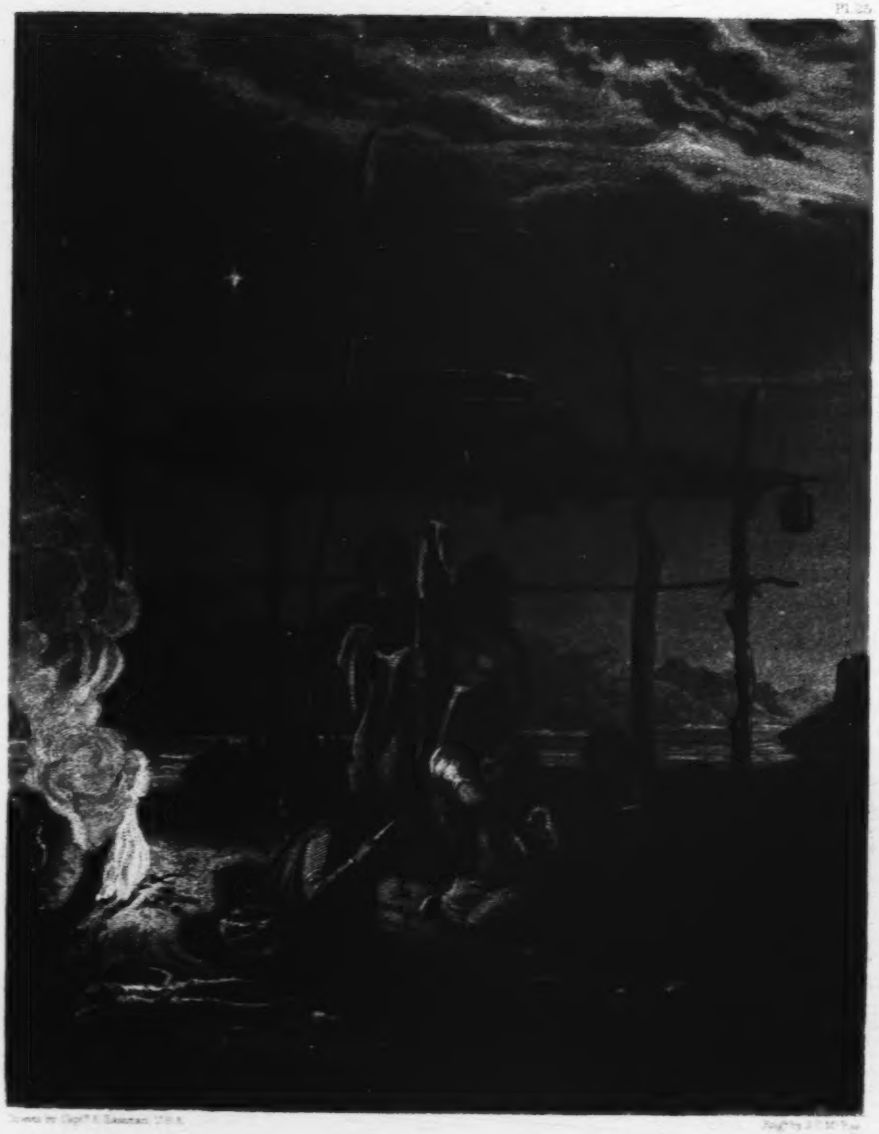
[1] In this trait of sacrifice, resembling, perhaps, the lamb of the Orientals.

Pl. 25



Drawn by Capt^n S. Eastman U.S.A.

Eng'd by J. C. McRae

MOURNING FOR THE DEAD

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it may be. The scene of these ceremonies is in an open inclosure on the bank of a river or lake, and in the most conspicuous situation, in order that such as are passing along or travelling, may be induced to make their offerings. There is also a particular custom among them, that on these occasions, if any of the tribe, or even a stranger, should be passing by, and be in real want of anything that is displayed as an offering, he has a right to take it, so that he replaces it with some article he can spare, though it be of far inferior value; but to take or touch anything *wantonly*, is considered as a sacrilegious act, and highly insulting to the great Master of Life, to use their own expression, who is the sacred object of their ceremonial devotion.

The scene of private sacrifice is the lodge of the person who performs it, which is prepared for that purpose by removing everything out of it, and spreading green branches in every part. The fire and ashes are also taken away. A new hearth is made of fresh earth, and another fire is lighted.[1] The owner of the dwelling remains alone in it, and he begins the ceremony by spreading a piece of new cloth, or a well-dressed moose-skin neatly painted, on which he opens his medicine-bag, and exposes its contents, consisting of various articles. The principal of them is a kind of household god, which is a small carved image about eight inches long. Its first covering is of down, over which a piece of birch bark is closely tied, and the whole is enveloped in several folds of red and blue cloth. This little figure is an object of the most pious regard. The next article is his war-cap, which is decorated with the feathers and plumes of scarce birds, the fur of beavers, eagles' claws, &c. There is also suspended from it a quill, or feather, for every enemy whom the owner of it has slain in battle. The remaining contents of the bag are a piece of tobacco, several roots and simples, which are in great estimation for their medicinal qualities, and an *opwa'gun*, or pipe. These articles being all exposed, and the stem resting upon two forks, as it must not touch the ground, the master of the lodge sends for the person he most esteems, who sits down opposite to him; the pipe is then filled, and fixed to the stem. A pair of wooden pincers is provided to put the fire in the pipe, and a double-pointed pin, to empty it of the remnant of tobacco which is not consumed. This arrangement being made, the men assemble; and sometimes the women are allowed to be humble spectators, while the most religious awe and solemnity pervades the whole. The Michiniwai, or Assistant, takes up the pipe, lights it, and presents it to the officiating person, who receives it standing, and holds it between both his hands. He then turns himself to the east, and draws a few whiffs, which he blows to that point. The same ceremony he observes to the other three quarters, with his eyes directed upwards during the whole of it. He holds the stem about the middle, between the three first fingers of both hands, and raising them upon a line with his forehead, he swings it three times round from the east, with the sun; when, after pointing and balancing it in various directions, he reposes it on the forks.[1] He then makes a speech to explain the design of their being called together, which concludes with an acknowledgment for past mercies, and a prayer for the continuance of them, addressed to the Master of Life. He then sits down, and the whole company declare their approbation and thanks, by uttering the word *ho!* with an emphatic prolongation of the last letter. The Michiniwai then takes up the pipe, and holds it to the mouth of the officiating person, who, after smoking three whiffs out of it, utters a short prayer, and then goes round with it, taking his course from east to west, to every person present, who individually says something to him on the occasion, and thus the pipe is generally smoked out; when, after turning it three or four times round his head, he drops it downwards, and replaces it in its original situation. He then returns the company thanks for their attendance, and wishes them, as well as the whole tribe, health and long life.

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[1] This was also done by the Indians in Mexico, on receiving the *new fire* from the Aztec priests.

These smoking rites precede every matter of great importance, with more or less ceremony, but always with equal solemnity. The utility of them will appear from the following relation.

If a chief is anxious to know the disposition of his people towards him, or if he wishes to settle any difference between them, he announces his intention of opening his medicine-bag and smoking in his sacred stem; and no man who entertains a grudge against any of the party thus assembled can smoke with the sacred stem; as that ceremony dissipates all differences, and is never violated.

No one can avoid attending on these occasions; but a person may attend and be excused from assisting at the ceremonies, by acknowledging that he has not undergone the necessary purification. The having cohabited with his wife, or any other woman, within twenty-four hours preceding the ceremony, renders him unclean, and, consequently, disqualifies him from performing any part of it. If a contract is entered into and solemnized by the ceremony of smoking, it never fails of being faithfully fulfilled. If a person, previous to his going a journey, leaves the sacred stem as a pledge of his return, no consideration whatever will prevent him from executing his engagement.[2]

The chief, when he proposes to make a feast, sends quills, or small pieces of wood, as tokens of invitation to such as he wishes to partake of it. At the appointed time the guests arrive, each bringing a dish or platter, and a knife, and take their seats on each side of the chief, who receives them sitting, according to their respective ages. The pipe is then lighted, and he makes an equal division of every thing that is provided. While the company are enjoying their meal, the chief sings, and accompanies his song with the tambourine, or shishiquoi, or rattle. The guest who has first eaten his portion is considered as the most distinguished person. If there should be any who cannot finish the whole of their mess, they endeavor to prevail upon some of their friends to eat it for them, who are rewarded for their assistance with ammunition and tobacco. It is proper also to remark, that at these feasts a small quantity of meat or drink is sacrificed, before they begin to eat, by throwing it into the fire, or on the earth.[1]

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[1] This ceremony recalls Charlevoix's observations, in 1721, on the priest standing, at sunrise, in the door of the Temple of the Sun, at Natchez, making his genuflections with the pipe.

[2] It is, however, to be lamented, that of late there is a relaxation of the duties originally attached to these festivals.

These feasts differ according to circumstances: sometimes each man's allowance is no more than he can dispatch in a couple of hours. At other times the quantity is sufficient to supply each of them with food for a week, though it must be devoured in a day. On these occasions it is very difficult to procure substitutes, and the whole must be eaten, whatever time it may require. At some of these entertainments there is a more rational arrangement, when the guests are allowed to carry home with them the superfluous part of their portions. Great care is always taken that the bones may be burned, as it would be considered a profanation were the dogs permitted to touch them.[2]

The public feasts are conducted in the same manner, but with some additional ceremony. Several chiefs officiate at them, and procure the necessary provisions, as well as prepare a proper place of reception for the numerous company. Here the guests discourse upon public topics, repeat the heroic deeds of their forefathers, and excite the rising generation to follow their example. The entertainments on these occasions consist of dried meats, as it would not be practicable to dress a sufficient quantity of fresh meat for such a large assembly; though the women and children are excluded.

Similar feasts used to be made at funerals, and annually in honor of the dead; but they have been for some time growing into disuse, and I never had an opportunity of being present at any of them.

The women, who are forbidden to enter the places sacred to these festivals, dance and sing around them, and sometimes beat time to the music within them, which forms an agreeable contrast. [Mackenzie.]

With respect to their divisions of time, they compute the length of their journeys by the number of nights passed in performing them; and they divide the year by the succession of moons. In this calculation, however, they are not altogether correct, as they cannot account for the odd days. The names which they give to the moons are descriptive of the several seasons. They are, in their order, beginning with the month of May, called the frog moon; the moon when birds begin to lay their eggs; the moon when birds moult, or cast their feathers; the moon when birds begin to fly; the moon in which the moose casts its horns; the ratting moon; hoar-frost moon, or ice moon; whirlwind moon; cold moon; big moon; eagle moon; and goose moon, which is their April.

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[1] This Algonquin custom has been also noticed at p. 39, Vol. I.

[2] This is one of the customs on which stress is laid by Adair.

Superstition holds its usual place with the Kenistenos. Among their various beliefs are that of a Funereal Phantom, and the personality of the Ignis Fatuus. They believe that the vapor which is seen to hover over moist and swampy places is the spirit of some person lately dead. They also fancy another spirit, which appears, in the shape of a man, upon the trees near the lodge of a person deceased, whose property has not been interred with him. He is represented as bearing a gun in his hand; and it is believed that he does not return to his rest till the property that has been withheld from the grave has been sacrificed to the dead. If philosophy cannot protect the common masses in civilized life from similar fancies, we should not regard it as strange that the Indian tribes yield to such impressions. For it is from dreamland and spirit-land that they also, together with the aborigines, draw much of their philosophy.

ATHAPASCAS.

This name has been applied to a class of tribes who are situated north of the great Churchill river, and north of the source of the fork of the Saskatchawine, extending westward, till within about one hundred and fifty miles of the Pacific Ocean. The exceptions consist of the territory of the Esquimaux, along the coast of the Arctic Ocean, and the location of the Loo Choos. All the rest of the tribes within this wide boundary, speak dialects of the same generic language. Without counting the Loo Choos, these thirteen tribes are estimated to number about twelve thousand souls. (Vol. II., p. 27.) The grouping of these tribes, at points of latitude north of the utmost line to which the Algonquin family had reached, forms a convenient basis for reference. The name is derived, arbitrarily, from Lake Athabasca, which is now more generally called the Lake of the Hills. Surrounding this lake, extends the tribe of the Chippewyans, a people so called by the Kenistenos and Chippewas, because they were found to be clothed, in some primary encounter, in the scanty garb of the fisher's skin.[1] According to Franklin, they call themselves *Saw-cessaw-dinnah*, Rising-sun-men; or, as the phrase seems, People who face the Rising Sun. They number about four thousand souls, and speak a language of a peculiar character. This language forms the type of the group. The tribes who use it appear to have migrated from the west, since it is perceived, from observations of Mr. Harmon (vide Travels), that the Tucullies, and some other kindred tribes among whom he sojourned in New Caledonia, west of the Rocky Mountains, for several years, speak the Athapasca.

We are informed by Mackenzie, that the territory occupied by the Chippewyans extends between the parallels of 60° and 65° north, and longitudes from 100° to 110° west. He affirms that the language is traced directly to the waters of Peace river, the great Unjiga of the natives, and through that river and its connecting portages west of the Rocky Mountains, to the northern sources of the Columbia, which it follows down to latitude 42° 24′, where it comes into the neighborhood of the Atnah, or Chin nation. From this point, he describes the language as diffusing itself to the sea-coast, within which the country is possessed by a people who speak their language, and are consequently descended from them: there can be no doubt, therefore, of their progress being to the eastward. A tribe of them is even known at the upper establishments on the Saskatchawine, and I do not pretend to ascertain how far they may follow the Rocky Mountains to the east.[1]

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[1] From *ojeeg*, a fisher, and *wyan*, a skin.

It is not possible to form any just estimate of their numbers; but it is apparent, nevertheless, that they are by no means proportionate to the vast extent of their territories, which may in some degree be attributed to the ravages of the small-pox, which are observed more or less evident throughout this part of the continent.

The notion which these people entertain of the creation, is of a very singular nature. They believe that, at the first, the globe was one vast and entire ocean, inhabited by no living creature except a mighty bird, whose eyes were fire, whose glances were lightning, and the clapping of whose wings were thunder. On his descent to the ocean, and touching it, the earth instantly arose, and remained on the surface of the waters. This omnipotent bird then called forth all the variety of animals from the earth, except the Chippewyans, who were produced from a dog; and this circumstance occasions their aversion to the flesh of that animal, as well as the people who eat it. This extraordinary tradition proceeds to relate that the great bird, having finished his work, made an arrow which was to be preserved with great care, and to remain untouched; but that the Chippewyans were so devoid of understanding as to carry it away, and the sacrilege so enraged the great bird, that he has never since appeared.

They have also a tradition amongst them that they originally came from another country, inhabited by very wicked people, and had traversed a great lake, which was narrow, shallow, and full of islands, where they had suffered great misery, it being always winter, with ice and deep snow. At the Copper-Mine river, where they made the first land, the ground was covered with copper, over which a body of earth had since been collected, to the depth of a man's height. They believe, also, that in ancient times their ancestors lived till their feet were worn out with walking, and their throats with eating. They describe a deluge, when the waters spread over the whole earth, except the highest mountains, on the tops of which they preserved themselves.

They believe that, immediately after their death, they pass into another world, where they arrive at a large river, on which they embark in a stone canoe, and that a gentle current bears them on to an extensive lake, in the centre of which is a most beautiful island; and that, in the view of this delightful abode, they receive that judgment for their conduct during life, which terminates their final state and unalterable allotment. If their good actions are declared to predominate, they are landed upon the island, where there is to be no end to their happiness; which, however, according to their notions, consists in an eternal enjoyment of sensual pleasure and carnal gratification. But if their bad actions weigh down the balance, the stone canoe sinks at once, and leaves them up to their chins in the water, to behold and regret the reward enjoyed by the good, and eternally struggling, but with unavailing endeavors, to reach the blissful island, from which they are excluded forever.

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[1] Analogies have been observed between this language and that of the Apachees of New Mexico, who trace their origin to the north.

They have some faint notions of the transmigration of the soul; so that if a child be born with teeth, they instantly imagine, from its premature appearance, that it bears a resemblance to some person who had lived to an advanced period, and that he has assumed a renovated life, with these extraordinary tokens of maturity.

The Chippewyans are sober, timorous, and vagrant, with a selfish disposition, which has sometimes created suspicions of their integrity. Their stature has nothing remarkable in it; but though they are seldom corpulent, they are sometimes robust. Their complexion is swarthy, their features coarse, and their hair lank, but not always of a dingy black; nor have they universally the piercing eye which generally animates the Indian countenance. The women have a more agreeable aspect than the men; but their gait is awkward, which proceeds from their being accustomed, nine months in the year, to travel on snow-shoes, and drag sledges of a weight from two to four hundred pounds. They are very submissive to their husbands, who have, however, their fits of jealousy; and for very trifling causes treat them with such cruelty as sometimes to occasion their death. They are frequently objects of traffic; and the father possesses the right of disposing of his daughter.[1] The men in general extract their beards, though some of them are seen to prefer a bushy black beard to a smooth chin. They cut their hair in various forms, or leave it in a long, natural flow, according as their caprice or fancy suggests. The women always wear it in great length, and some of them are very attentive to its arrangement. If they at any time appear despoiled of their tresses, it is to be esteemed a proof of the husband's jealousy, and is considered as a severer punishment than manual correction. Both sexes have blue or black bars, or from one to four straight lines on their cheeks or foreheads, to distinguish the tribe to which they belong. These marks are either tattooed, or made by drawing a thread, dipped in the necessary color, beneath the skin.

There are no people more attentive to the comforts of their dress, or less anxious respecting its exterior appearance. In the winter it is composed of the skins of deer and their fawns, and dressed as fine as any chamois leather, in the hair. In the summer their apparel is the same, except that it is prepared without the hair. Their shoes and leggins are sewed together, the latter reaching upwards to the middle, and being supported by a belt, under which a small piece of leather is drawn to cover the private parts, the ends of which fall down both before and behind. In the shoes they put the hair of the moose or rein-deer, with additional pieces of leather as socks. The shirt or coat, when girted round the waist, reaches to the middle of the thighs; and the mittens are sewed to the sleeves, or are suspended by strings from the shoulders. A ruff or tippet surrounds the neck; and the skin of the head of the deer forms a curious kind of cap. A robe, made of several deer or fawn skins sewed together, covers the whole. This dress is worn single or double; but always in the winter with the hair within and without. Thus arrayed, a Chippewyan will lay himself down on the ice in the middle of a lake and repose in comfort; though he will sometimes find a difficulty in the morning to disencumber himself from the snow drifted on him during the night. If in his passage he should be in want of provisions, he cuts a hole in the ice, when he seldom fails of taking some trout or pike, whose eyes he instantly scoops out and eats as a great delicacy; but if they should not be sufficient to satisfy his appetite, he will, in this necessity, make his meal of the fish in its raw state; but those whom I saw preferred to dress their victuals when circumstances admitted the necessary preparation. When they are in that part of their country which does not produce a sufficient quantity of wood for fuel, they are reduced to the same exigency, though they generally dry their meat in the sun.[1]

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[1] They do not, however, sell them as slaves, but as companions to those who are supposed to live more comfortably than themselves.

The dress of the women differs from that of the men. Their leggins are tied below the knee; and their coat or shift is wide, hanging down to the ancle, and is tucked up at pleasure by means of a belt, which is fastened round the waist. Those who have children have these garments made very full about the shoulders, as when they are travelling they carry their infants upon their backs, next their skin, in which situation they are perfectly comfortable, and in a position convenient to be suckled. Nor do they discontinue to give their milk to them till they have another child. Childbirth is not the object of that tender care and serious attention among the savages as it is among civilized people. (Vol. II. p. 65, Plate 26.) At this period no part of their usual occupation is omitted; and this continual and regular exercise must contribute to the welfare of the mother, both in the progress of parturition and in the moment of delivery. The women have a singular custom of cutting off a small piece of the navel-string of the new-born children, and hanging it about their necks; they are also curious in the covering they make for it, which they decorate with porcupine's quills and beads.

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[1] The provision called Pemican, on which the Chippewyans, as well as the other savages of this country, chiefly subsist in their journeys, is prepared in the following manner. The lean parts of the flesh of the larger animals are cut in thin slices, and are placed on a wooden grate over a slow fire, or exposed to the sun, and sometimes to the frost. These operations dry it, and in that state it is pounded between two stones; it will then keep, with care, for several years. If, however, it is kept in large quantities, it is disposed to ferment in the spring of the year, when it must be exposed to the air, or it will soon decay. The inside fat, and that of the rump, which is much thicker in these wild than our domestic animals, is melted down and mixed, in a boiling state, with the pounded meat in equal proportions; it is then put in baskets or bags for the convenience of carrying it. Thus it becomes a nutritious food, and is eaten without any further preparation, or the addition of spice, salt or any vegetable or farinaceous substance. A little time reconciles it to the palate. There is another sort made with the addition of marrow and dried berries, which is of a superior quality.

Though the women are as much in the power of the men as other articles of their property, they are always consulted, and possess a very considerable influence in the traffic with Europeans, and other important concerns.

Plurality of wives is common among them; and the ceremony of marriage is of a simple nature. The girls are betrothed at a very early period to those whom the parents think the best able to support them; nor is the inclination of the woman considered. Whenever a separation takes place, which sometimes happens, it depends entirely on the will and pleasure of the husband. In common with the other Indians of this country, they have a custom respecting the periodical state of a woman, which is rigorously observed: at that time she must seclude herself from society. (Plate 3.) They are not even allowed in that situation to keep the same path as the men when travelling: and it is considered a great breach of decency for a woman so circumstanced to touch any utensils of manly occupation. Such a circumstance is supposed to defile them, so that their subsequent use would be followed by certain mischief or misfortune. There are particular skins which the women never touch, as of the bear and the wolf; and those animals the men are seldom known to kill.

They are not remarkable for their activity as hunters, which is owing to the ease with which they snare deer and spear fish; and these occupations are not beyond the strength of their old men, women, and boys, so that they participate in those laborious occupations which among their neighbors are confined to the women. They make war on the Esquimaux, who cannot resist their superior numbers, and put them to death, as it is a principle with them never to make prisoners. At the same time they tamely submit to their enemies, the Knisteneaux, a people who are not so numerous as themselves.

They do not affect that cold reserve at meeting, either among themselves or strangers, which is common with the Knisteneaux, but communicate mutually and at once all the information of which they are possessed. Nor are they roused like them from an apparent torpor to a state of great activity. They are consequently more uniform in this respect, though they are of a very persevering disposition when their interest is concerned.

As these people are not addicted to spirituous liquors, they have a regular and uninterrupted use of their understanding, which is always directed to the advancement of their own interest; and this disposition, as may be readily imagined, sometimes occasions them to be charged with fraudulent habits. They will submit with patience to the severest treatment, when they are conscious that they deserve it; but will never forget or forgive any wanton or unnecessary rigor. A moderate conduct I never found to fail; nor do I hesitate to represent them, altogether, as the most peaceful tribe of Indians known in North America.

There are conjurors and high priests, but I was not present at any of their ceremonies, though they certainly operate in an extraordinary manner on the imaginations of the people in the cure of disorders. Their principal maladies are rheumatic pains, the flux, and consumption. The venereal complaint is very common; but though its progress is slow, it gradually undermines the constitution, and brings on a premature decay. They have recourse to superstition for curing diseases, and charms are their only remedies, except the bark of the willow, which being burned and reduced to powder, is strewed upon green wounds and ulcers. They also use vapor baths, or places contrived for promoting perspiration. Of the use of simples and plants they have no knowledge; nor can it be expected, as their country does not produce them.

Though they have enjoyed so long an intercourse with Europeans, their country is so barren as not to be capable of producing the ordinary necessaries naturally introduced by such a communication; and they continue, in a great measure, their own inconvenient and awkward modes of taking their game, and of preparing it when taken. Sometimes they drive the deer into the small lakes, where they spear them, or force them into inclosures, where the bow and arrow are employed against them. These animals are also taken in snares made of skin. In the former instance, the game is divided among those who have been engaged in the pursuit of it. In the latter, it is considered as private property; nevertheless, any unsuccessful hunter passing by, may take a deer so caught, leaving the head, skin, and saddle, for the owner. Thus, though they have no regular government, as every man is lord in his own family, they are influenced more or less by certain principles which conduce to their general benefit.

In their quarrels with each other, they very rarely proceed to a greater degree of violence than is occasioned by blows, wrestling, and pulling of the hair; while their abusive language consists in applying the name of the most offensive animal to the object of their displeasure, and adding the terms ugly, and chiay, or still-born.[1]

Their arms and domestic apparatus, in addition to the articles procured from Europeans, are spears, bows and arrows. Their fishing-nets and lines are made of green deer-skin thongs. They have also nets for taking the beaver as he endeavors to escape from his lodge, when it is broken open. It is set in a particular manner for the purpose, and a man is employed to watch the moment when he enters the snare, or he would soon cut his way through it. He is then thrown upon the ice, where he remains as if he had no life in him.

The snow-shoes are of a very superior workmanship. The inner part of their frame is straight, the outer one is curved, and it is pointed at both ends, with that in front turned up. They are also laced with great neatness with thongs made of deer-skin. The sledges are formed of thin slips of board, turned up also in front, and are highly polished with crooked knives, in order to slide along with facility. Close-grained wood is, on that account, the best; but theirs are made of the red or swamp spruce-fir tree.

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[1] This name is also applicable to the fœtus of an animal, when killed, which is considered as one of the greatest delicacies.

The country which these people claim as their land, has a very small quantity of earth, and produces little or no wood or herbage. Its chief vegetable substance is the moss, on which the deer feed; and a kind of rock-moss, which, in times of scarcity, is a resource against starvation. When boiled in water, it dissolves into a clammy, glutinous substance, that affords a very sufficient nourishment. But notwithstanding the barren state of their country, with proper care and economy, these people might live in great comfort, for the lakes abound with fish, and the hills are covered with deer. Though, of all the Indian people of this continent, they are considered as the most provident, they suffer severely at certain seasons, and particularly in the dead of winter, when they are under the necessity of retiring to their scanty, stinted woods. To the westward of them the musk-ox may be found, but they have no dependence on it as an article of sustenance. There are also large hares, a few white wolves, peculiar to these regions, and several kinds of foxes, with white and grey partridges, &c. The beaver and moose-deer they do not find till they come within 60° north latitude; and the buffalo is still farther south. That animal is known to frequent a higher latitude to the westward of their country. These people bring pieces of beautiful variegated serpentine or steatite, which are found on the surface of the earth. It is easily worked, bears a fine polish, and hardens with time; it endures heat, and is manufactured into pipes or calumets, as they are very fond of smoking tobacco, a luxury which the Europeans communicated to them.

Their amusements or recreations are but few. Their music is so inharmonious, and their dancing so awkward, that they might be supposed to be ashamed of both, as they very seldom practise either. They also shoot at marks, and play at the games common among them, but in fact they prefer sleeping to either; and the greater part of their time is passed in procuring food, and resting from the toil necessary to obtain it.

They are also of a querulous disposition, and are continually making complaints, which they express by a constant repetition of the word eduiy, "it is hard," in a whining and plaintive tone of voice.

They are superstitious in the extreme, and almost every action of their lives, however trivial, is more or less influenced by some whimsical notion. I never observed that they had any particular form of religious worship; but as they believe in a good and evil spirit, and a peculiar state of future rewards and punishments, they cannot be devoid of religious impressions. At the same time, they manifest a decided unwillingness to make any communications on the subject. On this subject all Indians are taciturn.

The Athapascas have been accused of abandoning their aged and infirm people to perish, and of not burying their dead; but these are melancholy necessities, which proceed from their wandering way of life. They are by no means universal, for it is within my knowledge that a man, rendered helpless by the palsy, was carried about for many years, with the greatest tenderness and attention, till he died a natural death. That they should not bury their dead in their own country, cannot be imputed to them as a custom arising from a savage insensibility, as they inhabit such high latitudes that the ground never thaws; but it is well known that when they are in the woods, they cover their dead with trees. Besides, they manifest no common respect to the memory of their departed friends, by a long period of mourning, cutting off their hair, and never making use of the property of the deceased. Nay, they frequently destroy or sacrifice their own, as a token of regret and sorrow.

If there be any people who, from the barren state of their country, might be supposed to be cannibals by nature, these people, from the difficulty they at times experience in procuring food, might be liable to that imputation. But, in all my knowledge of them, I never was acquainted with one instance of that disposition; nor among all the natives which I met with in a route of five thousand miles, did I see or hear of an example of cannibalism, but such as arose from that irresistible necessity which has been known to impel even the most civilized people to eat each other."

Of the Strongbows, Copper-Mine Indians, and other tribes[1] of the widely-spread Athapasca family, we are less fully informed; and distinct from their language, the interest they have excited is less perfectly developed. Nor have they, so far as our knowledge of their ethnographical movements extends, exerted much influence on the tribes of the southerly latitudes of the continent.

BLACKFEET.

The Saskatchawine river of Lake Winnipeck originates in the Rocky Mountains, in north latitude about 50° and 54°. Between its great southern and northern forks, in a fertile, game country, are found the Pecaneaux, Blackfeet, and Blood Indians. These tribes constitute a group which is different from their neighbors, speaking a language on the lower parts of the river, agreeing with that of the Assinaboines, who are Dacotas, or the Kenistenos, who are Algonquins. Traders and interpreters of the region pronounce it peculiar. Mackenzie informs us, that their track of migration has been towards the north-west, expressing the opinion that they have a "language of their own." From a vocabulary of it exhibited to the late Mr. Gallatin, he was inclined to deem it referable to the Algonquin family, and has so classified it in his

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[1] The Sarsees of the Saskatchawine are Athapascas

"Synopsis of Tribes," the tribe constituting Language 64 of Family III. (Vide Vol. III., page 401.) If this ground be well taken, in which, however, we have been unable to obtain the concurrence of the Missouri interpreters and fur traders, they probably have affinities with the Kenistenos, having, agreeably to the authority above expressed, migrated from the south-east.

In whatever these tribes differ, however, from their neighbors, and the rest of the Indian stocks, they agree with them in their hostilities to each other, and in their continuous broils and disputes. These perpetually recurring disturbances finally led to a general feud, in which they separated into two parties—the one distinguished by the Red, or bloody flag, and the other, from reverence to a noted leader, who had fallen, the Black flag. The young and more warlike warriors, generally ranged themselves under the Red banner; the more elderly and sedate, under the Black ensign. After numerous skirmishes, and endeavors to entrap each other, a great battle was finally fought, in which the party of the Red flag triumphed. This led to a final separation. The party of the Black flag fled towards the south. Continuing on in this direction, they reached the banks of the Missouri. This flight appears to have taken place in the autumn, after the prairies had been burned over, and the black ashes of the grass and shrubbery colored their moccasins and leggins. In this plight, they were first met by the Upsaroka, or Crow Indians, who called them Blackfeet. The term was adopted by the Gros Ventres and Mandans, and soon spread among all the tribes. They had extended their hunting and war parties to the head waters of the river Meriàs, and never proceeded farther east than Milk River,—a stream falling into the Missouri on the west, about one hundred and fifty miles above the Yellow Stone.

By this flight, they had now found a new country, abounding in every requisite of Indian life. But they had not left behind that spirit of internal dissension and discord which had produced the split on the Saskatchiwine. A new feud arose among the Missouri Blackfeet, which resulted in another division of the tribe, under an ambitious leader, called Piëgan, or the Pheasant. After several defeats, he was driven across the Missouri, and took shelter in the mountains. The three recognized divisions of the tribe, are, therefore, in the order of their organization—the Bloods, the Blackfeet, and the Piëgans. (Vide Appendix, No. 5.) The whole number of these divisions has been estimated at nine thousand six hundred, occupying twelve hundred lodges. (Vol. III., p. 629.) They were greatly over-estimated in former accounts, received from persons residing in the Indian country, who, without the slightest intention to deceive, have not had the means of accurate computation. They suffered much from the ravages of small-pox, which swept through the Missouri valley, in 1837.

The character and reputation of the Blackfeet nation, has been, perhaps, underrated, from occurrences which transpired in 1805, during the celebrated expedition of Lewis and Clark. They are described by later observers, as having more decision and fixity in their camp regulations, or laws and customs, than other tribes on the Missouri, but not as being more cruel, or blood-thirsty, while these very traits are designed to uphold the two great principles of their association, namely, war and hunting. Like all prairie tribes, they wander over the plains, following the buffalo, and having no permanent location. Priding themselves on great courage, they bring up their youths to follow in their footsteps. As soon as a young man is capable of drawing the bow, he enlists under the wolf-skin banner of some ambitious chief, and takes his first lesson in war and hatred to his fellow tribes. To bring back the scalp of an enemy, is the great object of ambition, and this alone settles his position and character in the lodge circle, and at the festive and council board. The tribe holds itself up as surpassing all others on the war-path. They disdain alliances with the other tribes, and bid defiance to them all. Their enemies on the Missouri are the Dacotas, Gros Ventres, and Crows. But they push their hostile excursions over the Rocky Mountains in quest of the Indian horses of Oregon, where they fight the Flatheads, *Pends d'Oreilles* and *Nez Percès*. They can endure the extremes of savage life with stoicism. They never complain in hunger or suffering. The prairie is their spontaneous garden. It yields them roots and medicines. They cultivate nothing. They have abundance of food when game is plenty, and starve when it is scarce. The only enterprise in which they engage, besides war and the chase, is horse-stealing; and this too is an honorable achievement, and a point of great distinction for the young, the brave, and the active. Human scalps are their glory, and the buffalo their reliance. They are the most perfect specimens of savage life found on the continent.

Yet there are always some abatements to the severity of the manners and customs of even the most barbarous tribes. A person of good judgment and observation, who has spent the better part of his life in commercial dealings with these, and the neighboring tribes of the Sioux, Upsarokas, Mandans, &c., makes replies which furnish the grounds of the following observations.

The character of the Indians is composed of two things—ferocity and goodness. That these Indians are of a cruel, treacherous, and inexorable disposition, that, to take vengeance on an enemy, they often pass many days, forgetting the calls of nature, crossing forests and prairies without paths, subsisting on what the woods and plains furnish; that they will listen without pity to the piercing cries of the unhappy victims that fall in their hands, and receive a diabolical pleasure from the tortures they inflict on their prisoners, is only too true.

Accustomed from their infancy to bear pain, they soon become superior to the dangers of fear: forest precepts and practices never cease to precede or follow one another; however they may fail in their enterprises, they at once flatter themselves with the hope of better success in the future. They are as sly as a fox, possess the agility of a deer, the eyes of a lynx, and the unconquerable ferocity of the tiger.

They are generally well proportioned, tall, and straight, and there is seldom a deformed person among them. Their skin is of a reddish or copper color, their eyes large and black, their hair coal-black and straight, and very seldom curly; they have very good teeth, and their breath is as pure as the air they inhale. The bones of the cheeks are a little high, but more particularly in the women. The latter are not as tall as the European females, although there are often agreeable and pretty figures among them; they incline more towards fatness than the other sex. The men hate beards, or being hairy except on the head, and take great pains to pull out the beard. For this purpose they take their gun-worms, or split pieces of hard wood, and by a sudden jerk extract the hair. The men of the upper Missouri nations differ very little in their dresses, except those that traffic with whites; these change their peltries for blankets, cloth, &c., with which they adorn their persons for promenading in their camp, or for visiting some of their friends in other camps; but in their dancing, they never wear this apparel.

Those men that wish to appear more expert than others, pull out the hair of their head, except a bunch that they leave on the top of the scalp. They paint themselves fantastically with red, yellow, or black paint, men as well as women.

Their shoes or moccasins are made with the skin of deer, elk, or buffalo, well dressed; they are garnished with beads, or dyed porcupine-quills. The Indians in general pay more attention to their ornaments, than to the dress itself, or the accommodation of their wigwam.

The tools which they use in fabricating their utensils are so defective, that they very seldom work anything but what they are absolutely in want of, as wooden bowls, spoons, stone-pipes, pipe-stems, bows and arrows, and war-clubs. Their principal implements are knives, heated awls for boring holes, fire-steels, and small hatchets, which they obtain from the whites. Knives and fire-steels are two very essential articles in war. The European costume sits badly on the Indian; in general, they make a better appearance in their native dresses than anything they can procure from the whites. In their own costume, they are more free in their movements; when they have foreign clothing on, they have the appearance of being confined.

When the female seats herself, she places her limbs decently, both knees together, and turns her feet side-ways; but that posture helps to make them walk badly, so that they seem to be lame. They have no midwives among them, nor do they suffer much in parturition; they often absent themselves from their daily work but a couple of hours. The men take little notice of domestic affairs; indolent from pride and custom, they leave the women not only to do all the internal work, but often send them after the meat of the game they have killed, although sometimes at a great distance.

The women place their children, as soon as born, on a piece of hooped board, stuffed with grass; the child is laid on its back, on one of this kind of cradles, and enveloped with pieces of skin or cloth to keep him warm. This forest-cradle is tied with pieces of leather bands; to these they tie other straps, to suspend from their heads, or hang them to the limbs of trees, while the mother does the necessary work of the lodge.

The Indian women are remarkably decent at the time of their periodical illness. They make a little lodge close to the large ones, where they retire. At that period, the men debar all intercourse with them; not even fire is brought from the lunar retreats of these women. They are very superstitious in this matter; if one of their pipe-stems splits, they believe that the pipe has been lit at one of these menstrual fires, or that the smoker has been speaking to one of these secluded women.

If an Indian of these bands has been absent from his family many months, on a war or hunting excursion, when the wife and children go to meet him at a little distance from camp, instead of the natural affections that would rise in the heart of a civilized people, and mutual pleasure of meeting, the warriors continue to walk on their course without paying the least attention to these feminine visitants. When the warrior gets to his lodge, he sits down, and smokes with the same imperturbability and apparent insensibility, as if he had been absent only a day or an hour.

If the Indian is insensible in his feelings or manners towards the female, it is an insensibility which he applies to himself. He goes several days without food, and is too proud or stolid to murmur. If you tell him that one of his sons has killed many enemies, and has brought many scalps, and taken many prisoners or slaves, his eyes glisten, but he expresses no rapture. Instead of this, if you tell him that one of his sons has been killed or taken prisoner, he receives the intelligence in silence; not a look or a word shows the feelings of his heart. Notwithstanding examples of apparent indifference, I have never seen, says my informant, among other people, more real examples of paternal affection, than among these mute foresters; and the men, in general, are not without conjugal affection. Their children are loved; and, according to their manners, loving to their parents. (Mitcell.)

There are some particular rules as to visits from wigwam to wigwam. If an Indian goes visiting to a particular lodge, he names the person that he comes to see, and the rest of the family immediately depart. The same method is practised in regard to the other sex, but then he must pay particular attention not to speak of love as long as the sun is above the horizon.

The Blackfeet have words in their language to express the general lapse of time; they do not count the hours, but the days. They count time by winters, or as they express themselves, by *snows*. They count their years by moons, making them consist of twelve moons; but after observing twelve moons, they add one more, which they call the lost moon.

Every month, with them, is an expressive name of the season. They call March the green moon; April, the moon of plants; May, the moon of flowers; June, the hot moon; July, the moon of the deer; August, sturgeon-moon, for in that month they catch that fish; September, the fruit-moon; October, the travelling-moon, for at that season they leave their dwellings, and go to their hunting-grounds for the winter season; November, the beaver-moon, for at that season these animals commence to go in their dwellings, having gathered their winter food; December, the hunting-moon; January, the cold-moon; February, the snowy-moon. They make use of significant hieroglyphics. They also draw, on bark, correct maps of the country they are acquainted with, although very ignorant of general geography.

These traits, derived from the social life of the Indians, mitigate our ideas of a people who have been pronounced savage, cruel, perfidious, voracious, and addicted to thieving, murder, and plunder; without forecast or precaution, idle and improvident. If they show some glimmerings of knowledge that could be improved by culture, and some manliness of character that could be directed to better energies, they also exhibit a class of suite features in the Indian race, that, modified as it may be, are essentially the same that it was found in the valley of the Ohio, throughout the basins of the great lakes, and along the wide-spreading borders of the Atlantic.

PILLAGERS, OR MUKKUNDWAS

This term is derived from a verb in the Chippewa language, which does not imply stealing, but taking openly, by an exertion of self-constituted authority, and as such, the tribe rejoices in it. They went out, originally, from the ancient capital of the Chippewas at Chegoimegon, on Lake Superior. The whole tribe of this name, have, from early days, been progressive towards the north-west. Language denotes that the race had, in early epochs, dwelt on the shores of the Atlantic, and their own traditions confirm this view. But what changes of name they had undergone, it is impossible to tell: all the names of tribal divisions of the stock, which have reached us, seem modern. They are identical with the great Chippewa family.

They were found by the French, in their discovery of the country, at the central position of the large group of islands which occupy this commanding lake, about *La Pointe Chegoimegon,* on Lake Superior, which has been shortened to LAPOINTE. This magnificent body of water, with its confluent rivers, affords them an opportunity for the display of their skill in canoe-craft and navigation, in which they have so much excelled. The variety of fish in its waters afforded a reliable resource at all seasons. The surrounding shores were celebrated for their abundance of the beaver, and small furred animals, so much valued on the opening of the fur-trade of Canada; and were equally celebrated for the deer, elk, moose, and bear. It was here that the French established their first mission in the upper lakes, under D'Ablon, Marquette and Marest. Their early traditions of conquest speak of celebrated men called Noka, Bianswa, and Waub Ojeeg. Under these, the martial spirit of the tribe drove the Ontagamies, and the Sauks, from the country, at the source of the Ontonagon, Montreal, Wisconsin, and Chippewa; expelled the Sioux, or Naudowessie, from the Upper St. Croix and Rum rivers, and carried them to Sandy lake, and Leech lake, at the sources of the Mississippi river.

The conquerors fixed themselves first, centrally, at Sandy lake, and finally at Leech lake, the largest of all the tributaries of the Upper Mississippi, and this has continued to be their location from the earliest times, so far as positive history guides us. It is this tribe, and the Sandy lake Chippewas, that have been the severest, and most effectual enemies of the Sioux. These bands have often fought with Spartan valor. Their devotion is worthy of a better cause. Better woodsmen and foresters than their enemies, they have often pounced out of their forests, in comparatively small parties, led by the spirit of hereditary revenge, and defeated their more numerous enemies. Even down to the present day, such leaders as Pugasainjigun, and Hole-in-the-Day, leave us to wonder at the effective vindication of their acts.

The principal seats of the Pillagers are at Leech lake, and at Otter-Tail lake, the latter of which is the eastern source of Red river of lake Winnipec. They also have permanent villages at lake Winnibeegish, and at the ancient Upper Red Cedar, or Cass lake.

They number about 1200 souls, who occupy a country some four hundred miles in circumference, interspersed with innumerable lakes, well supplied with fish of different species. The white-fish and trout equalling those of Lake Superior. (Vide Plate.)

Their country has been well adapted to Indians living in the hunter state; but at this day they have nearly exterminated the furred animals, and they are obliged mostly to follow the chase in the hunting grounds of the Sioux.

Formerly the Pillagers resided altogether at Leech lake, but within a few years they have made a gradual advance westward. The band at Otter-Tail lake, once on the very outskirts of their country, now number 300. The Sioux have gradually receded westward, and they have followed them closely, taking possession of their deserted villages. An informant asserts, that within a little more than a hundred years, they have advanced from the shores of Lake Superior to their present position, a distance of 300 miles.

The Pillagers, according to the accounts of their old men, separated from the main body of the tribe, at the general council-fire on Lake Superior, and before the settlement of Canada, and, ascending the St. Louis river, wrested Sandy Lake from the Dacotahs, and drove them westward, taking possession of their country around the sources of the Mississippi.

The name by which they are at present known, has its origin in the following circumstance, which they themselves relate.

The band, while encamped at the mouth of a small creek, known to this day as Pillage creek, ten miles above the mouth of Crow-Wing river, were visited by a white trader who had entered the Mississippi, and followed it a great distance with a canoe load of goods to barter with them for furs. He arrived among them sick and unable to trade. His goods having been wetted by a rain, he ordered his men to untie the bales and spread them out to dry. The Indians, being on the point of holding a grand medicine dance, were eager to trade, as on those occasions they spare no expense for finery. The goods spread out before their eyes were a temptation that they could not resist. A young man commenced the pillage by tearing off a breech-cloth, remarking at the same time, that he had furs to pay the trader. Others followed his example, till it became a general scramble, and the sick man's goods were all taken from him. He left the inhospitable camp the next day, but died on his way down the river, at Sauk Rapids.

From Indian accounts, this circumstance happened about the time of the first settlement of St. Louis, by the French. About this time, the Fur Company of Laclede, Maxan, & Co., commenced operations, and it is not an improbable surmise to suppose that the trader here mentioned was sent up by them. Another tradition denotes that the goods had come from Canada, by the way of Lake Superior, and the name of Berti is given as the name of the unfortunate trader. The act has given the name of Pillagers to this band;—a name that they are proud of, and it must be said that in modern times they have acted honorably in their intercourse with the whites.

They are a warlike people, and have always been the advanced bulwark of the Chippewas; having been in the van, they have been in the very midst of the fire of the enemy, and stood the brunt of the war with the Sioux.

It is impracticable to mention all their battles, surprises, and massacres, during this feud, and only two or three notices of these incidents, of modern date, will be given.

Their present chief, called *Guel Plat* by the French, Flat-Mouth, or *Esh ke bug e coshe*, who is now an old man, he distinguished himself in his younger days by heading a war-party of 160 warriors, who fell on a camp of fifty lodges of Sioux, and destroyed all but six men. This happened at the northern end of Long Prairie, where the Winnebago Agency is now located. A severe fight occurred here also, previous to the above, and during the life-time of Flat-Mouth's father, many men were killed on both sides, and the Sioux men driven off the prairie.

A brave warrior by the name of *Black Duck*, about forty years ago, raised a considerable war-party, and proceeded into the Sioux country about the head waters of St. Peter's river. All of his party returned but forty tried warriors: with these he proceeded into the very midst of the Sioux country, and falling on a large village, destroyed many lives, and would have killed all of the inhabitants had not a friendly Assineboine warned them in their own language that a large village of Sioux was near by, and that the attacked party had sent for the warriors to come to their aid. On hearing this, Black Duck suddenly struck his blow and reluctantly retreated, their ammunition being also exhausted. They had not proceeded far, when, while traversing a wide prairie, clouds of dust from the direction of the massacred village, told them that their enemy was approaching.

At this time, had they separated and each sought to escape, many might have returned home safe, but preferring to meet death together, they seated themselves on the prairie and began smoking their pipes, quietly waiting the enemy. Three hundred mounted Sioux warriors dashed up to, and surrounded them: the struggle was with knives, tomahawks, and spears. It was short and bloody, and but one Chippewa escaped to tell the tale. The loss of so many of their bravest warriors at one blow, was a stroke on the Pillagers that they did not recover for some time. Mr. Warren observes, "At the time of Mr. Schoolcraft's visit to Leech lake, in 1832, Flat-Mouth had just returned from the war-path. The Pillager warriors had attacked the large Sioux village at Lake Traverse, on the head of the St. Peter's, and had suffered a considerable loss in killed and wounded, not greater, however, than they inflicted on the Sioux. This act he carefully concealed."

For the last hundred and fifty years, hardly a year has passed between these two tribes in peace. War has become a pastime among them. By their indiscretion, the Pillagers have often caused much loss of life to their brother Chippewas of the Mississippi, who have, of late years, been more peaceably disposed towards the Sioux.

The great massacre of the Chippewas by the Sioux, in 1837, at Stillwater and Rum river, was caused by two Pillagers killing a Sioux for the sake of his scalp.

The last considerable fight between these two hostile tribes, took place in the winter of 1847. A war-party of fifty Sioux fell on a camp of twenty-six Pillagers, while on a buffalo-hunt within the country of their enemies. The Sioux were driven off with the loss of one killed and six wounded. The Pillagers lost one of their principal elders and warriors; they had also four severely wounded. Three lives were also lost in a skirmish which took place towards the spring of the same year.

In the summer of 1849, a son of Flat-Mouth, with six Pillagers, joined a war-party from Red Lake, numbering 80 men. Falling on an equal number of Sioux, a fight ensued, in which the young chief, with his Pillagers, are said to have greatly distinguished themselves. One of them was severely wounded, and they brought a scalp home.

It will require time and strong influence to induce the Pillagers to live at peace with the Sioux. Nothing has so much hurt Flat-Mouth's influence among his bands, as his disposition for peace. In 1846, he signed a treaty of peace with the Sioux at Lapointe, through the importunity of the Sub-Agent, who gave him a flag and medal. For this act, he was obliged to flee his country for his life, and remained away nearly two years. He has never regained his former influence since, and he is now careful that he does nothing without the consent of his warriors. (Warren.)

The Pillagers, as a body, are living in the hunter state, but the game in their own country is fast disappearing; and it is evident to themselves, as well as to people acquainted with their habits and feelings, that in order to continue in this state, they must emigrate further west, which it is noticed they are gradually doing. If, otherwise, and they are forced to remain in their own country, they must turn their attention to agriculture; and for this they need and require the aid of the Government, which aid must, in the natural course of events, be given as an equivalent for the sale of lands.[1]

Of the Chippewas residing within the limits of the United States, the Pillager band is the least contaminated with the evils consequent on the intercourse with whites; but since the commencement of annuities, a change is taking place, and in a few years they will put off the wild, free habits and manners of the sons of the forest.

They speak the same language, in pronunciation and idiom, with the Chippewas of Lake Superior and the Mississippi; have the same customs, and are, in every respect but their predatory habits and name, the same people. It is to be regretted that they were not included in the first treaties with those bands. At the treaty in 1837, at St. Peters, it was understood amongst themselves that they would sell as a nation, and share alike the annuities. Under this understanding, Flat-Mouth was the first to sign that treaty; but the matter being left to the Indians, selfishness and cupidity induced the Chippewas of Superior and Mississippi to deny, the ensuing year, the Pillagers a share in the annuity. This circumstance has caused a temporary breach between them and their fellow-Chippewas; but it has been happily adjusted; and a few years of intercourse with the government has led to harmony of interests, and all are now pursuing the same policy of improvement and industrial progress.

The Leech Lake Indians have no missionaries residing among them. Two attempts have been made to establish a mission; one by Rev. W. F. Boutwell, under the auspices of the American Board of Foreign Missions, and one by P. O. Johnson, for the Western Evangelical Mission Society. Both of these attempts failed; the Indians killing the cattle, and in every way annoying them, soon caused them to desist from their efforts, and leave the country.

Their traditions say that the old French first traded with them, and sold them fire-arms, which enabled them to drive the Sioux from their country. The English came after the French; and of late years the *Long Knives*, or Americans, have become their traders.

Within the remembrance of the old men, beaver were once plenty in the country they now occupy; and it was as easy in those days to trap a beaver, as it is now to trap a muskrat. About thirty-five or forty years ago, beaver suddenly died; their dead bodies were found floating on lakes and ponds, and only a few living in running water escaped the beaver pestilence. At this day, there are none found in the country.

Until late years, the Pillagers have had more intercourse with the British than with the Americans. They have in their possession more British medals than American, and within a short time have evinced a prepossession in their favor. The government of this tribe is that of the ancient Indians, by chiefs and councils. The Pillagers have a principal chief, sub-chiefs, war-chiefs, warriors, and medicine-men.[1] Flat-Mouth is the principal by hereditary descent. *Besheke*, or Buffalo, is the head war-chief. There are six sub-chiefs, who preside over the different villages about Leech and Otter-Tail lakes. The principal of these is the chief of Otter-Tail lake, *Gabimubeeno*, whose band numbers 300 souls. They have twenty-eight noted warriors, at the head of whom is *Ogechedaw*, chief of great darers, a name they have earned by repeated acts of bravery in their war with the Sioux. They can raise at least 200 men capable of bearing arms. They have not suffered as much loss of life in their wars, as would be supposed, on account of the great adaptation of their country for defence. Sioux war-parties seldom, if ever, enter their lands to attack their villages; their country being so broken up into lakes and swamps, the key to which only they know, that it is dangerous for an enemy, however strong, to penetrate to their villages, even with guides. In this respect, it is equal to Florida; and the warlike disposition of the Pillagers and northern Chippewas, is not surpassed by the Seminoles.

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[1] The Pillagers, early on the 22d of February, 1855, with a wise forecast of their affairs, ceded their entire territories to the United States, for a valuable annuity; securing reservations, of which the fee-simple is in the Government, the latter stipulating to introduce agriculture, teachers, and the arts.

Among the Pillagers, all the old men, and many of the old women, are *medawes*, and practise medicine. There are a few, say seven, who are noted medicine-men, having passed through the eight grades of me-da-we, which makes them high priests, or initiators. They are deemed masters of their religion and medicine. As priests, they have no recognized authority in the councils of the tribe. Flat-Mouth, and the older chiefs, are priests at the same time.

Soon after the death of the great Shawano prophet, brother of Tecumseh, who caused such commotion among nearly all the western and northern tribes, a prophet arose among the Chippewas of Lake Superior, whose creed spread like wild-fire among the Pillagers. Flat-Mouth himself, who is more intelligent than the generality of his fellows, believed, and even acted as a messenger for the prophet to the British Indians. The excitement, however, like that caused by the Shawano, soon died away, and the Indians returned to their old customs.

Till within ten years (to 1839), the British supplied the Pillagers with fire-water at their trading-posts on the frontier-lines. Four and five hundred miles were not considered by these Indians as too far to go, in order to procure liquor. During this time, many made yearly visits to Michilimackinac and Canada for spirits, and to receive the presents that Great Britain, till within three years, has been accustomed to give to the different Indian tribes on the lines, in order to secure their help or neutrality in case of a war with the United States. This practice, however, has been lately stopped, at the remonstrance of our Government; and the Chippewas no longer make these yearly visits as formerly.

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[1] *Leech Lake Chiefs in* 1836.

1. Flat-Mouth — Eshkibogikozhi (hereditary chief).
2. The Elder Brother — Ozawikinebik, or the yellow snake.

Chiefs or Partizans, and principal men.
- The Chief of the Earth — Obigwadens.
- Mazigabau, or Lathrape.
- Little Buffalo, or Bizhikins.
- The Male Buffalo — Ayabai Bizhiki.
- The Young Man — Oshkinawens.
- The Little Shoulder — Odenigans.
- Shagobai — The Six.
- Big Cloud — Kichi Anakwod.
- The Yellow Gown — Wezaokonaye, the yellow coat.

Since the St. Peter's treaty, in 1837, when the Chippewas ceded their lands to the mouth of Crow-Wing river, within a day's journey of the Pillager country, they have been plentifully supplied with ardent spirits from the region of St. Anthony's Falls. Whiskey-traders followed up the line of the ceded territory, and located themselves at the confluence of the Mississippi and Crow-Wing rivers. They supplied the Pillagers and Chippewas of Mississippi with all that their hunts could pay for. From that time to the removal of the Winnebagoes, in 1848, upwards of sixty barrels of whiskey have been sold to them yearly. They were fast degenerating, and becoming miserably poor; lives were lost, also, in drunken brawls and quarrels. Since the removal of the Winnebagoes, however, and the building of Fort Gaines (now Ripley), this state of things has been stopped by the indefatigable exertions of their agents. At their annuity payments in 1839, the Pillagers unanimously promised their agent to allow no liquor to be introduced into their country; and to this time, not a drop has, to the knowledge of the writer, been introduced among the Pillagers, and this fine body of bold and manly men are free from this bane of the Red man.

To this outline of a martial tribe, who confessedly stand at the head of the Chippewa tribes, may be added some notices of the country they inhabit, and its advantages, present and prospective. The chief, and central point of attraction, at this time, is LEECH LAKE.

The perimeter of this lake is about 160 miles. Twenty-seven rivers empty into it, and one departs from it, called Leech Lake river, which falls into the Mississippi. It has nine large bays, and many small ones; ten large projecting capes, and a great number of small ones. Its population (Indian) is above 1000, of which there are 200 warriors.

The soil of the borders and about the lake is susceptible of a high degree of culture, and can be successfully tilled as gardens and as farms. Several varieties of clay occur, of which some are very fine, sometimes mixed with sands of talcose rocks, and sometimes these rocks are superposed, but always covered with a bed of rich vegetable earth. The forest trees are of a fine growth, many of them very old. They appear less subject to the diseases which destroy the forest trees of the south and the west: elm; maple, hard and soft; oak, red, white, post, and others; red and yellow pine; balsam; cedar; basswood; birch; poplar; ash, and quantities of sugar-maple. Shrubs, wild plum, wild-pear, cherry, blueberry, blackberry, raspberry, hawthorn.

The lake furnishes great quantities and great varieties of leeches, from which it derives its name, *kah Suguskwâjema Kâg*, or leeches. It produces white-fish, tulibee, mushkonoshâ, pike, sucker or carp, pickerel or golden carp, and several other kinds.

Its game consists of ducks of several kinds; bustards; geese; pelicans; loons; gulls; fish-hawks; bald-eagle; wolf; bear; muskrat; mink; raccoon; fox; marten; porcupine; ground-hog, or wood-chuck; weasel; squirrels, red, striped, and flying; three kinds of turtle, one from ten to fourteen inches long.

The climate is conducive to health, the winter being less subject to sudden and frequent changes than in the New England States.

The seasons are regular, with one or two storms of hail, in the month of July of every year, and sometimes land water-spouts, but rarely.

The bays of the lake, and the shore-parts of the rivers furnish abundance of wild rice. During the harvest, they go to these places with a canoe, one person bends over the stalks, another strikes or threshes them, and the canoe is soon filled. For this process, see Plate IV., page 63, Vol. III. In the early days of the fur-trade, this article was much relied on by the traders, for supporting their men while engaged in this business, and no place was so celebrated for it as this lake.

The Chippewas of Leech Lake, or the Robbers as they are often called, live much on islands in the lake. Their country is the region of the lake. They have been settled there from time immemorial. If they absent themselves for weeks, or months, they always return. In this respect they are not, perhaps, more nomades or cosmopolites than the whites, who travel for months and for years about their affairs. The Chippewas, and all Indians when they travel take with them their house, their menage, and their family. But it is only for a limited time—they return to their own country as soon as they can. The whites do not take their houses with them, because they build them wherever they have to pass all the seasons of the year. But the Pillagers, like all savage nations, are distinguished as fixed or permanent, and as nomade or travelling. All the savage nations found on the borders of the settlements, are the descendants of those who lived on the same soil—some have been forced off by wars, by treaties, and by the exhaustion of the country. But does not the whole face of the globe offer many similar examples, from similar causes, among the most civilized people, ancient as well as modern?

MICHIGAMIES.

This term was applied by the French to several tribes and bands of Indians of the Algonquin lineage, who clustered around the borders of Lake Michigan. The lake itself takes its name from them, being a compound of two words which signify great and lake. Of these, the once noted Mascotins, or Fire-Indians, have disappeared. Of the several bands of the Illinese, who dwelt around the head of the lake, and extended along the banks of the Illinois river, the country has long been destitute of a trace, except in those works of defence of a nomadic and predatory people, which are still observed in tumuli, ditches, fortified cliffs, and inaccessible defiles, which they were expert to occupy. Such are the picturesque features of the so called Staved Rock. Mount Juliet, though of artificial construction, is one of those features capable of mound uses, which they once doubtless occupied. And the antiquary may take a melancholy pleasure in seeking out the site of the once celebrated works, of which Fort Crevecœur was the earliest attempt of French military occupation on that stream. The human bone, the pipe, the stone axe and arrow-head, which are turned up almost every season, by the plough, serve to recall the hunter age of the country, and the history of a people who are exterminated, or have followed their favorite pursuits in regions better adapted to them. Though the Illinese have passed from their ancient haunts, some of their descendants are yet living in the Peorias and the Kaskaskias, west of the Mississippi. The Pous, or Pottowattomies, who once dwelt on the islands at the entrance into Green Bay, and who, being mixed with the Chippewas and Ottowas, once made Chicago the central point of their residence, or periodical gatherings, have also joined the colonized tribes west. The Miamis, dwelling on the St. Joseph, in the early history of La Salle and the missionary fathers, retired to the Wabash, in so imperceptible a manner, that history hardly takes any notice of the movement. Several bands of the Ottowas and Chippewas remain. The ensuing observations on the traditions and the actual state of the Chippewa bands at Grand Traverse Bay, on the peninsula, are derived from personal visits to the principal villages, together with the explorations of others in this field.

The common opinion of these people is, the Indian tribes were created by the Great Spirit on the lands which they occupy. There is a discrepancy in the accounts. Some say that the Great Spirit created one man and one woman, in the beginning, from whom all the Indians sprung. Others say, God made one pair of each distinct tribe, and gave them different languages. The details of this latter opinion are as follows: This continent is an immense island: at first it had been an extended plain. One large tree was created, from the seeds of which, carried by the winds, this plain was in time covered with trees. The first man and woman created were called Shah-wah-no, and were placed in the centre of the island, south-east from this lake. This family, or tribe, still live in the south, and have always been held in the highest respect on account of their wise and peaceful character. The Oshah-wah-noes, or Oshah-wa-nög, are known by no other name. The next pair created were named O-buh-ne-go. Their exact location is not known. They say there are bands of them now living in Canada, some distance up the river Thames.

The next pair were called O-dah-wah, to whom was given the country they still occupy, viz., the peninsula south of the straits of Michilimackinac. The next pair were called O-jib-wa, and the country lying north of the straits of Mackinac was given to them. Some of the O-jib-wa bands occupy part of the O-dah-wah country south of the straits. It was given by the latter to the former to settle a difficulty which had arisen between the tribes. These bands occupy Grand Traverse Bay. This tradition of the origin of different tribes and languages, is simple enough, if not satisfactory. It is a very natural way for minds like theirs, to account for facts which they cannot as satisfactorily explain as other occurrences. It is more consistent, perhaps, for unlettered men, ignorant of revelation, or the extent of the human family over the globe, than to trace him to one common stock. There are tribes of which they give no account, and with which they do not acknowledge any relationship, as the O-bwah-nug or Sioux, and the Nah-dah-waig or Iroquois.

If the Indian tribes have not much history, they are not, however, deficient in a species of imagination; and, where there is little or no tradition, they often cover the deficiency with a legend, or an allegory. These tales and allegories do not, generally, agree, but differ widely in their details, which arises from the narrator having no sure standard, and attempting to supply from fancy, what he, perhaps, cannot extract from memory.

The Indians of this portion of country have no idea of having emigrated from any part of the old world to this continent.

Their oldest people related that this continent is an island, and speak of it as being a *minishance*, i.e., a small island; at its creation, it was a perfect plain, destitute of trees, and after its creation the Good Spirit planted trees. After this, he formed the Indian with red clay, and gave him life, and then formed the woman. He next made all manner of beasts and living animals, for the use of the Indian, which would be food for him. The master of life and the Good Spirit, saw that the Indian needed assistance in the chase, and the dog was given to him, that he might find game, and bark. The dog was not created here on earth, he was formed in heaven and sent down to aid the Indian in the chase; the master of life gave it power to scent, and spoke to him, saying, "You will do all that lies in your power to assist and be faithful to the Indian, and he will in return take good care of you, and you will increase and multiply exceedingly, but the Indian will have power to kill you and offer you up as a sacrifice, not that I need a sacrifice, but it will be habitual for him to do so."

Manabozho was called at this time, and directed to give names to all things living, and to trees and herbs, which were created for the use of the Indian. Corn first grew in heaven, and the Good Spirit commanded it to come upon earth, but being a sentient being, it felt reluctant to do so, and the Good Spirit said to the corn, "Go down upon earth and do good to the Indian, and he will do good to you in return; the Indian will kill game of every description, and season you with all manner of meat; this will afford you an opportunity of eating the same food with the Indian, while you will be beneficial to him;" so corn came down from heaven to benefit the Indian, and this is the reason why they esteem it, and are bound to take good care of it, and to nurture it, and not raise more than they actually require, for their own consumption. True Indian philosophy!

A whole town of the Miamis were severely punished for a disregard to this rule: they raised an immense crop, and hid it under ground, and packed a great quantity for immediate use, in bags; but the crop was so great that the Miami young men and youths were regardless of it, for many ears of corn remained on the stalks; the young men commenced playing with the shelled cobs, and threw them at one another, and finally broke the ears on the stalks, and played with them in like manner as with the cobs. After this, the whole of the Miami made preparations to quit their village, in order to spend the winter where game was in abundance: they loaded their canoes with corn, and moved to their hunting-grounds and encamped; all the men who were capable of pursuing game went out to hunt, as deer seemed to abound, and when the Indians returned in the evening, they brought no game; not proving successful, these hunting excursions were repeated from day to day, but still unavailingly.

An old man who had an only son, said one evening to him, "My son, I feel hungry for meat and broth, try and get me some." The young man, answering his father, said thus: "How can I get meat for you, when all the hunters of our village cannot kill any deer, although so abundant." At this time, the elders of every family began to apprehend that they would starve to death, as their tempting supply of the article was now exhausted; their young men set out on the following day. The old man who had an only son, rose earlier than usual, and again requested his son to try, if possible, to bring in some meat; in the meantime, he told his son, he would request some of the men who were going to get corn, to bring in some for them; upon this the young hunter started for the chase in obedience to his father's will: he walked all day and saw numerous herds of deer, but could not kill any. He became faint, weak, and exhausted; wandering, he knew not whither, he suddenly emerged from the woods, striking the borders of a fine wide stream: he looked every way, and admired it. At some distance from him he saw smoke issuing from a small lodge, and on reaching it, he went cautiously, and peeped through the lodge door; saying within himself, I will encamp here for the night, as I feel too weak and exhausted to return home; and besides this, I have no venison to carry home to my aged father, who so anxiously expects some from me. On this reflection he walked into the lodge, and discovered a very aged man lying on one side of it with his back turned to the fire. The old man groaned, and, lifting up his head, turned himself and saw the young hunter. "Oh! my grandfather," ejaculated the young hunter, "I am benighted, faint, weak, and hungry; we, the people of our village, cannot kill any game, although it abounds in the plains and forests. Our people are nigh starving. We have eaten up all our corn, and our elders have sent off their young men this morning to our summer village, to bring in supplies which they have hid under ground."

The decrepid old man, in whom we see a magician in disguise, replied, saying, "My grandson, the Indians have afflicted me much, and reduced me to the condition you now see me in. Look, look to this side of the lodge and you will find a small kettle, take it, eat and replenish yourself, and when you have satisfied your hunger, I will speak to you."

The guest finding the kettle near the walls of the lodge, it was full of fine sweet corn, superior to any he had ever eaten; after his repast, the old man again spoke and said,—"Your people have wantonly abused and reduced me to the state you now see me in: my back-bone is broken in many places; it was the foolish young men and youths of your town that have done me this evil, for I am the Mondamin, or corn, that came down from heaven, for they played and threw corn-cobs and corn-ears at one another, thus thinking lightly and contemptibly of me; I am the corn spirit they have so injured. This is the reason you experience bad luck and famine. I am the cause; you feel my just resentment, and thus your people are punished. This is an injury I do not experience from other Indians; those tribes who regard me, are well at present. Have you no old men in your town, to have checked their youths in such wanton and malicious sport? You are an eye-witness to my sufferings. This is the result of the cruel sport you have had with my body." The old man groaned and covered himself up.

The young hunter rose early in the morning, and on his return home, killed a very large, fat porcupine, and presented it to his father, but did not relate anything concerning his adventure.

The party sent for corn, on arriving at the Miami town, commenced opening their corn-repositories: they were dismayed to find them all empty, and not containing even a single grain. After this disappointment they returned to their temporary homes, exhausted and hungry, and they were so reduced that they could scarcely raise their voices to tell the sad tale.

The benighted young visiter to the lodge of the corn-spirit, at this time mentioned to his father the adventure he had had, relating all that the old broken-backed man had said to him. Indians are very cautious, and do not now play with corn in the ear: they are careful not to break the ears when gathering it. After the harvest is over, the corn returns to heaven, the ears that are in good condition come back again the next spring, upon earth, if the Indian who raised such corn paid proper attention to it. Here ends the tale of Ogimawish, one of the old sages of the village of Grand Traverse Bay.

It is thus, by reminiscences and fancies of the past, that the Indian tries to solace himself for the miseries of the present. He often clothes instruction in a symbol, and hides truth in an allegory. It is surprising that such a vein of thinking should run through the minds of a race, who scarcely have, from day to day, a meal to keep them from starving, who are whirled in a constant change of trying vicissitudes, and who struggle with the very beasts of the forest for mastery.

The Michigamies, as their traditions are given by this band, hold the Shawanoes in the highest respect, believing that they had the original precedence among all the tribes; and if any tribe has the right to call general councils, it should be them. They received from Shawnee, about forty years ago, a message for a great council, to be held on the Wabash, and gladly sent delegates to attend it.[1] They call the OBUNEGOS grandfather, but give no reasons why. The Shawanoes are called Eldest Brother; the Odawas, Elder Brother; the Pedadumies, Brother. They say that these terms are descriptive of the relationship in which they have been placed to each other by the Great Spirit.

Each clan or family has a totem, which serves to keep up the line of descents. This is different, in principle, from the system of guardian spirits. Every individual, male and female, has one of the latter, no matter what the totem may be. Totems are by descent—guardian spirits by choice or experience. This experience is chiefly sought in fasts and dreams, a series of which are undertaken for this purpose, at the age of puberty. The fast is undertaken to prepare the body for the dream. These dreams are continued until some animal or bird, or other animate object, appears, which is fixed on as the genie, or guardian spirit. Thus the mind of the Indian, dark in itself, gropes after truth. Feeling the need of some supernatural power, it aims to strengthen itself by reliance on the shadowy, the mysterious, and the symbolic. It is believed that the guardian spirit leads the man safely through the vicissitudes of life, preserves him in battle, and gives him success in the chase.

With the rest of the Algonquin tribes, they believe in magic, witchcraft, sorcery, and the power and influence of minor monedos, as well as one great ruling good monedo, and one great counteracting bad monedo. Like these tribes, too, they are under the direction of their forest-priests, medais, prophets, and medicine-men; for with them medicine is generally, but not always, exhibited in connection with necromancy, incantations, and songs. The ties of consanguinity are apparently upheld with a good deal of strength. Marriage is observed in a manner which is beneficial to the Indian state of society. Polygamy is rare, and has been for years almost unknown in their villages. Children are loved, and wives, in general, well treated. The greatest evils known have resulted, heretofore, from intemperance; but this is greatly abated. The tribe has been under teachers for about sixteen years, *i. e.* since 1839. Schools are kept, under the care of efficient instructors, where the children are brought forward in the elements of knowledge, civilization, and Christianity. Farming, and some of the mechanic arts, have been taught. They dress, in some measure, after the civilized costume, and wear hats and store-bought shoes. Their houses are small tenements of logs. They split rails, and put up their own fences. A limited number of the adults are united in the obligations of church-fellowship, under the care of a regular pastor. Temperance, industry, and morals, thus go hand-in-hand; and notwithstanding some adverse circumstances, their prospects are such as to inspire bright hopes for their advance.

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[1] This was evidently the call of the great Shawanoe prophet, in 1812.

UTAHS.

The Rocky Mountains have, from immemorial ages, been the location of certain tribes of Indians, who appear, at first, to have sought shelter there from sanguinary hunter-tribes, roving over the plains or slopes on either side of the chain. Or it may be thought that the mountain tribes have reached these eminences in search of the buffalo, which are known to retire into, or pass through its gorges, at certain seasons. Lewis and Clark, who in 1805 crossed the range between the sources of the Missouri and the Columbia river, found its summits in possession of the Shoshone group of tribes. These people, in their divisions, appear to have been progressive, at least from this point, towards the south; from about 42°, which is the verge of the Great Salt Lake basin, they have diverged towards the south-west into California, and the south-east into Texas, at the same time continuing the track southerly into New Mexico.

Two distinct tribes, speaking dialects of other languages, appear as intrusive, or at least to have shared with the Shoshone group this general position; namely, the Upsarokas, or Crows, and the Utahs. The Upsarokas, by some traditions, fled from the Missouri valley, during a time of extensive commotions of the tribes in that quarter. The Utahs appear to have been progressive from the south, where from an early period they have, with the Apachee tribes, been residents of the elevated plains and geologically disturbed districts, of New Mexico. The great Colorado river, of California, has its principal origin and course through the Utah territories. Our knowledge of the vocabularies of the mountain tribes, is not sufficient to enable us satisfactorily to classify them, and deduce their history. It is evident that the wide-spread Comanche tribes of Texas are of the Shoshone stock. (Vol. II., p. 125.) It is equally so that the Root-diggers or Bonacs, of north-eastern California, are likewise so. (Vol. IV., p. 221.)

The present point of inquiry is with respect to the Utahs. Of a good, middle-sized stature, and much strength of muscle, they are predatory, voracious, and perfidious. Plunderers and murderers by habit, they have long been the terror of the Spanish settlements of New Mexico, and have thus far taxed the energies of the Americans to keep them within bounds. The use of the horse has doubled their power of depredation, and excited their energies and ambition. To kill and rob on foot, is a far less exciting species of Indian ambition, than to perform the same atrocities on horseback, and fly to their recesses for safety; and this flight, too, leads to and through impassable gulfs and cañons, which put a dragoon at defiance. The Spanish never dreamt that, when they abandoned some of their first settlements, and turned the horses loose in the pampas and prairies, they were thus furnishing the predatory wild tribes with one of their most effective means of aggression.

Of a tribe whose history is so obscure, and who have but recently come under American jurisdiction, we must judge, in a great measure, by details transmitted by the agents of the Government in charge of them; and these are retarded both by the great distance of the country they occupy, and the difficulty of obtaining reliable information. It is but recently that they murdered Capt. J. Gunnison, U. S. A., and his party, while executing a reconnoissance in that quarter; and when their ferocity is not excited, their suspicions are so great, as to render what they say unreliable, if they do not remain altogether incommunicative.

The following facts are drawn from information chiefly communicated by Mr. J. H. Holman, the agent for Utah.

For the last fifty years, a large tribe of the Shoshonies, who are sometimes called Snakes, inhabited the Upper Missouri. This tribe in bands, under some favorite chief, occupied the country upon the head waters of the Arkansas, and all the country extending as far as Fort Hall, Salmon river, &c. They were at war with all the various tribes by whom they were surrounded; and by these wars and the small-pox, which was very fatal among them, they were reduced in numbers, and split up into small bands. In the spring of 1822, a war broke out between them and the Crows, a large and warlike tribe, which continued for several years, when the Shoshonies were finally driven from the country on the Upper Missouri. In past times, a village of about 150 lodges, from the south, under the chief Nat-che-to, settled on Bear river, some 200 miles from the present location of Fort Hall. They had been in the neighborhood of the Spaniards, but had had but little intercourse with them, and, as reported by these traders, had never seen a white man, meaning an American. Their first meeting caused much surprise; they had, as they asserted, never seen a looking-glass, and were much astonished at seeing themselves reflected in the glass. They had no knowledge of the use of fire-arms, and would fall to the ground on hearing the report of a gun. Their only weapon was the bow and arrow. They would give a horse for a common butcher-knife. Falling out with the Spaniards, they were travelling to join the Bonacks, and finally took possession of the country about Fort Hall. Their present chief is the celebrated Snag. A few years subsequently, several other bands of the Shoshonies, under the chief Tan-a-kee, one of the best Indians known to the whites, came to the present territory of Utah, and settled in Salt Lake Valley, extending their boundary to what is now called Cash Valley, lying between Salt Lake and Fort Hall. These bands occupied Salt Lake Valley until driven out by the Mormons, the chief being killed by a Mormon, while walking through his farm. A portion of this band still reside in Cash Valley and on Bear river; some have joined the "Diggers" who live principally on the waters of the Humboldt, and the mountains bordering on Oregon. The Digger Indians, who may be called a tribe, are very numerous; they are the poorer class of all the tribes who formerly resided in this section of the country When the Mormons and whites commenced their travel to California and Oregon unfriendly feelings arose. The Indians were badly treated — the Mormons would frequently profess friendship, get them into their camps, shoot them down, take their horses, and by forced marches leave the Indians to seek revenge on the first party of emigrants who travelled the road. The enmity between the whites and the Indians became general. Scarcely a train passed that was not robbed. Many were killed on both sides. The Indians, having no weapon but the bow, finding they could not compete with the rifle, determined to leave the country; those who had horses generally went, leaving only those who were too poor to travel. Thus the "Diggers," as they are called, are a band made up of the poorer and fragmentary classes of the Shoshonies, the Utahs, the Bonacks, the Sosokos, and the Washano tribes. They live, during the summer season, on the Humboldt river and its tributaries, north-west of Salt Lake: they subsist principally on fish and roots; the roots somewhat resemble the potato, are very nutricious and palatable; they roast them when in a green state; they dry large quantities for winter use. They are very destitute generally, having but few horses or fire-arms, and little clothing. It is thought that there are abandoned white men among them, who have induced them to depredate on the emigration, and that the whites receive the benefit of the spoils. The oldest traders, who have been longest acquainted with these various bands and tribes of Indians, report them as having been friendly, until they were provoked and excited by the Mormons.

About 1822, or 1823, the band of Shoshonies, who now reside on the Sweet Water, and Green river, and about Fort Bridger, consisting of some 150 or 200 lodges, settled, and occupy the country from the North Platte to Bear river, under the chief, Petti-coat (a great medicine-man). This band is at present controlled by the celebrated warrior Wo-so-keek, who is a devoted friend to the whites, and his band frequently render service to distressed and suffering emigrants.

To the south of the Shoshonies, or White river, and on Green river and its tributaries, there resides a large band of the Utah tribe, under the chief Birne (One-eye)—about 150 lodges; they live on friendly terms with all the Indians, and are at present kindly disposed towards the whites, although they have heretofore been bad Indians; being some 100 miles from the emigrant route, they have but little intercourse with the whites, except the traders who visit their country.

They are a part of the Utah tribe, who reside on the Elk mountains, towards Taos, in New Mexico. This tribe is very large, and claim the country from the Elk mountains, west, and south-west of Salt Lake, to the Sierra Nevada, and are controlled by various chiefs, who command separate bands, all being of the Utah tribe, though some are called Pi-Utahs, who are friendly towards each other. Some of these bands have been inclined to rob and murder the whites, since the first settlement of Salt Lake Valley—occasioned, it is said, by the forcible occupation and settlement of their land by the Mormons, against whom they make many grievous complaints.

Another band of Utahs, called the Uwinty-Utahs, under the chief Castel, are the remains of a band formerly under the chief Uwinty, from whom the band, and the valley in which they reside, take their name. They number about 100 lodges.

There are other bands of these Utahs—one under the celebrated chief Walker, the other under his brother, Saw-ry-ats; they reside in and about Sanpitch Valley, about 150 miles from Salt Lake: they number 150 or 200 lodges. They have been much more numerous, but were driven off and killed by other tribes, with whom they have been at war. Walker, although a prominent chief, with much influence in his tribe, is not considered a great warrior; his high standing is in consequence of his daring and ingenious thefts; he makes his annual visits to the Mexican or Spanish countries, south, and steals horses, sometimes hundreds in a drove. Upon one occasion he left the Spanish country with about 3000; he was closely pursued, and drove so hard that half of his lot gave out, and were left. He got in safe with the remainder. Upon another occasion, after collecting a large drove, he was pursued by a strong force of Mexicans, for several hundred miles. Being aware of the pursuit, he knew he must be overtaken or abandon his drove, as the animals were much fatigued, unless he could extricate himself by stratagem. Late in the evening he selected a point suitable for operations, and encamped. The Mexicans came in sight, and from the careless manner of Walker's camp, concluded that he was not aware of the pursuit, and being fatigued themselves, they determined to rest for the night, and capture Walker and his party in the morning, as they considered it impossible for him to escape. Consequently they laid down to sleep, not dreaming that the eye of Walker was upon them. They had no sooner become quiet, than Walker and his band surrounded their horses, and quietly drove them to their own camp, when, putting all in motion, they were soon safe from their pursuers. In the morning, the Mexicans found themselves on foot, and unable longer to continue the pursuit, and had to retrace their steps home the best way they could; while Walker, now conscious of his safety, leisurely pursued his course homeward, with the addition of some 100 fine horses to his band, and arrived in safety. He had been so successful in these thefts, and they have been so numerous, that the Mexican authorities have offered a reward of 5000 dollars for his head. This, however, does not deter this mountain-chief from his forays. Whenever he wants horses, he knows where to get them, and never fails to secure a good drove.

A very large band of Utahs and Navajoes, residing on the lower waters of Green and Grand rivers, and extending to the Colorado, are the most treacherous and bad Indians in the country; they raise considerable stock—horses, cattle, and sheep; they manufacture very beautiful and serviceable blankets; they cultivate corn, vegetables, &c. Green river heads in the Rocky Mountains, as it pursues its course, being enlarged by the various streams which put into it—the river changes its name from Green river, and is called Grand river, then Colorado, &c. In consequence of the many mountain gorges, through which the river passes, and its immense rocky falls, this river is not, and perhaps never can be, made navigable farther up than Grand river.

Another large band of the Pi-Utahs reside in the country south and south-west of Salt Lake, on and about Lake Sevier, and Walker's river, and occupy the country as far as Carson river, and Sierra Nevada; they are in bands from 200 to 400, under some favorite brave or chief, but all friendly, as composing one united band.

There are several tribes or bands residing on Goose creek, the Humboldt and Carson rivers, and in the mountains adjacent to these rivers. A large band of about 500, a mixture of Bonacks and Shoshonies, under the chief Too-ke-mah (the Rabbit), of the Bonack tribe, claim the country about Goose Creek mountain, Spring Valley, and west as far as the Humboldt, extending north some 200 miles towards Fort Hall.

There are two bands of the "Diggers," as they are called, principally of the Shoshonie tribe, who reside on the Humboldt river, and in the adjacent mountains. The first under the chief Ne-me-te-kah (Man-eater), whose band numbers about 500; they occupy the country around and about the junction of the north and south forks of the Humboldt. The other, numbering about 450, under the chief Oh-hah-quah (Yellow-skin). This band reside in the neighborhood of *Stony Point*, a place made noted from the frequent difficulties between the Indians and emigrants. Within the limits of the country claimed by this band, the celebrated *Porter Rockwell*, a Mormon, being the same man who attempted to assassinate Governor Boggs, of Missouri, killed six of this band. There was a large party, mostly Mormons, returning to Salt Lake, from California; Rockwell, seeing these Indians at a distance, called them into camp, professed towards them the greatest friendship, gave them provisions, and while they were eating, he drew his revolver and killed the whole six. He took their horses and arms, and left the Indians lying on the plains. Many of the Mormon company, however, were much opposed to this brutal transaction. Upon another occasion, an Indian was killed while in the act of being persuaded to join a company of Mormons; while one of the company drew his attention by giving him a piece of tobacco, another shot him dead. They took his horse and arms, and left him as the others. These, and other acts of unkindness and bad treatment, produced the difficulties which afterwards occurred with the emigrants on this whole route, all these Indians being previously friendly to the whites.

Near the sink of the Humboldt, there is a band, chiefly of the Banock tribe, under the chief Te-ve-re-wena (the long man), numbering about 600.

In Carson Valley, and the country south, there are several bands of the Pi-Utah tribe, numbering 600 or 700, under their favorite chiefs, and scattered over the country from the head of the valley to the sink of the river. It is a curious fact, that while Carson river heads in the Sierra Nevada and runs eastward, the Humboldt river heads in the range of the Humboldt and Rocky Mountains, and runs westward.

The waters of both these rivers form large lakes, and sink, there being no outlet between the sinks of these rivers, some 50 miles apart. It is this district that forms the Great Desert; the crossing of which has caused so much suffering to the California emigrants. Walker's river, heading in the Sierra Nevada, also sinks in the same manner, as also Deep Creek, a stream between Salt Lake and the Goose Creek mountains. (Vide Appendix, No. 5.)

APACHES.

The elevated summits of New Mexico lying north of the Gila, and west of the upper Rio Grande, may be said to be rather infested than occupied, by this predatory nation. They are the most completely nomadic, in their habits, of any tribe in North America. They have no permanent towns or villages, but rove over immense tracts in small bands, in quest of subsistence and plunder. They are the dread of the contiguous Spanish settlements, from whose ranches they steal horses, cattle, and sheep. They fall upon the unwary travellers who are weak in numbers, and unprotected; and for the sake of the booty, also take life. They rely upon their bows and darts for everything to sustain life; and when this resource fails, as it often does, they wander about wretched and poor, without a morsel to eat, and with scarcely a shred of clothing to hide their nakedness. Whether such a people should be most despised, or pitied, is a question.

The Apaches speak a language, the tones of which are difficult to be caught and recorded by the English alphabet. It abounds equally with guttural, hissing, and indistinctly uttered mixed intonations. A full vocabulary of it has been obtained. It is very meagre in sounds, and in equivalents for English and Spanish words; and so deficient in grammar, that their verbs appear to have no tenses. Deficient as it is, however, many of its sounds are peculiar, and denote it to be the parent language of the surrounding tribes. It abounds in the sound of *tz*, so common to the Shemitic languages; of *zl*, of *d*, and the rough *rr*, which are wanting in the old Atlantic tribes.[1] It is equally removed from the mountain genus of languages, the Shoshonees, and from the great and wide-spread Dacota stock of the Mississippi Valley. Yet, their traditions are that they came originally from the north; and they would appear, in past ages, to have migrated along the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains. Until vocabularies are obtained for investigation, which record the *same* words on the *same* system of notation, it will be impossible to determine the point, and give them their just rank in the scale of language. But it may be suggested that its proper affinities

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[1] A few instances of this total disagreement of sounds, may suffice to show the justice of this remark:

ENGLISH.	APACHE.	ALGONQUIN.	ENGLISH.	APACHE.	ALGONQUIN.
God	Kisneerse	Monedo.	Flesh	Eetz	Weös.
Devil	Zleem	Matchi monedo.	Night	Cla	Tibbik.
Man	Ailee	Inini.	Snow	Zahs	Kone.
Woman	Eetzan	Equa.	Fire	Kon	Ishcoda.
Head	Sezee	Ostegwan.	Water	Tõa	Nebe.
Eye	Sleeda	Oskeezhig.	To see	Ooskee	Waub.
Bone	Setzee	Okun.	To speak	Eathee	Ekedo.

are to be found in the Athapasca, of the Hudson's Bay territory—thus dropping out two thousand miles in the tribal link, which has been filled up by the central Vesperic tribes who occupy the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains and the western borders of the Mississippi Valley.

Nor, until we increase the means of comparison by receiving vocabularies of these tongues, and construct grammars of the language, can it be expected that we should be set right in both the history of this people and their languages. In the meantime, every addition to our information on these heads, is important. "The Apaches," observes Governor Lane, "the Navahoes, and the Lepans of Texas, speak dialects of the same language. The Jicarillas (Hic-ah-ree-ahs), Muscaleros, Tontos, and Coyateros, are all bands of the Apaches; and I am induced to think the Garoteros (who handled Aubrey so roughly) are also an off-shoot of the Apache tribe." (Appendix, V.)

The traditions given to Dr. Ten Broeck (Vol. IV., p. 72), by the Navahoes, only go to prove a general parity of beliefs on this subject by the Indian tribes, from the Arctic circle to the Straits of Magellan—namely, that they originally dwelt in some concavity of the earth, located according to their varying geography, from which they, with the quadrupeds, emerged to the surface. The introduction of the "horse" (only known in America about three centuries) into the tale of the flood, together with its symbolic allusions to modern moral tenets, denote that the web of this story has been woven from mixed materials, furnished since the advent of the Spanish in Mexico. (Vol. IV., p. 89.)

From the remarks of Lieut.-Col. Eaton, U. S. A., the southern and south-western portions of New Mexico, and mainly the valley of the Gila, are the principal seats of the Apaches, who rove, however, over two-thirds of the territory. He expresses no opinion whether the Pueblo bands are derived from this, or other definite stocks. He deems the dialects of Navajoes, Jicarillas, Coyateros, Muscaleros, Gilenos, and some others, cognate with the Apaches. He repels the idea of the Navajoes having "a civilization of their own;" remarking that they do not live in houses of stone—do not make butter or cheese—that they are not remarkable for personal bravery—have scarcely any government at all—and are thieves. Against these particulars he sets the facts that they cultivate corn, pumpkins and melons, and a little wheat; that they are semi-graziers, raising small horses or ponies, sheep, and a few cattle; and that they make a species of basket, of a very close texture and durable colors.

With regard to their history, he was informed that they attribute their origin to the north-east, which, in their present position, agrees generally with the Apache traditions. The account he gives of their origin differs, in its details, from that above narrated, but coincides in the general Indian opinion of their being extricated from the bowels of the earth, through the instrumentality of the animated creation. In manners and customs, he notices a coincidence of their carrying a waving brand of fire, which is mentioned in the narrative of Coronada as being observed on the banks of the Colorado, in 1542. (Vol. IV., p. 216.)

Lieut.-Col. Backus, U. S. A., completes this picture by detailing the mode of forming the thread, and weaving the blanket, among the Navajo and Moqui tribes, to whom this art is alike known. (Vol. IV., p. 436, Plates XXVI., XXVII.) In detailing the leading events of the introduction of a fort into the territory of the nation, in 1851, this officer observes, that the Navajoes raise no cotton, and of course have no fabrics of this sort; while the Moquis, who cultivate the plant, make nothing but fabrics of the coarsest cloth. He represents many of the principal Navajoes as being rich in sheep, which they drive from valley to valley to find grass and water. But these men possess no houses; and, by an anecdote he introduces, they sleep like the sheep they drive, on the grass and chips, "just like a dog." (Vol. IV., p. 209.)

To these details of the state of art among the Navajoes and Moquis, we add one or two indicative facts. Having observed descriptions of the Navaho dwelling denoting a higher state of the social condition than this tribe have any claims to, drawings of this structure, from persons on the spot, have been given in Vol. IV., Plate 37. This structure depicts a lodge of deflected poles, tied at the top in the Sioux manner, and forming a pentagon, or a many-sided figure, partially covered with flat stones — a mode evidently adopted from the scarcity of bark or wood in those bleak positions.

Popular reports and publications exaggerate the general state of advance of these tribes, while these notices denote them to have the manners of a shepherd life curiously engrafted on the savage stock; and this fact shows what may be important in our future efforts with the nomadic prairie and mountain tribes — namely, that the care of cattle and sheep, and the introduction of grazing, form the true links here, as they did in Asia and Europe, between the hunter and the agricultural state. The change, at once, from the bow and arrow to the plough, is too violent. Arts ever advance in the aboriginal stocks but slowly.

It has been represented that these tribes wear leather shoes. The application of the chemical principle of tanin, converts hides into leather, imparting solidity and firmness of texture. Inquiry from persons who have visited or been stationed in New Mexico, disaffirms this observation, showing that in all cases the Navajo shoes are skins, dressed and smoked after the Indian method. Another fact of equal significance is connected with the use of wool. Wherever the sheep is kept for its wool, among civilized nations, the fleece is sheared at the proper season for this purpose. No process of this kind is at all known in that quarter. When its flesh is required, the sheep is killed, and its skin stripped off, after the method of the hunter. The wool is then cut off with a knife by the Indian women, who are exclusively the possessors of the blanket-making art. In this case, "the wind does not require to be tempered to the shorn lamb," though the hand of Providence be leading these tribes "in a way they know of;" and the entire amelioration of their condition, through the arts of peace, appears to be quite practicable.

The history of the Apache tribes appears to be one of much interest, although involved in obscurity. Their position, at the earliest dates, was the region lying between Sonora and Chihuahua. At this era, they did not apparently partake of the Cubiacan civilization. They were on the outer circle of those ill-amalgamated and conflicting groups of tribes on its west and north-west periphery, which acknowledged fealty to Montezuma. They did not, at first, reach to the banks of the Rio Gila; and when checked by the Spaniards for their depredations, sheltered themselves in the Los Mimbres mountains, or the Sierra Madre. They have, for generations, been retracing their track of migration from the north; and there seems but little question that they were the destroyers, not the authors, of that semi-civilization of which there are ruins on the banks of the Gila.

The following observations on the history, manners, customs, and condition of this leading tribe of New Mexico, are from Dr. Charlton Henry, U. S. A., who has been several years stationed in the country of the Apaches, and has devoted considerable attention to the subjects discussed.

"It would seem that the Apaches took but very little part in the events which occurred at the period of the discovery and conquest of Mexico. This is the more readily explained when we view the geographical position of their country, and also that they had less to do with Montezuma than other Indian tribes. However, it is probable, by the veneration they have until this day for the name of Montezuma, that they acknowledged and were under the sway of his powerful empire, and had attained a certain degree of civilization; because, according to their tradition, they were living in peace, and cultivating the land. The banks of the Del Norte, the Gila and Los Mimbres were covered with rich crops of corn; and their caravans frequenting the principal towns of the empire of Montezuma procured luxuries and food of every kind. But after the fall of Montezuma, when the great temple of the sun had been pillaged, and the cross of the Spaniard was everywhere displayed, their extreme rapacity for gold led large and numerous parties toward the high and distant lands where the Apaches dwelt. While searching for gold, the Castilians met with these bands. At first the simple and pacific natives, allured by trifling presents and protestations of friendship, received the invaders graciously. But among the Spaniards were many priests of the Franciscan and Jesuitical orders, who, forwarding the conquests of the Church of Rome under cover of the Spanish sword, had already succeeded in planting the cross among the more pacific natives of the plains. But this method of introducing religion met with no success in the case of the Apaches. The holy doctrines of the Cross were losing their force under this mode of treatment, and could not suit the wild temper of the mountain tribes; therefore they were forced to retreat and discontinue their mission. They, however, established missions along the Rio Grande, from which the Apaches kept far aloof. Ere long a series of hostilities commenced between the mountain Apaches and those Indians who had settled on the plains in company with the Spaniards. The latter had by this time made settlements as far north as Santa Fé, a central post, from which further explorations were made, and conquests extended. In the course of time the Spanish had penetrated west to the coast of the Pacific, to which they gave the name of California, which some writers think was probably the Aurea Chersonea of the ancients.

But at the same time their increasing rapacity for gold, and their exactions against the Indians, whom they kept in a state of servitude, soon raised ill-feelings against them. The year 1688 brought about a revolution, in which the Apaches joined in a common cause with the Pueblo Indians (vaja campana), for the purpose of driving the Spaniards out of the land; and as this revolution was kept secret, and broke out at once in every point, taking the Spaniards by surprise, the assailing party drove them out of New Mexico to the other side of the Passes del Norte, where the assailed made a stand; soon new reinforcements enabled the Spanish to reconquer their lost ground, and bring again to submission at least the "Pueblos."

But much mischief had already been done. The missions had been destroyed, and their priests massacred. Most of the mines were in the hands of the insurgents, and any Spaniard who went toward them was massacred without pity. In this state of affairs the Spaniards gave up the Indians, and contented themselves in holding their own ground till more reinforcements arrived. But the affairs of the metropolis being on a decline, matters remained in statu quo until the natives of Spanish blood, emboldened by their own increase, and smarting under the tyranny of the Spanish government, took arms in turn, and with the help of the Indians (Pueblo mostly), in many instances drove the Spanish troops from place to place, until the discomfiture of Murillo in modern times, when his army enabled Iturbide to complete the overthrow of the Spanish dominion, himself then assuming the supreme power.

But soon dissensions and pronunciamentos threw the states of the north into constant trouble. The Apaches frequently sided with either one of the opposing parties, and often again harassed both conjointly. The States of New Mexico, Chihuahua, and Sonora, suffered the most from their incessant inroads; on both sides the most barbarous war was carried on. In those times the various Apache tribes had one common chief of great valor. The latter was finally killed, some say, by the unexpected discharge of a cannon in the hands of an American, a trader with the Sonorians; others say, in a pitched battle between the Apaches and the people of the State of Sonora. His death caused dissensions among the various chiefs of the respective Apache tribes, each one assuming to the supreme command. Since then the Apaches have never been united in a common cause, carrying on war only in small marauding parties, and ceasing to be a very dangerous enemy.

The following are the different tribes, with their respective chiefs, and range of each.

Jicarillas—under Chacon Rouge—they range about the Sacramento Mountains. Gila Apaches—Mangus Colorado, chief—range about the Gila river. A few smaller tribes under Ponci, whose range is up and down the valley of the Rio Mimbres. An attempt has been made recently to conclude a treaty of peace with these tribes, only partially successful, however. They are very averse to settling down to cultivate the soil; and much prefer to live by stealing. The bad administration of the Spanish and Mexican governments is principally to blame for this. It is very doubtful whether these deluded savages will ever be materially improved.

The geography of the country inhabited by the Apache nation is comparatively little known as regards its precise bounds; and as there exists at present no reliable map of it, we can do no more than give an imperfect sketch of it, with no reference to its precise latitude and longitude. This can be more readily determined by others when we state that their range (*i. e.* that of the Apaches,) scarcely extends farther north than Albuquerque, except the Masceleros; nor more than two hundred miles south of El Paso del Norte; east, the vicinity of the White Mountains; west, generally no further than the borders of Sonora, unless when they visit the more settled portions of that state on marauding excursions.

The names of the different tribes have reference to their location generally.

"Los Apaches tontos," so named by the Mexicans for their notorious imbecility, greatly beyond that of the other tribes; the word "tonto" meaning "idiot" in the Spanish language. The low stage of the mental faculties of this tribe (which is very numerous,) seems to have its origin in the slight intercourse they have had with the whites. They seem to range about the head springs of the Gila, situated on the Sierra del Mogoyen. This mountain seems to be the head-quarters and the stronghold of all the Apaches on the western side of the Rio Grande. They boast of being able within a few days, by means of signal-fires, to muster a force of five hundred warriors; and as they have their "caches" full of mescal and have plenty of live-stock, they deem the place impregnable.

Los Gileños, or Gila Apaches, seem to range as far as the Rio San Francisco, and the range of mountains of the same name. They are the best warriors of any Apache tribe.

Los Mimbreños, who derive their name from the Sierra del Los Mimbres, and Rio del Los Mimbres, their hunting-grounds, have their range from the Sierra San Matteo to the north, to the Sierra J'lorida to the south, Sierra de los Burros to the west, and one of the spurs of the Mogoyen to the east, on which latter is situated the old Mexican mine of Santa Rita del Cobre, being about fifty miles east from the Rio Gila, and ten westerly from the Rio Mimbres. This mine will probably belong to the State of New Mexico, when more perfect observations shall have determined the true boundary line of that territory. This portion of the country appears very rich in minerals of every description, but especially in copper and gold.

Los Apaches Mascaleros seem to range from La Sierra de Guadalupe to La Sierra de San Andre north, and south to the Rio Pecos, and to the Rio Grande to the west—which range includes mines of silver worked in former times by the Spaniards; but these mines have been in possession of the hostile Mascaleros since the revolution of

1688. The name which is borne by this tribe is very probably derived from a certain plant, called mescal by the Apaches and Mexicans, which plant, being roasted in holes in the ground covered over with hot stones, and reduced to a pulpy mass, is the principal food of the Apaches when hard pressed by their enemies, or from other causes. This plant grows in abundance all over the country where they range; its taste when raw is very bitter, and scorches the tongue and lips; but when baked, it tastes sweet, but somewhat astringent. The leaves are sharp-pointed and lanceolate in form; no doubt this species is allied to the African Palma. In fact, the mescal, as found in this Indian country, resembles greatly the Rahout des Arabes. This plant no doubt possesses medical properties; and preparations of it must be efficacious in pectoral diseases, or rather demulcent from the mucilage it yields. It has been conjectured that the manna of the ancient Israelites might have not been unlike this plant. The Indians and Mexicans make a rather palatable liquor from the juice.

Los Apaches Jicarillas have within their range on the Sacramento Mountains, some striking ruins which the Mexicans call the Gran Quivéra. From the appearance of those ruins, and from traditional accounts, it appears that there existed there, at the time of Montezuma, a large Indian city, with a Temple to the Sun where a continual fire was kept burning, until the Spaniards took the town, and converted the temple into a Catholic Church, when they were driven out of it in 1688; but as there were rich mines around it, and many riches in the church, it was destroyed and plundered by the insurgent Indians. In general, all the country inhabited by these tribes partakes of the features of the rest of the country of New Mexico, with the exception that the Apaches are the lords of the Uyged and Mist-Befringed Mountains, generally choosing for their abiding-place those most inaccessible. The fertility of the country is quite considerable wherever irrigation can be conducted. The banks of the Gila and Mimbres can yield abundant crops of corn, as well as those of the Rio Grande; and wheat, and most garden vegetables, attain perfection. As a grazing country, it stands justly high. The surface of the country is but scantily supplied with wood on its approaching towards the plains, plateaus, and level lands generally. Within the deep mountain cañons, however, grows the Pinus Altissimus; and the Pinus Monophyllus, and Vesinosus, are also common in similar situations. The scarcity of timber on the plains, is perhaps caused by the infrequency of rains. The whole range of the Apache country presents traces of a general conflagration. The "Jornadas" or deserts, so common in this country, are generally between two ranges of mountains — the interval immediately between them; and although there is a total absence of springs or streams in them, they yield nearly the whole year round an abundance of what the Mexicans call gramma-grass (Aetheroma Oligistarchon), very nutritious to cattle. The climate of the Apache range is one of the healthiest in the world; and to it must be due, in a great measure, the great longevity of many of its inhabitants. Many of the Indian chiefs number over a hundred summers, and are still capable of undergoing all the fatigue and exertion of a man of middle age. The principal feature of the climate is its dryness. The nights are, in general, cool and bright. The winters are quite severe, some seasons, in the mountains; but the cold is never of long duration continuously. In June, July, August, and September, rains or rather hard showers are frequent; during the rest of the year, very little rain falls.

Snow falls during December and January, in the mountains, not unfrequently, but seldom in large quantity. The prevailing wind is north, except during the rainy season; then the south prevails. East and west winds are very rare. It is highly probable that caves are to be met with in the mountains, where saltpetre or nitrate of potassa is found nearly pure, since the Indians are able to manufacture a kind of coarse cannon-powder, in cases of emergency; in fact, they say as much.

The principal animals found within this range are wolves of two species, deer of two species, bears of two species—grizzly and black bear—wild cats, antelopes, and many smaller quadrupeds.

Their catalogue of birds includes the turkey, and two species of eagles. The more barren and sandy portions of the country abound in rattle-snakes of highly venomous character. The Apaches dread them; and on their list, they hold the place of evil spirits, or the abode of the souls of pernicious men. From this, it is to be inferred that the Apaches believe in metempsychosis; for the same reason, they are observed to pay great respect to the bear, and will not kill one, nor partake of the flesh; and cherish the same opinion with regard to the hog as the Asiatic tribes, viz.: that it is an unclean animal. They have a great respect for the eagle and owl, and appear to think there are spirits of divine origin within, or connected with them. The same holds true with regard to any bird which is perfectly white.

Among the Apaches are found no ruins or mounds which might throw any light on their former history, or which might prove them to have once been civilized; still, however, there are some ruins of houses to be found along the Rio Grande, Gila, &c., which might go to prove they formerly lived in villages. During the time of Montezuma, they claim to have had the art to manufacture a kind of pottery, painted with different colors of imperishable hue; but if so, they have now entirely lost the art, with that of building; and when asked now why they do not build houses, they reply they do not know how, and those of their nation who did know, are all dead. Some, however, give as a reason for not building, that it is because they always move a camp when any one of their number dies. The calumet, or pipe of peace, is not now used by the Apaches; they use instead the corn-shuck cigarito of the Mexicans. Their utensils for the purpose of grinding breadstuff, consist of two stones; one flat, with a concavity in the middle; the other round, fitting partly into the hollow of the flat stone.

Their arrows are quite long, very rarely pointed with flint, usually with iron, and are feathered mostly with the plumes of the wild turkey, unless they can procure those of the eagle, which they are rarely able to do. The feather upon the arrow is placed or bound down with fine sinew in threes, instead of twos; that is, we may say on three sides of the arrow-shaft — a rather improper expression, because the arrow-shaft is round. The arrow-shaft is usually made of some pithy wood, generally a species of yucca.

Beside the iron-pointed arrows, these Indians use others, with the heads simply of wood hardened in the fire, for the purpose of killing small game. The generality of them have no guns, though there are a few in their possession, in the use of which they are far from expert. All are mounted on small ponies, descendants of the wild breed, and capable of great endurance. The women all ride a-straddle. The Spanish bit, or simply a cord of hair passed between the jaws, are the bridles used by them. Panniers of wicker-work, for holding provisions, are generally carried on the horse by the women. The shells of the pearl-oyster, and a rough wooden image, are the favorite ornaments of both sexes, to which they attach great value. They are also fond of beads and metal buttons. Their feet are protected by high buckskin moccasins with lengthened square toes, pierced at the sole near the end with two or three holes to admit the air. The principal articles of clothing are made out of coarse cotton goods, which they seem never to wash. Their quivers are usually made of deer-skin, with the hair turned inside or outside, and sometimes of the skin of the wild cat, with the tail appended. The organization of the Apaches is much like that of some of the ancient tribes, the chiefs being the wealthiest men, the most warlike, the first in battle, the wisest in council; and the more popular take a wife, whom they buy from another tribe, giving in exchange horses, blankets, and trinkets of various kinds. These can have any number of wives they choose; but one only is the favorite. She is admitted to his confidence, and superintends his household affairs; all the other wives are slaves to her; next come his peons, or slaves, and his wife's slaves, and the servants of his concubines; then the young men or warriors, most generally composed of the youth who have deserted other tribes on account of crimes, and have fled to the protection of the chief of this tribe. (This does not protect them from the chances of private revenge.) Then come the herdsmen and so on.

The strength of a tribe ranges from 100 to 200 souls, and can muster from 25 to 50 warriors, headed by a capitancillo, or capitan, under the chief's command, who mostly remains at home, and very seldom leads in a foray, taking the field only in cases of emergency. This captain is often the oldest son of the chief, and assumes the command of the tribe on the death of his father, and then he chooses a captain among his bravest warriors. A council of chiefs is assembled in cases of undertaking a marauding expedition. Should the son of a chief prove unfit for the situation of captain from want of courage, energy, or otherwise, he soon finds himself deserted by all his warriors, who go and join a more expert captain, or chieftain, leaving him (the former) at the head of a crowd of women and children. Many of the Apaches dress in the breech-clout only; but they are beginning now to imitate the Mexicans by wearing the serape or blanket pretty generally, and not a few wear the straw hat or sombrero. The women wear a short petticoat, and wear their hair loose over the naked shoulders. The women, in mourning for husbands killed in battle, cut their hair off short. The younger children go mostly entirely nude. Those under the age of two years are carried in a kind of osier basket by the mother, in which the child is fastened in a standing posture. There is a cover fits over the head of the child, much resembling the niche of a statue of a saint as seen standing at the corners of the streets of the cities in Spain. When on a roving expedition, if on foot, the mother fastens this basket to a strap, which depends from the forehead, while the basket is swung to the back as they progress, in a stooping position. When on horseback, the basket is fastened to the saddle on the near side.

The women dye their faces with a kind of paint, black and red, or one of those colors; and the men daub vermilion on their faces, all over evenly; when they are about to go to war, they also grease their bodies. The captains of the bands wear a kind of helmet made of buckskin, ornamented with crow or turkey feathers. The Apaches wear no beards on their faces; they are naturally rather bare of this appendage, but otherwise they pull away by the roots whatever hair may present itself on any part of the body. The women do the same; but they allow the hair of their head to attain its greatest length. Their hair is very black and straight, much resembling horse hair. In general the shape of the head and body of the Apache appears to belong to the Asiatic type of the human family. Their behavior is grave and often passionate; they are naturally inclined to intemperance in strong drinks, though necessity often obliges them to adopt restraints, which they seem to bear with great ease.

Promiscuous intercourse between the sexes seems to be common among them, although they are very jealous of their women; any one found guilty of infidelity is barbarously mutilated by having her nose shaved off even with the face. And yet it is but too true, that the tenor of such a punishment is not always a restraint to the commission of crime; for at Fort Webster, while stationed on the Rio del Mimbres, no small number of Apache squaws came in with their comrades repeatedly thus mutilated. But since their recent intercourse with the Americans, this custom seems to be less observed, as many have been known to prove unfaithful, and yet escape the usual punishment."

The same observer communicates the following additional facts.

"They have a tradition that in the time of Montezuma a bear went into his palace and carried away one of his daughters to a cave, where he had offspring by her. All the Apaches can understand the language of the Navahoes and Camanches, and vice versâ.

There are no lakes of any size within the Apache range but the Ojo Calienta, or hot spring, which is situated on the Mimbres, some fifteen miles south-east of El Cobre, or the copper-mines. The water is somewhat below 210° in temperature. Various salts of lime and magnesia exist in a state of solvency in it. The minerals are block-tin, gold, silver, and lead, mostly mixed with cretaceous formations. Shells there are none. The knowledge of medicine is very limited; they seem to be hydropaths mostly. They have not any fixed rates of barter. Their animals (wild) are becoming less and less every year. A great part of the Indians are addicted to falsehood. They believe in *one* God. They are very much given to frequent "fiestas," or feasts, on which occasions the females do the principal part of the dancing. The women and children captured from the Mexicans they treat very cruelly. They have no respect for female virtue in the case of their enemies or captives. They *will* often *force* the very young girls they take captive. Such cases have fallen under my own eye. They do not scalp their enemies. They dread to have the body of one of their people killed in fight fall into the hands of their enemies, and make every effort to prevent it. Probably they bury their dead in caves; no graves are ever found that I ever heard of. They are fond of smoking; do not *chew* tobacco. They *still* hunt, mostly, except antelopes, which they surround on horseback in large parties. Their lodges are built of light boughs and twigs; they never remain in one encampment long at a time. Have probably no knowledge of taking game by means of traps or snares. They are somewhat given to a monotonous kind of singing when idle. Are fond of cards, which they learned from the Mexicans. When fighting, they keep their horses in rapid motion, and are never at rest in the saddle. Am not aware they respect the wolf. They have no idea of boats. There are several species of weeds, the seeds of which they eat; also piñons and cedar-berries."

Not ten years have yet elapsed since the Americans came into possession of the Apache country. Agreeably to their own traditions, they have held possession of these latitudes since the conquest of Mexico by Spain. What condition they were in, at that time, with regard to arts and civilization, is doubtful. Coronada, and his successors, found them fierce, sanguinary, and treacherous. They assailed detached parties with fury and cruelty. They appear, by their manners and habits, to be as nomadic as the wildest Bedouins of the Arabic deserts. Their country was soon overrun and subjugated. They acquiesced, for a time, in receiving missionaries and teachers from the Spanish; but they soon became restless under a system that condemned unrestrained vice and passion, and having, in 1688, organized a rebellion, and secured the concurrence of other tribes, they expelled the Spanish from their territories; and although this expulsion did not become permanent, they never afterwards received any instructors or missionaries who might teach the maxims of civilization, or at least narrow the limits of their indulgence. The years—nay, ages—which have rolled over their heads since, have been ages of predatory wandering, want, and barbarism. They seem willing to take the credit of having, by their ancestry, been the builders of the stone houses whose ruins are found along the valley of the Gila, and of having made the painted pottery which is found scattered about these antique vestiges; but there is little reason to believe that their ancestry had anything to do with such arts.

Had such a wild and roving tribe, who set the laws both of God and man at defiance, by their manners and acts, been annexed to the United States on a territory whose soil and advantages admitted of general cultivation, white settlements could be formed, at various points, to serve as checks in keeping them within limits. But with three-fourths of the whole area of the Apache country consisting of barren volcanic rocks, or sterile ridges, where no plough can be driven, and no water is found, there is little hope of surrounding the lawless tribes with settlements. Our chief resource to bring them under government, is to advance military posts and stockades into the country, along with executive agents who shall keep the government well informed of their condition and wants, and at the same time discharge the civil duties required. In the meantime, these duties are of the severest character, imposing privations and dangers which are peculiar to very remote and isolated positions in the wilderness, which are often subject to be cut off from the means of supply or reinforcement. The soldier who upholds the flag of his country in these desert positions, is cheered by no stimulant but that of duty. He is called on to repel the assaults, or avenge the frequent depredations, of these western Arabs, without the hope of glory to reward success. He leads a few men over barren plains, or through difficult defiles, and falls — a bright example, indeed, of fortitude, strength, and courage — with the bare hope that savages will be restrained by principle, or appalled by daring. But the labor seems almost as endless as it is often fruitless. It is to be recommenced every spring, and is but periodically stopped every fall. The Apache sweeps over the barren and bleak plains, like the furious winds of autumn. He often pounces down from his hiding-places, like a pestilence, on a village. Its inhabitants fall, before an alarm can be spread; its flocks are driven off to satisfy the rites and demands of a demoniacal priesthood, and its women to fulfil the basest purposes of human passion.

Relations of such atrocities committed on the frontiers, characterize the pages of our diurnal press. For awhile, they rouse up the deepest feelings of the human heart; but the account of one atrocity rapidly succeeds another, and the intelligence at last partakes of that class of passing events which rather palls by its frequency, than excites. Pity is the common expression for weakness and ignorance, though, as in this case, it be clothed with temporary power. It is one of the noblest attributes of our nature to forgive the erring [illegible] the ignorant; and it is found that before our vials of retaliation are half exhausted, the inquiry returns with force, what can be done for the Apaches?

There is an American missionary residing at Laguna, another at Fort Defiance, in the heart of the Navajo country, and another at Santa Fé, in addition to the operations of the Roman Catholic bishopric of that city, which embraces the care of all the pueblos of the Rio Grande, and, it is believed, of New Mexico.

The Indian tribes are born to respect all that pertains to war. They learn its arts as soon as they are able to bend a bow. It is the dream of their youth, the pride of their manhood, and the pleasing reminiscence of their age. To expect to control the wild and fierce tribes without it, is indeed a fallacy; but it must only be resorted to as a means to an end. It is undoubtedly by the arts and counsels of peace, reiterated at every proper pause in the howling of the human tempest that sweeps along our frontiers, that it becomes practicable or possible to lead them forward in the scale of society, and to induce their sages to place a veto on the maxims of their ancestors. (Vide Appendix, No. 5.)

California Tribes.

During the intervening period between the years 1769 and 1776, the Spanish organized eighteen Indian missions in California, embracing, at their highest period of prosperity, 16,231 souls (Alcedo). The disbandment of these missions, and the dispersion of the population which had been thus brought under the influence of instruction, has rendered it impracticable, were it even now attempted, to distinguish the various grades of the aboriginal population. When the Americans succeeded to the occupancy of California, the sites and buildings of these missions were observed on the coast, from San Diego to San Francisco; but they appeared to have been abandoned, as centres of teaching the natives, for long periods. Lieut. A. W. Whipple, U. S. A., who passed through the bands on the line of survey between San Diego and the coast opposite the mouth of the Gila, found the Diegunos laying stress on the fact of the tribes having been formerly organized in a Spanish mission, and speaking many Spanish words, and evincing some evidences of improved manners, without much industrial or moral character. But before reaching the Colorado, he entered the territories of the Cushans or Yumas, who are the merest barbarians. "Warriors dye their faces jet black, with a strip of red from the forehead, down the nose, and across the chin. Women and young men usually paint with red, and ornament their chins with dots or stripes of blue or black; around their eyes are circles of black. (Vol. II., p. 113.) There were also encountered, on this part of the route, other bands; and he pronounces those living near the mouth of the Gila, as "a desperate set of rascals" (p. 110).

In the manners and customs of the tribes living in the circle of country around San Diego, we perceive nothing that lifts them above the darkest superstitions of the most degraded hunter-tribes of other latitudes. "In their religious ceremonial dances," says an observer on the spot, "they differ much. While, in some tribes, all unite to celebrate them, in others, men alone are allowed to dance, while the women assist in singing. Of their dances, the most celebrated are those of the hawk-feast, the dance of peace and plenty, the dance of victory, that of puberty, and that of deprecation. These are all considered religious, and apart from those of mere amusement.

That of deprecation obtains when any person of the tribe falls sick unaccountably. All believe it to be the work of witches, or rather of wizards; for among them the males are more liable to be accused, and in this their gallantry is superior to ours. On this occasion, all the members of the tribe assemble, bringing with them each an offering of the products of their gathering. The whole is deposited in a basket, and the dance begins. Significative words are sung by the women, children, and the old, while generally the warriors alone dance to time, kept in their ordinary way, by arrows, used as castanets. This is kept up till a late hour, when the priest rises and presents the offering, waving it high from right to left, and shouting at each wave, the tribe responding by a deep groan. During this part of the ceremony, no other noise is heard, but all is deep and respectful attention. Here the dance breaks up, and all disperse. The offering is prepared and cooked on the following day; and in the night, the inefficient old men of the tribe alone, meet and eat it. Here the ceremony ends, and they conclude that the evil genius should be appeased.

On the first proof of womanhood in the maiden, a great ceremonial feast comes off. The girl is interred, and the ground beaten, so that a profuse sweat succeeds, and is kept up for twenty-four hours. During this interval she is withdrawn and washed three or four times, and reimbedded. Dancing is kept up the whole time by the women, and the ceremony ends by all joining in a big feast, given by the parents of the girl.

One of their most remarkable superstitions is found in the fact of their not eating the flesh of large game. This arises from their belief that in the bodies of all large animals the souls of certain generations, long since past, have entered. It is not the metempsychosis of Pythagoras, but one of their own, as they always say they were people long since passed away, whose souls have been thus translated. It is probable that the superstition, in its purity, extended to all large animals; but the Mission Indians, being fed entirely on beef, and their robberies consisting mostly of herds of horses, the superstition has been removed from the domestic animals, excepting the hog. This was preserved in the Missions for its lard, and was difficult to steal in quantity—hence the continued prohibition of its flesh amongst them. These prohibitions are set aside in case of the old and inefficient men of the tribes, as they can eat anything and everything that comes in their way. A white man at first finds it difficult to believe in their good faith, but a couple of proofs may be adduced here: On one occasion, a half-Indian wished to amuse himself at the expense of the devout. He prepared a dish of bear-meat for them, and saying it was beef, all eat heartily. When the trick was made known to them, they were seized with retchings, which only ended with their cause. A term of reproach from a wild tribe to those more tamed is, "*They eat venison!*"

On an eclipse, all is consternation. They congregate and sing, as some say, to appease, and others to frighten, the evil spirits. They believe that the devils are eating up the luminary, and they do not cease until it comes forth in its wonted splendor. All pregnant women are confined within their huts during the eclipse, as they believe them to be engaged with the devils.

This does not certainly look as if there were any remaining traces in their minds of any teachings that ever were brought to their notice at the Mission of San Diego.

An opinion has been expressed that the California Indians are of Malay origin. This idea is mentioned by Dr. Pickering, (Races of Man, p. 105,) who observes that their complexion is too dark for the Mongolian race, (111). It is not conceived that the remark is generally sustained by the particulars introduced by him, physiological or philological. Repetitious syllables are common to most of our tribes east as well as west of the Rocky Mountains, who have scanty vocabularies.[1] Tattooing also prevails in many of the Vesperic tribes east of these northern Cordilleras. The old Creeks formerly practised it; the Knistenos still do. A peculiar softness of the skin (p. 107,) is a noticeable trait with the Indians of the Mississippi Valley, and of the Appalachian group. The assertion (108,) that language radically changes, on migration, into diverse stocks, requires examination. The remark that syphilitic diseases (109,) are derived through "converted natives," appears designed to be severe.

Most observers in California, although admitting them to be a degraded type, have deemed the Indians to coincide in their general features and character with the general race of these tribes in the older parts of the United States, as remarked by General Hitchcock, U. S. A.[2]

"It is a mistake, in my judgment, to suppose that the Indians on this coast, except, perhaps, a few 'digger bands,' differ materially from those found by the pilgrims at Plymouth, from whose descendants there sprang up in time a Philip or a Tecumseh. It is by no means certain that the seeds of dreadful massacres and barbarities are not already sown."

The manners and customs of the California Indians, while they denote a lower grade of art and ingenuity than the tribes in eastern longitudes, are, at the same time, general. They do not erect a lodge of the least pretensions to architecture. They dwell in roofed pits. The Bonacks subsist on the pap-pa, or wild potatoes, and on berries, acorns, and seeds, which are procured by the labor of the women; the men obtain fish in most of the streams, and sometimes kill small game. But the chief reliance, summer and winter, is on seeds. The females construct, with much ingenuity, baskets

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[1] Thus the Chippewa-Algonquins say pushik for one; pa-buzhik for several.

[2] Ex. Doc. No. 57. 22d Congress, 2d Sess., p. 17

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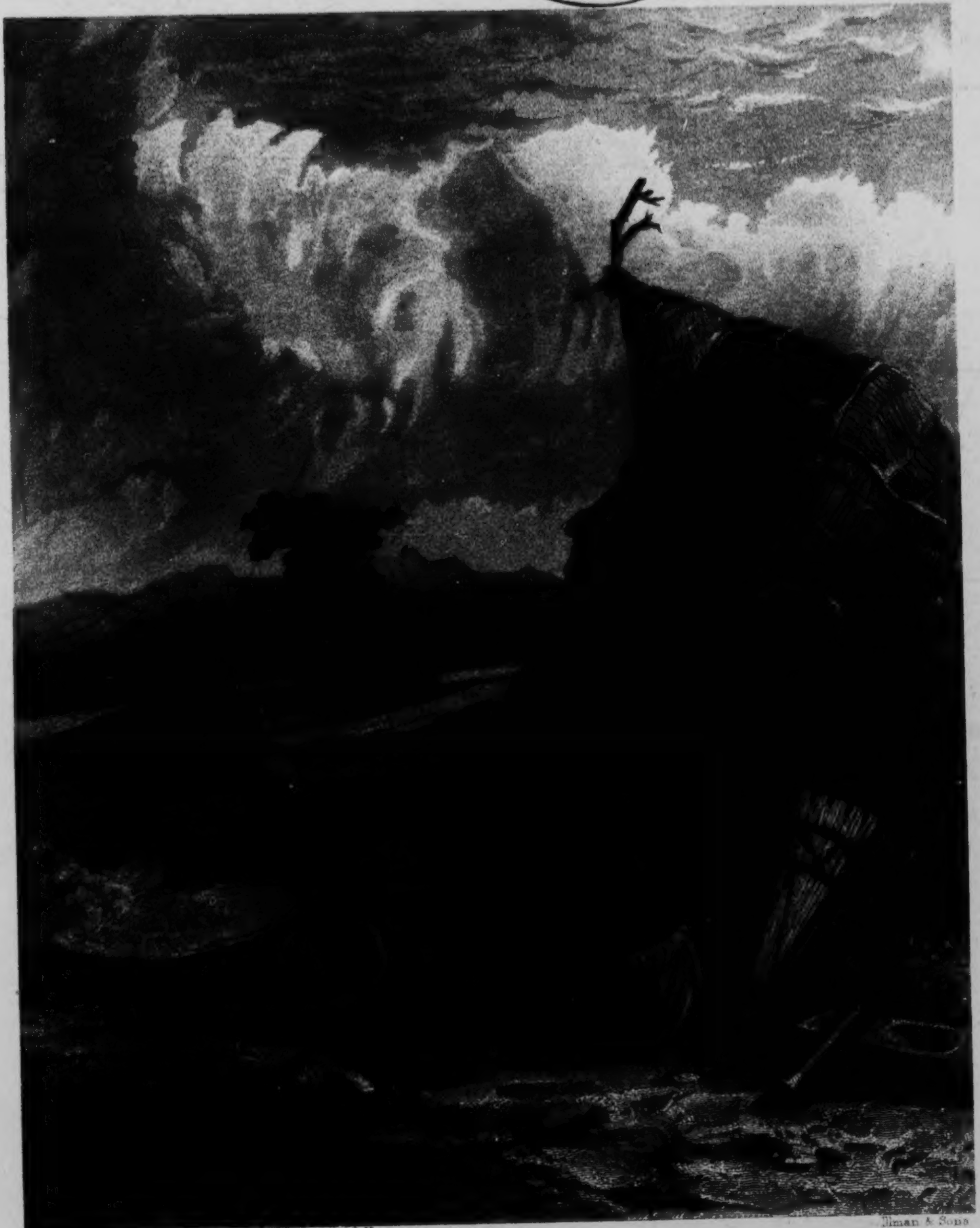
Plate 26



S. Eastman U. S. Army from a sketch by E. M. Kern

Illman & Sons

CLEANING GRASS SEED

San Joaquin Valley California

PUBLISHED BY J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. PHILADA

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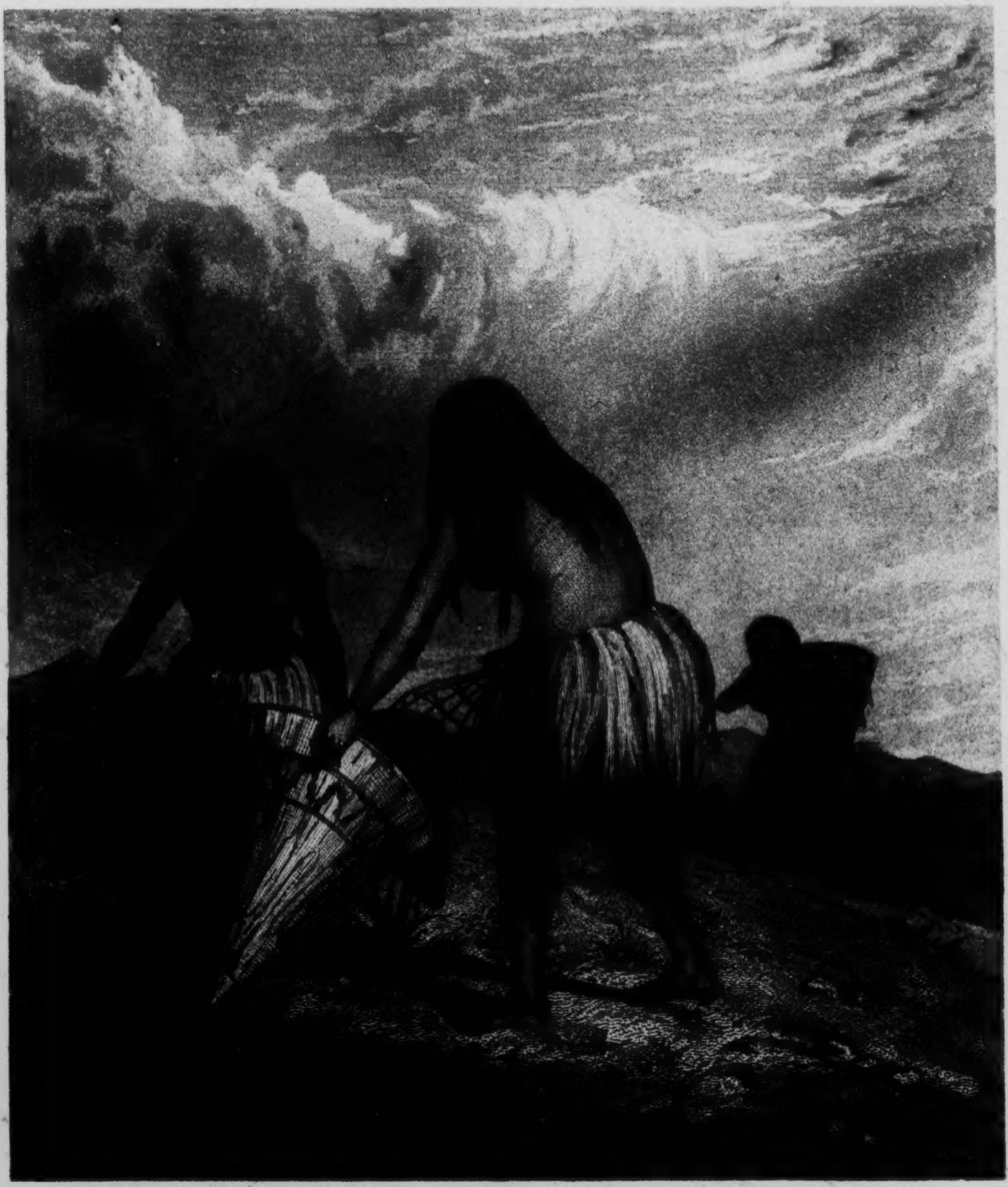
Plate 27



GATHERING GRASS SEED

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Plate 28

Drawn by Captⁿ S. Eastman, U.S.A. from a sketch by E.M. Kern.

Engᵈ by J.C. McRae

TRANSPORTING WATER AND GRASS SEED

Valley of San Joaquin, California

of willow or osier, for gathering and cleaning these seeds, and for transporting them to their lodges or places of depôt, to be stored up for future use. These several operations are exhibited in Plates 26, 27, 28. The men are described by Mr. Pickering as being generally of tall stature. They make a beautiful and delicate kind of dart from obsidian, or chalcedony, for the purpose of killing small game. The objections of the California tribes to eating the flesh of the bear, which has been frequently stated, is peculiar. Some of the customs of these people resemble those of the Hindoos; but it is believed that these traits may be accounted for on other principles. They burn their dead. They also sacrifice widows on the pyre with their deceased husbands, an instance of which, by the tribes occupying the sources of the Mercedo river, within the range of the Nevada Mountains, is described at page 226, Vol. IV. The coast tribes manufacture the bow and arrow with great skill; but they are destitute of the war-club, the tomahawk, or the battle-axe. There are no ruins or antiquarian monuments in the country, to denote that it had ever been occupied by a people more advanced in arts. Mentally, their aspirations are not high. They do not appear to refer their creation to a DEITY. They ascribe their origin to the coyote, or wolf. From the decay of its carcass they date the origin of other quadrupeds. To prevent the process of putrefaction, and avoid the multiplication of insects in the world, they adopted the custom of burning the dead.

The numerous small tribes and bands of north-western California are described in the Journal of Mr. G. Gibbs (Vol. III., p. 99). Their population (given on page 634) is estimated to exceed 9000 souls. Ample specimens of eighteen of these dialects of tribes, dispersed along the coast between San Francisco and the Klamath river, reaching inland to the Shaske or Shashtl Mountains, are inserted in the same volume, at pages 428 to 445. For additional information, vide Appendix, No. 5.

With regard to the classification of the California tribes, the state of our vocabularies from that quarter is still too scanty to make the attempt. The dialects of the Bonacks, together with their manners and customs, prove them to be of the Shoshonie stock of the summits of the Rocky Mountains. This stock, known under the names of Snakes and Bonacks, on that range, are perceived by the vocabulary transmitted by Mr. Neighbors (Vol. II., page 494), to have been the parent tribe of the present Camanches of Texas, where the possession of the horse has exalted them into a new existence.

PENNACOOKS.

This tribe, Mr. Potter informs us, formerly occupied the Merrimack valley. Their seat of power was at Amoskeag[1] Falls. They were in amity with the surrounding tribes, amongst whom they exercised an important influence. They were under the government of a powerful sagamore called PASSACONNAWAY, who was at once the depository of political and religious power. His wisdom in council was respected, but his power as a native priest and sorcerer made him to be feared. He resisted the gospel, when it was first offered him and his band by Eliot; and they regarded the advent of the whites in the country as fraught with influences adverse to their prosperity, and destructive to aboriginal tribes. They made the most determined resistance to the settlement of New England and New Hampshire especially, of any tribe on the borders of the North Atlantic; and when they were expelled from the Merrimack, they returned from the north and west, whither they had fled, with a degree of fury, and spirit of vengeance, which is almost without a parallel. These events are stated, in their order, in the following observations, as gleaned from the authorities by a gentleman resident in the district of country whose aboriginal history is under discussion.

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[1] *Amosk*, in this dialect, means a beaver, and *eag*—derived from *gumeeg*—the plural of water, i. e., bodies of water, as they are spread abroad in lakes and rivers.

"The voyagers to the coast of New England, in the early part of the seventeenth century, found multiplied divisions among the several tribes of Indians, though all speaking radically the same language, namely, the Algonkin. Captain John Smith, one of these early voyagers, gives the most minute account of these tribes. He says: 'The principal habitations I saw at Northward, was Pennobscot, who are in Warres with the Terentines, their next northerly neighbors. Southerly up the Rivers, and along the coast, wee found Mecadacut, Segocket, Pemmaquid, Nusconcus, Sagadahock, Satquin, Aumughcawgen, and Kenabeca: to those belong the countries and people of Segotago, Pauhuntanuck, Pocopassum, Taughtanakagnes, Wabigganus, Nassaque, Mauherosqueck, Warigwick, Moshoquen, Waccogo, Pasharanack, &c. To those are allied in confederacy the Countries of Aucocisco, Accominticus, Passataquak, Augawoam and Naemkeck; all those, for any thing I could perceive, differ little in language, or any thing, though most of them be Sagamos and Lords of themselves, yet they hold the Bashabes of Penobscot the chiefe and greatest amongst them. The next is Mattahunt, Totant, Massachuset, Paconekick, then Cape Cod, by which is Pawmet, the Iles Nawset and Capawuck, neere which are the shoules of Rocks and sands that stretch themselves into the maine Sea twenty leagues, and very dangerous, betwixt the degrees of 40 and 41.'[1] Most of these tribes named by Smith occupied the same relative positions for more than a century after the country was permanently settled by the English.

West of Cape Cod were the powerful tribes of the Narragansets and Pequots, while in the country, upon the rivers and lakes, were several powerful tribes; the Nipmucks, in the interior of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and occupying the valley of the Merrimack, in New Hampshire and Massachusetts; and the Norridgewocks, seated upon the branches of the Kennebeck, and the lakes in the northern interior of Maine. This last tribe was called Abanakis by the French, and was principally noted for their adherence to the French interests, and their inroads upon the French settlements, which their connection with the French led them to undertake.

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[1] See Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III., third series, page 20.

East of the Penobscot were the Scootucks, or Passamaquoddies, inhabiting the Scootuck or St. Croix river, and the shore of the Passamaquoddy Bay; the Milicetes, in the valley of the river St. John; and the Mic Macs, occupying the rest of New Brunswick, and the peninsula of Nova Scotia.

The Mic Macs were, and still are, a warlike people. Living mainly upon the sea-shore, athletic, of powerful frame, and most expert canoe-men, they were fond of warlike expeditions, and often were a source of fear and anxiety to their western neighbors, under the dreaded name of Tarratines. They even extended their war expeditions against the tribes of Massachusetts, within the knowledge of the English; and in some of the earliest stipulations between the tribes of New Hampshire and Massachusetts and their English neighbors, mention is made of their dread of the Tarratines.

When Captain Smith coasted along the shore of New England, in 1614, making the island of Monheagan the centre of his operations, the Penobscot tribe was one of the most powerful in New England. They were under the control of a bashaba or chief, who held the tribes of Maine, as far west as the Saco, as tributary, or subject to him. He was then at war with the Tarratines; and in 1615, that warlike people sent an expedition against him, with such secrecy and consequent success, that they took him by surprise, and put him and his family to death. Divisions arose as to the succession of the bashaba, of which the Tarratines, taking the advantage, soon overpowered the other tribes of Maine, and extended a war of extermination along the coast of Massachusetts. Hand in hand, as it were, with war, stalked pestilence, so that in 1620, the tribes upon the sea-coast, from the St. Croix to Cape Cod, had become greatly depreciated in numbers, and some places had become almost entirely depopulated.

Speaking of this depopulation, Captain Smith says: "They had three plagues in three years successively, neere two hundred miles along the sea-coast, that in some places there scarce remained five of a hundred," * * * * "but it is most certaine there was an exceeding great plague amongst them; for where I have seene two or three hundred, within three years after remained scarce thirty."[1]

Whatever this disease may have been, it seems to have extended little farther south than Cape Cod, and to have been limited in violence, at least, to the tribes of the sea-coast, so that the Pilgrims in 1620, and for many years subsequent, had but little to fear from the once powerful tribes upon the sea-shore north of Cape Cod; but, on the contrary, had to use every precaution, and much vigilance, against the power of the southern tribes and those of the interior, which had been less afflicted by disease and war.

At this period, the most powerful tribes of the interior, and probably of New England, north of the Pequots, had their residence in the valley of the Merrimack, upon the productive falls and fertile meadows of that beautiful river. These meadows, or "intervales," as they are usually called, are basins made up of alluvial and vegetable deposits, and were, doubtless, once covered with water, which has gradually passed away through the Merrimack, that, continually deepening its channel, has burst the rocky barriers of these bays, or lakes, and left their former beds dry and arable land. That these "intervales" were submerged, and at a comparatively late period, hardly admits of a doubt, as the barriers of these ancient bays can be readily traced above Pawtucket, Amoskeag, Hookset, Garvin's and Sewell's Falls; and upon most of these basins, or intervales, have been found, far below their surface, logs, fresh-water shells, and other unmistakable evidences of submersion. The Merrimack, then, was a succession of bays, from Lake Winnepesaukee to the ocean; a part of which now remain at Sanbornton and Meredith, and which add so much of beauty to the scenery of that neighborhood. These intervales were of very great fertility, and of such ready productiveness, as to afford an abundant harvest to the scanty husbandry of the Indian. More than two centuries of culture have hardly decreased their fertility.

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[1] Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III., third series, page 16.

Then, the Merrimack afforded other superior advantages for Indian settlements. Rising in the White Mountains, at an altitude of six thousand feet above the level of the ocean, its waters find their way to the Atlantic, through the distance of two hundred and fifty miles; of course there are rapids and falls through most of its entire length. These afforded the most ample fishing-grounds to the natives, whereat to spear, and take with dip-net and seine, the myriads of alewives, shad, and salmon, that literally crowded the Merrimack during certain seasons of the year. Then, the woods upon its banks were filled with moose, deer, and bears; whilst the ponds and lakes, the sources of its tributaries, were teeming with water-fowl.

In this beautiful "valley of the Merrimack," with all these attractions of fertile planting-grounds, an abundance of fish, and hunting-grounds of unlimited extent, the first English adventurers found several tribes of Indians, occupying localities chosen with Indian taste, and with special reference to his comfort and his wants. From its mouth far above its affluents, the Winnepesaukee and Pemegewasset, the shores of this "silver stream" were dotted with Indian villages. It was the very paradise of the Indian imagination. Is it a wonder that the wresting of such a home from "the lords of the soil," should have been accompanied with strife and bloodshed? That the Indian, in his ignorance and wildness, when driven from the graves of his fathers at the hands of strangers, should have left the marks of his vengeance behind him, traced with all the horrors of the scalping-knife and tomahawk? It is not strange; nor is it so singular, or so much a matter of reproach, as that a people, fresh from the lash of oppression, laying claim to much of humanity, and ever bearing upon their arm the shield of morality and religion, should have driven the simple-hearted natives from their lands without even color of right, except what comes from that precept of barbarism that "might makes right;" and without even color of title, when title was pretended, except what was purchased for a few blankets, a trucking-coat, a few beads and baubles, or perhaps still worse, for a runlet of "occupee," or "fire-water!"

These tribes upon the Merrimack were the Agawam, Wamesit or Pawtucket, Nashua, Souhegan, Namaoskeag, Pennacook, and Winnepesaukee. The Agawam tribe occupied the eastern part of what is now Essex County, in Massachusetts, extending from tide-water upon the Merrimack, round to Cape Ann. Their territory, skirted upon two sides by the Merrimack and Atlantic, indented by bays, intersected by rivers, and interspersed with ponds, was appropriately called Wonnesquamsauke, meaning literally, the Pleasant Water-Place; the word being a compound from wonne, pleasant, asquam, water, and auke, a place. This word was sometimes contracted to Wonnesquam, often to Squamsauke, and still oftener to Squam, or Asquam. The deep guttural pronunciation of *asquam* by the Indians, sounded to the English like *agawam*, and hence the word as applied to the Indians of that locality. Several localities in Essex County are now known by names contracted and derived from this Indian word *Wonnesquamsauke*, as "Squam," the name of a pleasant harbor and village upon the north side of Cape Ann, and "Swamscot," the name of a pleasant village in the eastern part of Lynn. The Wamesits occupied the forks of the Merrimack and Concord rivers, near to the Pawtucket Falls in the former river. Wamesit is derived from wame, *all* or *whole*, and auke, *a place*, with the letter *s* thrown in betwixt the two syllables, for the sake of the sound. The Indian village at this place undoubtedly received this name from the fact that it was a *large* village, the *place* where *all* the Indians collected together. This was literally true in the spring and summer, as the Pawtucket Falls, near by, was one of the most noted fishing-places in New England, where the Indians from far and near gathered together in April and May, to catch and dry their year's stock of shad and salmon. Wamesit is embraced in the present town of Tewksbury, and the city of Lowell, in Middlesex County, Massachusetts.

The Indians in this neighborhood were sometimes called Pawtucket, from the falls in the Merrimack of that name. Pawtucket means the *forks*, being derived from the Indian word *Pochatuk*, a branch. Pawtucket seems, however, to have been applied by the English rather to all the Indians north of the Merrimack, than to the particular tribe at the falls of that name. The Nashuas occupied the lands upon the Nashua, and the intervals upon the Merrimack, opposite and below the mouth of that river. Nashua means the *river with a pebbly bottom*, a name said to have been peculiarly appropriate before art had deprived it of this distinctive beauty.

The Souhegans lived upon the Souhegan river, occupying the rich intervals upon both banks of the Merrimack, above and below the mouth of the Souhegan. Souhegan is a contraction of Souhekenash, an Indian noun in the plural number, meaning *worn-out lands*. These Indians were often called Natacooks, or Nacooks, from their occupying ground that was free from trees, or *cleared land* — *Natacook* meaning a *clearing*.

The Namaoskeags resided at the falls in the Merrimack, known at present by the name of Amoskeag, and lying mainly in the city of Manchester. This word, written variously, Namaske, Namaoskeag, Naumkeag, and Naimkeak, means the *fishing-place*, from *namaos*, a fish, and *auke*, a place.

The Pennacooks occupied the rich intervals at Pennacook, now embraced in the towns of Bow, Concord, and Boscawen, in the county of Merrimack. They were thus called from *pennaqui*, crooked, and *auke*, place; the intervals at Concord, which are extensive, being embraced within the folds of the Merrimack, which winds its way along in a very crooked manner.[1]

The Winnepesaukies occupied the lands in the vicinity of the lake of that name, one of their noted fishing-places being at the outlet of the Winnegesaukee, now known as the Weirs, the parts of permanent Indian weirs having remained at that place long after the advent of the whites. Winnepesaukee is derived from *winne*, beautiful, *nipe*, water, *kees*, high, and *auke*, place; meaning literally, *the beautiful water of the high land.*

Of these several tribes, the Pennacooks were the most powerful; and either from their superiority, arising from a long residence upon a fertile soil, and hence more civilized; or from having been, for a long period, under the rule of a wise chief; and perhaps from both causes united, had become the head, as it were, of a powerful confederacy.

It is well known that the Winnepesaukee, Amoskeag, Souhegan, and Nashua tribes, were completely subservient to the Pennacooks; while the Wamesits were so intermarried with them as to be mainly under their control, acknowledged fealty to Passaconnaway, and finally, with the other tribes upon the Merrimack, became merged with the Pennacooks, and ceased to be distinct tribes, in fact or name.

The Agawams were also intimately connected with the Pennacooks, and acknowledged fealty to them, and doubtless were one of the earliest tribe to become merged with them; but still they ceased to exist as a distinct tribe at so early a date, that few particulars of their history have been preserved.

Besides the tribes in the valley of the Merrimack, the Pennacooks had control over the most of the tribes from the Concord river in Massachusetts, to the sources of the Connecticut,[2] and from the highlands betwixt the Merrimack and Connecticut, to the Kennebec, in Maine. It is known that the Wachusetts, from *Wadchu*, (a mountain,) and *Auke* (place), near Wachusetts mountain in Massachusetts; the Coosucks, from *Cooash* (pines), upon the sources of the Connecticut river; the Pequaquaukes, from *Pequaquis* (crooked), and *Auke* (a place), upon the sources of the Saco, in Carroll county, in New Hampshire, and Oxford county, in Maine; the Ossipees, from *Cooash* (pines), and *Sipe* (a river), upon the Ossipee lake and river, in Carroll county, in New Hampshire, and York county, in Maine; the Squamscotts, from *Winne* (beautiful),

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[1] It may be that Pennacook means *the ground-nut place*, in which case it would be derived from *penak*, a ground-nut, and *auke*, a place.

[2] Connecticut is derived from *Quinne* (long), *Attuch* (a deer), and *Auke* (a place).

Asquam (water), and *Auke* (place), upon Exeter river, in Exeter, and Stratham, in Rockingham county; the Winnecowetts, from *Winne* (beautiful), *Cooash* (pines), and *Auke* (place), in the Hamptons in the same county; the Piscataquaukes, from *Pos* (great), *Attuck* (a deer), and *Auke* (a place), upon the Piscataqua river, the boundary betwixt New Hampshire and Maine; the Newichewannocks, from *Nee* (my), *Week* (a contraction of *weekwam*, a house), and *Owannock* (come), upon one of the upper branches of the same river; the Sacos, from *Sawa* (burnt), *Coo* (pine), and *Auke* (place), upon the Saco river, in York county, Maine; and the Amariscoggins, from *Namaos* (fish), *Kees* (high), and *Auke* (place), upon the Ameriscoggin river, having its source in New Hampshire, and emptying its waters into the Kennebec — all acknowledged the power and control of the Pennacooks, and were members of the confederacy of which that powerful tribe was the head, and Passaconnaway the leading sagamore, or bashaba. These Indians from the interior were known and called among the tribes upon the sea-shore by the general name of Nipmucks, or fresh water Indians. Nipmuck is derived from *Nip* (still water), and *Auke* (place), with the letter *m* thrown in for the sake of euphony. And, true to their name, the Nipmucks usually had their residences upon places of still water, the ponds, and lakes, and rivers of the interior.

But the Indians in the Merrimack valley, although properly Nipmucks, and living in distinct bands or tribes, were usually called by the English Pennacooks, from the fact that the tribe at Pennacook was the most powerful one in the valley; and under the rule of Passaconnaway, had become, as has already been seen, the head of a powerful confederacy. This position of that tribe brought its people in contact with the English on all occasions of moment, such as conferences and negotiations; and hence the English, meeting on such occasions Pennacooks almost exclusively, applied the name of Pennacooks to the tribes generally inhabiting the Merrimack valley. And in course of time, as the Indians became reduced in numbers by emigration, war, and contact with civilization, the smaller tribes became united with the larger ones, till, in 1675, the Pennacooks were the only tribe in, and had exclusive possession of, the Merrimack valley.

The Merrimack, naturally, was but a series of falls, rapids, and ripples from the Souhegan to the lower Pennacook falls (now Garvin's). These afforded the most ample opportunity for fishing, and the name of Namaoskeag was doubtless applied to that section of the river and the adjacent country around; but in course of time, as fish became more and more limited, the name Namaoskeag came to be applied to the immediate neighborhood of the principal falls, now known as Amoskeag.

The fish at these falls were most abundant, and the facilities for taking them superior to those of any other place upon the Merrimack. The river below the main fall, in the course of a few miles, is entered by a number of rivers and rivulets having their sources in the lakes at no great distance; and of course at certain seasons it was filled with alewives, waiting an opportunity to pass up those small streams, thus both on the Merrimack and in those streams, affording ready opportunity to take them in any quantity. Then at the same season the great basin or eddy at the foot of these falls and at the mouth of the Piscataquog river was literally filled with eels, shad, and salmon, waiting a passage up the falls occupied by their earlier or more expert companions, over and among which the Indian, in his canoe, could pass and spear or net at his will. Again, at the foot of the main fall, and upon the western branch of the river, here dividing and passing among and around certain small islands, was, and is at the present time a basin or eddy, emptied by a small passage easily rendered impassable for fish by a weir, and ever filled with fish in the season of them from the falls above, the force of the water rushing over the main pitch of the falls naturally and inevitably driving into this pool those fish that, in the rush, did not succeed in passing up the falls. Here they were as secure as in an eel-pot, and the Indians could take them at their convenience.

Then at the main fall, and at the Islands below, the river passes through the ledges and rocks in narrow channels; and upon these rocks and channels the Indian could stand through day and night, if he chose, and throw spear or dip-net without missing a fish at each "throw." And last, the various fish did not usually arrive at these falls until after the 20th of May, when the planting season was over; thus affording the Indians plenty of time to take and cure them without interruption from their agricultural pursuits, however scanty. Whereas at Pawtucket, and the rapids in that neighborhood, the fish arrived usually about the first of May, and continued through the busiest time of corn-planting. These peculiar advantages pertaining to the fishery at this place, made it, *par excellence, the* fishing-place; hence, as before suggested, the Indian name of Namaoskeag.

These were no ordinary advantages to the Indian, depending, as he did, for subsistence upon fish, flesh, and fowl, and such vegetables as his limited agriculture might produce. Hence we can readily suppose, that where fish were so abundant, and so readily to be taken, that there the Indians would flock together in vast numbers, to supply their future wants, and that the place would be one of great importance. Such was the fact; and Namaoskeag, for a long time, was not only the great point of attraction to all provident Indians, but was the royal residence of the ancient sagamores of the Merrimack valley.

At Namaoskeag, upon the bluff immediately east of the falls, was the main village or town occupied by the Indians, as is plainly shown by the abundance of arrow and spear-heads, and the debris of stones from which they were manufactured, together with pieces of pottery, and other unmistakable evidences of an ancient Indian town, still to be seen and found; while down the river to the Souhegan, there were smaller settlements, wherever were good fishing or planting-grounds. In Bedford, opposite Carthagena Island, on land of Hon. Thomas Chandler, and opposite the mouth of Cohas river, such settlements existed, the vestiges of which still exist at the former place, and did at the latter, till the hand of improvement swept them away. But, as before suggested, the main Indian village was at the "Falls," called by Mr. Eliot "a great fishing-place, *Namaské*, upon Merimak," and which, he says, "belongeth to Papassaconnaway."[1]

Here, prior to 1650, Passaconnaway had a principal residence, and was so anxious to have the Rev. Mr. Eliot come here and establish his community of Christian, or "Praying Indians," as his proselytes were called, that he offered to furnish him with any amount of land that he might want for that purpose. The old sagamore held out such inducements, and the place was of so much importance, that Eliot, at one time, had serious thoughts of establishing himself here; but the distance was so great to transport supplies, and the natives in Massachusetts were so averse to going farther north, that he thought "the Lord, by the Eye of Providence, seemed not to look thither,"[2] he located himself at Natick.[3]

There is no doubt that Mr. Eliot afterwards found opportunity to visit Namaoskeag, and to preach and establish a school there, as Gookin, in his account of the "Christian Indians," names "Naamikeke" as one of "the places where they (the Indians) met to worship God, and keep the sabbath; in which places there was, at each, a teacher, and schools for the youth at most of them."[4] And as no other man established schools or preaching among the Indians of the interior, save Mr. Eliot, it follows, consequently, that he both preached and taught at Namaoskeag. So that Namaoskeag, now Manchester, not only has the honor of having been the scene of the philanthropic labors of "the Apostle Eliot," but also that of having the *first* "preaching and school" established within its limits, that were established in the State north and west of Exeter, however remiss its white inhabitants may have been in these particulars.

There was another noted fishing-place within the territory of the Pennacooks, where shad alone were caught, and which was almost equally celebrated with those at Namaoskeag and Pawtucket. It was located at the outlet of Lake Winnepesaukee, and was known by the name of Aquedaukenash, meaning literally *stopping places or dams*, from *Ahque* (to stop) and *Auke* (a place). This word had for its plural Ahquedaukenash, hence, by contraction of the English, Ahquedauken, and again, by corruption, *Aquedoctau*, a name which was extended by the whites to the whole Winnepesaukee river. It is a curious fact in the history of the fisheries upon the Merrimack, that while alewives, shad and salmon passed up the lower part of the Merrimack in company, yet the most of the alewives went up the small rivulets before coming to the forks of the Merrimack at Franklin, while the salmon and shad parted company at the forks, the former going up the Pemegewasset,[1] and the latter passing up the Winnepesaukee. This peculiarity was owing to the natures of those fish. The alewives were a small fish, and sought small lakes or ponds to deposit their "spawn," that were easy of access, warm, and free from large fish, that would destroy them and their progeny. The shad was a much larger fish, and sought large lakes, for spawning, where the water was warm and abundant; while the salmon delighting in cold, swift water, sought alone those waters, fed by springs, or formed by rivulets from the ravines and gorges of the mountain sides, which, meandering through dense forests, rippling over pebbly bottoms, or rushing over rocks or precipices, formed those ripples, rapids, whirlpools and falls, in which the salmon delights, and those dark, deep, cool basins or eddies, in which to deposit their spawn. Hence the fact that alewives were seldom found above the forks of the Merrimack, and that the salmon held exclusive possession of the cool, rapid, dark Pemegewasset, while the shad appropriated the warm, clear waters of the Winnepesaukee, neither trespassing upon the domain of the other. The Ahquedaukenash, then, of the Indians, and the Aquedauken and Aquedoctau of the English, were one and the same name, applied to the fishing-place of the Indians, at the outlet of Lake Winnepesaukee, now known as "The Weirs." This was called Ahquedaukee, or the Weirs, from the fact that the dams or weirs at this place were *permanent* ones. The Winnepesaukee is not a variable river, and at the outlet of the Lake, the water for some distance passed over a hard pebbly bottom, and did not average more than three feet in depth. This was an excellent place for Ahquedaukenash or dams, and could not fail of being duly improved by the Indians. Accordingly, as before suggested, they had here permanent weirs. Not being able to drive stakes or posts into the hard, pebbly bottom of the river, they placed large rocks at convenient distances from each other, in a zigzag line across the river. Against these they interwove their brushwood weirs, or strung their hempen nets, according to their ability. Such weirs were used in the spring and fall, both when the fish run *up* and *down* the river. Such Aquedaukenash were frequent upon this and other rivers; and the rocks thus placed in the river by the Indians remained in their position long after the settlement of the English in that neighborhood, and were used by them for a like purpose; hence the name of the Weirs, as continued at the present time.

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[1] See Eliot's Letter, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. IV., third series, pp. 82, 123. [2] Ibid., pp. 123, 124.

[3] Some make Natick to mean *a place of hills*; but we are inclined to think that *Natick* means a *clearing*, or place free from trees, from the Indian words *Nete* (bare) and *tuke* (a place). Hence, *Neddock* (a cape in York County, Me.) and Natticook, or Nacook, the ancient name of Litchfield, the town upon the east side of the Merrimack, and joining Manchester, N. H., on the south.

[4] See Trans. and Coll., Amer. Ant. Society, page 518.

The valley of the Connecticut, in the north part of Massachusetts and the south parts of New Hampshire and Vermont, was a kind of "debateable ground" betwixt the Mohawks and Pennacooks, between which tribes there was continual war; hence few places in it were occupied permanently by the Indians. At Bellows' Falls, and below, occasional parties of Indians were to be found, both of the Mohawks and Pennacooks;

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[1] *Pemegewasset* means, literally, *The crooked mountain-pine place*, from Pennaquis (crooked), *Wadchee* (a mountain), cooash (pines), and auke (a place). By contraction, it became Penna-chu-ash-auke, and by corruption, Pemegewasset.

yet neither made permanent settlements there, for fear of the other, and neither made much stop there, or in its neighborhood, unless they were in such force as to be regardless of an attack from the other.

On this account, the upper Connecticut valley affords few materials for Indian history. The Coos country, extending from Haverhill to the sources of the Connecticut, is an exception to this remark, as it was occupied by a band of Pennacooks, attracted there by its hunting and fishing-grounds, and who kept a kind of armed possession of that country for the protection and relief of the frequent parties which were passing and repassing from the various points upon the Merrimack to the Aresaguntacook[1] Indians upon the river St. Lawrence, a tribe with which the Pennacooks ever maintained the most friendly relations.

With this tribe the Pennacooks were allied by frequent intermarriages, and with a band of this same tribe, located at the "Three Rivers," and known as the St. Francis; the remnants of the various New England tribes continued to unite, under French policy, till at length it became a powerful tribe, and proved an inexhaustible source of annoyance and hostility to the colonists of New England. In fact, from 1690 to 1760, most of the war parties that visited the New England frontiers started from St. Francis as a rendezvous, or had pilots and leaders from that tribe, naturally so hostile to the English. It was during this period, from 1630 to 1725, that the Indians of the Merrimack valley were, in any degree, formidable to the English colonists.

Having thus given a general account of the localities occupied by the Pennacooks or Nipmucks in the valley of the Merrimack, as well as of the several bands or tribes under their control, or connected with them, we shall follow out their history more particularly.

Passaconnaway was at the head of the powerful Indian tribe, or virtual confederacy of the Pennacooks, when the whites first settled in this country. His name is indicative of his warlike character — Papisseconewa, as written by himself, meaning "The Child of the Bear."[2] We first hear of him in 1627 or 8. Thomas Morton, "mine host of Maremount," as he writes himself in his "New English Canaan," thus speaks of him, being in this country at that time. "That Sachem or Sagamore is a Powah of greate estimation amongst all kind of Salvages, there hee is at their Revels, (which is the time when a greate company of salvages meete from severall parts of the Country, in amity with their neighbours,) hath advanced his honor in his feats or jugling tricks, (as I may right tearme them), to the admiration of the spectators, whome hee endeavoured to perswade that hee would goe under water to the further side of a river to broade for any man to undertake with a breath, which thing hee performed by swimming over and deluding the company with casting a mist before their eies that see him enter in and come out; but no part of the way he has bin seene:

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[1] Said to mean *the place of dried meat.*

[2] This name is derived from *papoeis*, a child, and *kunnaway*, a bear.

likewise by our English in the heat of all summer, to make ice appeare in a bowle of faire water, first having the water set before him, hee hath begunne his incantation according to their usuall accustom, and before the same hath bin ended, a thick clowde has darkened the aire, on a sodane a thunder clap hath bin heard that has amazed the natives; in an instant hee hath shewed a firme peece of ice to flote in the middest of the bowle in the presence of the vulgar people, which doubtless was done by the agility of Satan his consort."[1] From which marvellous story we are to infer that Passaconnaway, to the character of a brave warrior, added that of a clever juggler. In fact, he held his people in great awe of him, the Indians supposing him to have supernatural powers; to have control over their destinies; that he could make a dry leaf turn green; water burn, and then turn to ice; and could take the rattle-snake in his hand with impunity.

With such reputed powers, his acknowledged ability as a warrior, and wisdom as a sagamore, Passaconnaway, as before suggested, was the acknowledged head of the most powerful Indian tribe east of the Mohawks; and as such, received the title of Bashaba, a title much of the same import as that of emperor.

Prior to 1629, the tract of land extending from the Piscataqua to the Merrimack westward, and from the line of Massachusetts thirty miles into the country northward, had been explored; and Mr. Edward Colcord, at the request of certain gentlemen of Massachusetts, had stipulated with Passaconnaway, the sagamore of the Pennacooks, and certain tributary chiefs, for its purchase. And on the 17th day of May, 1629, a deed, conveying the above tract, was executed at Squamscut (now Exeter), with due form and ceremony, conveying the same to John Wheelwright and his associates, for certain stipulated and valuable considerations. This deed was signed by Passaconnaway, the sagamore of Pennacook, Runnawit, the chief of Pawtucket, Wahongnonawit, the chief of Swamscut, and Rowls, the chief of Newichawanack; and was witnessed by two Indians, and some of the most respectable men of the plantations at Piscataqua and Saco.

This transaction was one of importance. It shows that Passaconnaway, as early as 1629, was not only the chief of the Pennacooks, but that he was a sagamore at the head of a powerful confederacy; and that thus early he had the sagacity to see the superiority of the English, and to wish them as a barrier betwixt his people and their eastern enemies. The deed expressly acknowledges, on the part of the chiefs of the Pawtucket, Squamscut, and Newichawanack, their being tributary to the sagamore of Pennacook; the seventh and last article stipulating that "every township within the aforesaid limits, or tract of land, that hereafter shall be settled, shall pay Passaconnaway, *our chief sagamore that now is, and to his successors forever, if lawfully demanded,* one coat of trucking-cloth a year."[2]

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[1] See Force's His. Tracts, Vol. II. N. E. Canaan, pp. 25, 26.

[2] Belknap, Appendix No. 1, of Vol. I.

It has been suggested that the Pennacooks were an off-shoot of one of the south-western New England tribes; and it is certain that they spoke the same language with the Massachusetts and Rhode Island Indians. Some feud may have driven the ancestors of Passaconnaway to seek an asylum upon these meadows of the Merrimack, where he could find for himself and companions ready subsistence by taking game in the forests, fish at the falls, and raising corn and other vegetables upon the intervales. And here we see the striking effect that the cultivation of Indian corn has upon Indians. At the present time the Indians of the west who plant corn are more civilized than their neighbors who live by hunting. They are less inclined to rove, are more robust and intellectual. Planting, maturing, and gathering corn detains them longer in the same locality than any other occupation; and this detention makes them more social, more friendly and hospitable among themselves, and less inclined to a roving life. The result of this is, that such tribes become more civilized, more populous, and more powerful.

This position is true of the former state of the Pennacooks. They were a semi-agricultural tribe; and this fact, coupled with another, that they were for near a hundred years under the control of a wise and politic sagamore, accounts for their acknowledged superiority and power.

It may be that their power had been increasing with the increase of the tribe for centuries; but as nothing is learned from tradition or otherwise of any sagamore of the Pennacooks prior to Passaconnaway, it is fair to presume that the Pennacooks, as a tribe or nation, rose and fell with this sagacious, politic, and warlike chief. Nor is this a strange presumption. When we first hear of Passaconnaway, in 1629, he had doubtless been at the head of his tribe for many years; at least a sufficient length of time for a sagamore like him, possessing both political and religious authority, to have increased the number and power of his tribe, and the numerical strength and power of his people to the height at which our fathers found it at that time. In 1629, Passaconnaway was one hundred years old, as Gookin, who spoke their language, and was acqauinted with their manners and customs, says of Passaconnaway: "He lived to a very great age, as I saw him alive at Pawtucket when he was about one hundred and twenty years old." He wrote this in 1675, when from this language we should infer that the old chief was at that time dead. General Gookin probably saw him in 1648. Eliot visited Pawtucket in 1647, at which time Passaconnaway left, and would not hear Eliot, or suffer his children to hear him; but in the spring of 1648 he again visited Pawtucket, and found the Pennacook chief there, who showed no repugnance to his preaching, but, on the contrary, listened with attention. As Gookin assisted Eliot in his labors and visited the Indians with him often, it is probable that he saw Passaconnaway at one of these visits. This would make him an hundred years old at the time of making "The Wheelwright Deed," in 1629. Still it is possible that Gookin is the man whom Hubbard refers to, when he says that in 1660, "one much conversant with the Indians about Merrimack river" was invited to a dance, when Passaconnaway made "his last and farewell speech to his children and people." If this be so, it would make Passaconnaway twelve years younger in 1629 than he is made by other accounts. Be this as it may, in 1629 he was an "ancient Indian," and had doubtless been at the head of his tribe more than sixty years.

The Pennacooks must have numbered at this time from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred souls, as Dudley mentioned, in 1631, that Passaconnaway had "under his command four or five hundred men," plainly meaning warriors; and to allow the tribe to consist of three times the number of fighting men is not an exaggerated estimate, when this estimate includes women and children, and old men and others unfit for duty. Two thousand would doubtless be a fair estimate for the tribe. These were scattered up and down the Merrimack, occupying the intervales from the Pawtucket Falls in Massachussetts, to Lake Winnepesaukee. Passaconnaway and the chief men of the tribe resided at Pennacook, Amoskeag, and Naticook. Amoskeag was the place of their abode during the fishing season, when the banks of the river were thronged, as is evident from the vast quantities of arrow-heads, pestles, pieces of pottery, and the large number of graves that have been discovered up and down the river; while in the planting season the residence of the Bashaba was at Pennacook and Naticook. In time of peace, Passaconnaway had his principal summer residence upon the large island in the Merrimack, in Concord, known as Sewall's Island. This island contains some forty acres of excellent intervale; and being situated at the foot of the falls, where was most excellent fishing, it was doubtless the favorite retreat of this powerful chief. In time of war he retired to his fort, which was at Pennacook, as Major Waldron states, in a deposition made for the information of the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1665, that six years previous he visited the fort of the Indians at Pennacook, at the invitation of Passaconnaway, and found there a large gathering of Indians.[1] Tradition, well preserved, has ever located this fort upon one of the headlands, either next north or next south of the intervale known as "Sugar Ball," in Concord. From a personal examination of the headlands in that neighborhood, made within a short time, we have no doubt that the Pennacook fort occupied the headland next south of "Sugar Ball;" and, in fact, there are unmistakable signs of this being the locality now plainly to be seen. In this situation, secured by nature and art, the Bashaba could bid defiance to the Mohawks and others of his enemies. Directly west of, and overlooked by the fort, were extensive planting-grounds, easy of access, and under cultivation. In fact, within the knowledge of the writer, the old "Indian cornhills" have been plain to be seen at this place, never having been disturbed by the settlers, this part of the intervale having been found cleared by the whites, and having been used for pasturage until a few years last past. It is probable that soon after the occupation of Pennacook by the traders, in 1665, and the building of trading and block-houses there, that Passaconnaway took his residence mainly at the islands of Natticook. These romantic and lovely spots upon the bosom of the Merrimack, chosen as chief residences, even now, shorn of their beauty, and deprived of the grandeur that surrounded them then, bespeak the taste of the Pennacook Bashaba.

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[1] Deposition in Secretary's Office in Massachusetts.

Passaconnaway saw the superiority of the English, and with his usual sagacity, he perceived the entire hopelessness of the attempts of his people to subdue them. His policy was to make terms of peace with them; and it was in pursuance of this policy that he disposed of his lands to Wheelwright, reserving alone his right to fishing and hunting. It was that he might have the English as a protection against his enemies, who, since the plague had thinned his people, were becoming a source of terror to them.

The Tarratines of the east, and the Maquas of the west, were making continual inroads upon the New England Indians; and the Pennacooks, like the Mohegans, were quite willing to secure the friendship and protection of the colonists. Yet in 1631, the prejudice of Dudley led him to denounce Passaconnaway as a "witch,"[1] when the old sagamore was exerting himself to keep on terms of friendship with the colonists; and in September of the following year, when Jenkins, of Cape Porpoise, had been murdered upon the territory of the old chief, while asleep in the wigwam of one of his tribe, Passaconnaway anticipated the English in the arrest, and though the murder was committed upon his extreme limits, he sent with prompt despatch, had the murderer arrested, and delivered to the English.

In 1642, upon suspicion that a conspiracy was forming among the Indians to crush the English, men were sent out to arrest some of the principal Indian chiefs. Forty men were despatched at this time to secure Passaconnaway, but he escaped them by reason of a storm. Wannalancet, his son, was not so fortunate. He was taken by the party, while his squaw escaped into the woods. But while they barbarously and most insultingly led Wannalancet with a rope, he loosened it, and attempted to make his escape, his captors firing at him, and nearly hitting him with their shot. He did not effect his escape, but was retaken.

For this outrage, the government of Massachusetts feared the just resentment of Passaconnaway, and they sent Cutshamekin, whom they had arrested upon the same occasion, and had discharged, to excuse the matter to the old chief, and to invite him to go to Boston, and hold a conference with them.[2] The answer of the old sagamore savors a good deal of an independent spirit; and had he been younger by a half century, his reply might have been still more proud and haughty: "Tell the English," was his reply, "when they restore my son and his squaw, then will I talk with them." The answer was that of a man who felt he had been most deeply wronged. His haughty spirit must have chafed under such wrongs; and it is possible, under the sting such outrages could not fail to inflict, he might have regretted the policy he had marked out for himself. It is probable that this outrage upon the family of Passaconnaway made a deep impression upon his mind, and led him to doubt the sincerity of the professions of the English towards him; and in 1647, he exhibited this distrust in a most summary manner. At this time, the Rev. Mr. Eliot visited Pawtucket for the purpose of preaching to the natives. It was the fishing-season, and a vast multitude of Indians were present. Among them was Passaconnaway, with two of his sons. The old chief, doubtless smarting under his wrongs, and thinking that a religion which tolerated such wrongs was not worthy his attention, refused to see Mr. Eliot, and retired immediately from the neighborhood, taking with him his sons, saying "he was afraid the English would kill them."

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[1] See his letter to the Countess of Lincoln, Force's Hist. Tracts, Vol. II., p. 6.

[2] Winthrop's Hist. New England, Vol. II., pp. 79, 80.

In 1648, however, Mr. Eliot visited Pawtucket with better success; for it being the fishing-season, he found Passaconnaway there, and in a mood to hear his preaching. Mr. Eliot preached to the assembled Indians from Malachi, i. 11. This verse he paraphrased thus: "From the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, Thy name shall be great among the Indians; and in every place prayers shall be made to Thy name, pure prayers, for Thy name shall be great among the Indians." The Indians paid the most respectful attention; and after the discourse was closed, proposed many appropriate questions. After others had suggested questions and made remarks, Passaconnaway arose amid the most profound attention, and announced his belief in the God of the English. "He remarked," says Mr. Eliot, in a letter of 12th Nov., 1648, "that indeed he had never prayed unto God as yet, for he never had heard of God before as now he doth. And he said further that he did believe what I taught them to be true. And for his own part, he was purposed in his heart from thenceforth to pray unto God, and that hee would persuade all his sonnes to doe the same, pointing to two of them who were there present, and naming such as were absent."[1]

The old sagamore was, doubtless, sincere in his change of religion, and continued in the Christian belief till his death. For, "long after," says Eliot, "he said to Captain Willard, 'that he would be glad if I would come and live in some place thereabouts, to teach them. * * * * * * And that if any good ground or place that hee had would be acceptable to me, he would willingly let me have it.'"

In this same letter, Mr. Eliot intimates his intention of visiting Amoskeag the following spring, as thus: "There is another great fishing-place about three score miles from us, whither I intend (God willing) to go next spring, which belongeth to the before-named Papassaconnaway; which journey, though it be like to be difficult and chargeable for horse and men, in fitting provisions, yet I have sundry reasons which bow and draw my heart thereto."

Mr. Eliot, in a letter bearing date October 29th, 1649, thus speaks: "I had and still have a great desire to go to a great fishing-place, Namaske, upon the Merrimack river, and because the Indian's way lieth beyond the great river, which we cannot pass with our horses, nor can we well go to it on this side of the river, unless we go by Nashaway, which is about and a bad way unbeaten, the Indians not using the way; I therefore hired a hardy man of Nashaway to beat out a way, and to mark trees, so that he may pilot me thither in the spring. And he hired Indians with him and did it, and in the way he passed through a great people called Sowahagen Indians, some of which had heard me at Pawtucket and Nashua, and had carried home such tidings that they were generally stirred with a desire that I would come and teach them; and when they saw a man come to cut out the way for me, they were very glad; and when he told that I intended to come that way next spring, they seemed to him to be full of joy, and made him very welcome." "But in the spring when I should have gone, *I was not well*, it being a very sickly time, so that I saw the Lord prevented me of that journey. Yet when I went to Pawtucket, another fishing-place, where, from all parts, they met together, thither came diverse of these Sowahagen and heard me teach."[1] And in this same letter Mr. Eliot goes on to say that Passaconnaway, the "Great Sachem" of all the tribes that dwelt in the valley of the Merrimack, "did exceeding earnestly and importunately invite me to come and live at his place, and teach them. He used many arguments; * * * * this was one, that my coming once a year did them but little good, because they soon forgot what I had taught." He enforced his meaning thus: "You do as if one should come and throw a fine thing among us, and we should catch at it earnestly, because it appears so beautiful, but cannot look at it, to see what is within; there may be in it something or nothing, a stock, a stone, or precious treasure; but if it be opened, and we see what is valuable therein, then we think much of it. So you tell us of religion, and we like it very well at first sight, but we know not what is within; it may be excellent, or it may be nothing — we cannot tell; but if you will stay with us, and open it to us, and show us all within, we shall believe it to be as good as you say it is."

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[1] Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. IV., Third Series, p. 82.

This comparison seems more like one from civilized life, than from a savage chief just embracing Christianity, and is one of those unmistakable marks in the life of Passaconnaway that show him a man of eloquence and wisdom.

These extracts from Mr. Eliot's letters establish important facts as follows: The usual trail or path of the Indians from Sowahagen, Namaske, and places above, upon the Merrimack, to Pawtucket, was upon the east side of the Merrimack, and doubtless down the Beaver Brook. The first bridle-path from Nashua to Namaske was marked and beaten in 1648, for the accommodation of Mr. Eliot. That Eliot, before this date, had preached at Nashua, where the Sowahagen Indians had heard him. That a large body of Indians, known as Sowahagen Indians, lived upon the Merrimack, upon its west bank, above Nashua, and at and upon Sowahagen river. And lastly, that

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[1] Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. IV., third series, page 82.

Namaske, or Namaskeke, was upon the Merrimack above Sowahagen, and at the place now known as Namaskeke or Namaske, Amoskeag, and not in the neighborhood of Pawtucket Falls, as is erroneously claimed by some writers.

We hear nothing more of Passaconnaway, or his people, till 1660. At that time, being of very great age, he was seen by an Englishman, at Pawtucket, who was much conversant with the Indians upon the Merrimack. It is possible, as before suggested, that this Englishman was General Gookin.

There was a vast assemblage of the Indians at Pawtucket, and borne down with age and cares, the old sagamore, at a public feast, made his farewell speech to his people. On such occasions, the old sagamores relate the prominent incidents of their lives in songs and speeches, and give their advice to their people. It is highly probable that the fact had been announced to the confederate tribes that Passaconnaway was about to make his farewell address to his people. The anticipated event called together an unusual assemblage of Indians. The chiefs were gathered from all the confederate tribes, eager to hear the last words of their "Great Sagamore," who, by his wisdom, his natural powers of eloquence, and his supposed knowledge of the mysteries of nature, possessed an unbounded influence over the Indians.

The occasion filled all with sorrow, in spite of Indian stoicism. Passaconnaway was deeply affected, and his voice, tremulous with age and emotion, still was musical and powerful — a splendid remnant of that whose power and beauty, in the fulness and vigor of manhood, had soothed or excited the passions of assembled savages, and moulded them to suit the purposes of the speaker.

"Hearken," said he, "to the words of your father. I am an old oak, that has withstood the storms of more than an hundred winters. Leaves and branches have been stripped from me by the winds and frosts — my eyes are dim — my limbs totter — I must soon fall! But when young and sturdy, when no young man of the Pennacooks could bend my bow — when my arrows would pierce a deer at an hundred yards, and I could bury my hatchet in a sapling to the eye — no weekwam had so many furs, no pole so many scalp-locks as Passaconnaway's! Then I delighted in war. The whoop of the Pennacook was heard upon the Mohawk — and no voice so loud as Passaconnaway's. The scalps upon the pole of my weekwam told the story of Mohawk suffering.

The English came, they seized our lands; I sat me down at Pennacook. They followed upon my footsteps; I made war upon them, but they fought with fire and thunder; my young men were swept down before me when no one was near them. I tried sorcery against them, but still they increased and prevailed over me and mine, and I gave place to them, and retired to my beautiful island of Natticook. I, that can make the dry leaf turn green and live again — I, that can take the rattlesnake in my palm as I would a worm, without harm — I, who had communion with the Great Spirit, dreaming and awaking — I am powerless before the pale faces. The oak will soon break before the whirlwind — it shivers and shakes even now; soon its trunk will be prostrate—the ant and the worm will sport upon it! Then think, my children, of what I say; I commune with the Great Spirit. He whispers me now, 'Tell your people Peace, Peace is the only hope of your race.' I have given fire and thunder to the pale-faces for weapons—I have made them plentier than the leaves of the forest, and still they shall *increase!* These meadows they shall turn with the plough—these forests shall fall by the axe—the pale-faces shall live upon your hunting-grounds, and make their villages upon your fishing-places! The Great Spirit says this, and it must be so! We are few and powerless before them! We must bend before the storm! The wind blows hard! The old oak trembles! Its branches are gone! Its sap is frozen! It bends! It falls! Peace, peace with the white men is the command of the Great Spirit, and the wish—the last wish—of Passaconnaway."

It has been supposed that Passaconnaway died about this time, and our histories are silent of him after the time of the delivery of "his dying speech to his children." But this supposition is erroneous. Passaconnaway was alive in 1663, and at the head of his tribe, so that his speech of 1660 can hardly be considered his "dying speech," without some stretch of the imagination. Captains Willard and Johnson, and others of the Commission of 1652, were rewarded by grants of land near Dunstable, upon the Merrimack. In 1656, a grant of land was made to William Brenton, of Rhode Island, at Natticook, upon both sides of the Merrimack, including what is now Litchfield, and the part of Merrimack below Souhegan river. The grant was made to Brenton in consequence of his assistance in furnishing the colonial troops with horses, in their expeditions against the Narragansets and other Indians. The grant was known as "Brenton's Farms." About 1655, Major Waldron traded in furs at Pennacook, and had a truck-house there.

In 1659, October 10th, he petitioned the Legislature of Massachusetts for the grant of a township at Pennacook. In this year Waldron had visited Pennacook in person, at Passaconnaway's invitation, and found him with a large gathering of Indians at the fort on Sugar Ball Hill. A personal view of the intervales at this place, then under cultivation by the Indians, doubtless raised in the mind of Waldron the desire to possess so fine a spot. Passaconnaway told him that Merrimack was the proper name of the river, and that Pennacook and Natticook were names of places upon it. Waldron's petition was received with favor, and a township was granted him and his associates at Pennacook.

Passaconnaway being thus "hedged in" above and below by traders, and by those having grants from the government of Massachusetts, already deprived of his planting grounds at Natticook, where he had planted for a long while, and the Legislature having announced their intention to grant his lands at Pennacook whenever "so many should present to settle a plantation there," began to think he soon should not have land enough to erect a wigwam upon. Accordingly, May 9th, 1662, he presented the following petition to the Legislature:

"The Humble request of y'r petitioner is that this honerd Courte wolde pleas to grante vnto vs a parcell of land for o'r comfortable cituation; to be stated for or Injoyment, as also for the comfort of oth's after vs; as also that this honerd Court wold pleas to take into y'r serious and grave consideration the condition and also the requeste y'r pore Supliant and to a poynte two or three persons as a Committee to Ahthsum one or two Indians to vew and determine of some place and to Lay out the same, not further to trouble this honerd Assembly, humbly cravinge an expected answer this present sesion I remain yr humble Servante

PAPISSECONEWA."[1]

The order of the court upon this petition is as follows, viz.: "In answer to the petition of Papisseconneway, this Court judgeth it meete to grant to the saide Papisseconneway and his men or associates about Natticot, above Mr. Brenton's lands, where it is free, a mile and a half on either side of Merrimack river in breadth, three miles on either side in length, provided he nor they do not alienate any part of this grant without leave and license from this Court, first obtained."[2] Two persons were appointed surveyors to lay out this township for Papisseconewa and his associates — a duty which they executed promptly, and with faithfulness, giving him an ample tract a mile and a half in depth along the Merrimack, together with two small islands in the river. One of the islands[3] Papisseconneway had lived upon and planted a long time. They also allotted him "about forty acres, which joyneth their land to Souhegan river."

It thus appears that in less than twenty years from the time that Passaconnaway first submitted himself to the colonists, and put himself under their protection, he and his tribe were literally reduced to beggary. The bashaba of the Merrimack valley, and the rightful owner of all its broad lands, had become a "pore petitioner" for a plantation of pine plains, and did "earnestly request the Honerd Court to grant two small islands and ye patch of Intervaile" to them—receiving them, doubtless, with all due submission and thankfulness, if not humility! Old age, as well as contact with civilization, must have done its work upon the spirit of this haughty sagamore, for him thus to have meekly asked his usurpers to grant him what was properly his own; for his sale at Exeter did not embrace "these two small islands or ye patch of intervaile;" and Massachusetts never pretended even a purchase from the Indians of the Merrimack valley, till after the date of this transaction.

Passaconnaway had four sons, if no more, and probably two daughters. His oldest son, Nanamacomuck, was the sagamore of Wachuset, the section of country about Wachuset Mountain, in Massachusetts. Mr. Eliot saw him at Pawtucket, in 1648. He at that time promised to become a praying Indian. He was inimical to the English, and removed to the Amarisgoggin country, in Maine. He was father of the afterwards noted chief Kaucamagus, or John Hodgkins. In a petition to "the Worshipful Richard Bellingham Esq. Gov.," signed by Wannalancet and other Indians, they state that they sold a certain island, to redeem an Indian out of "bondage whose name is Nanamocomuck, the eldest sonn of Passaconnaway." This settles a much mooted question, and shows conclusively the name of Passaconnaway's "Eldest Sonn."

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[1] Archives, Secretary's Office, Massachusetts.

[2] Ibid.

[3] These islands are now known as Reed's Islands, and it would be a tribute worthily bestowed upon a worthy man, should they be known hereafter as Passaconnaway's Islands. In fact, the opposite lands, once the home of his tribe, would have a more appropriate and more euphonious name, were they called Passaconnaway, rather than Litchfield; and the inhabitants of this town would display good taste should they follow the example of Sunnapee, and by Act of Legislature assume the appropriate and euphonious name of "Passaconnaway."

The second son of Passaconnaway, and his successor, was Wannalancet, of whom we shall speak hereafter. We think Vnawunquosett and Nonatomenut, were the names of two other sons of Passaconnaway, as their names are attached to the petition referred to above. The wife of Nabhow appears to have been the daughter of Passaconnaway. Another daughter of his married Montowampate, the sagamore of Saugus, prior to 1628; and was separated from him in consequence of a difficulty betwixt him and her father.

Passaconnaway died prior to 1669, full of years and honors; and was spared the pain of witnessing the overthrow of his tribe. The year of his death is not known. He was alive in 1663; and as Wannalancet was at the head of the tribe in 1669, and built the fort at Pawtucket at that time, it is evident that Passaconnaway was then dead.

He was a wise, brave, and politic sagamore. He gained his great power and control over the Indians of New England, by his wisdom and bravery, but more by his great cunning. He was an accomplished juggler; and being a man of superior intelligence, he turned his juggling skill to the best account for his own personal aggrandizement, and that of his tribe. A sorcerer was supposed by the Indians to have intercourse not only with the devil, the Bad Spirit, but with Manit, the Great Spirit; hence, a skilful juggler had most unbounded influence; and when to this character was united that of Powah or priest, and physician, in one and the same man, as it was in Passaconnaway, we can most readily account for his great power and influence.

In reflecting upon the character of the Merrimack sagamore, the conviction forces itself upon one that, at the head of a powerful confederacy of Indian tribes, honored and feared by his people, and capable of moulding their fierce passions to his will, the history of New England would have told another story, had Passaconnaway taken a different view of his own destiny and that of his tribe, and exerted his well-known and acknowledged power against the enemies of his race. But Providence seems to have tempered the fierce savage for the reception and triumph of the Anglo-Saxon race in a new world."[1] (Appendix, 5.)

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[1] C. E. Potter, Esq.

VI. INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY AND CHARACTER. E.

[5th Paper, Title VI.]

TITLE VI.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY AND CHARACTER.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE VI.

TITLE VI., LET. A., VOL. I. [1st Paper.]

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1. Iroquois Cosmogony.
2. Origin of Men — of Manabozho — of Magic.
3. Allegory of the Origin of the Osages from a Snail.
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B. AN ESSAY ON THE INDIAN PICTOGRAPHY, OR SYMBOLIC WRITING.

Chap. 1. Preliminary Considerations.
" 2. Extreme antiquity of Pictorial Notation.
" 3. Elements of the Pictorial System.
" 4. Symbols employed in the Kekeenowin and Medawin.
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" 6. Symbols of Hunting, and Feats of the Chase.
" 7. Symbols of the Prophetic Art.
" 8. Symbols of Love, War, and History.
" 9. Universality of the Pictographic System, with the Explanation of Bark-roll inscriptions presented from Lake Superior.
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TITLE VI., LET. B., VOL. II. [2D PAPER.]

A. POWER OF INDIAN NUMERATION.

1. Choctaw.
2. Dacotah.
3. Cherokee.
4. Ojibwa of Chegoimegon.
5. Winnebago.
6. Chippewa.
7. Wyandot.
8. Hitchittee.
9. Comanche.
10. Cuchan or Yuma.

B. ART OF PICTOGRAPHY.

1. Census Roll of the Ojibwas.
2. Medicine Animal of the Winnebagoes.
3. Haökah, a Dacotah God.
4. Indian Signatures, by Symbols, to a Treaty.
5. Menomonie Symbols for Music.

C. ABORIGINAL ALPHABETICAL NOTATION.

(*a*.) Cherokee Syllabical Alphabet.
(*b*.) Story of the Prodigal Son in this Character.

D. ORAL IMAGINATIVE LEGENDS FROM THE WIGWAM.

1. Allegory of the Transformation of a Hunter's Son into a Robin.
2. Allegory of the Origin of Indian Corn.
3. Fraternal Cruelty, or the Allegory of the Wolf-Brother.
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A. ORAL FICTIONS FROM THE WIGWAM.

1. Hiawatha, or the Iroquois Quetzalcoatl.
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3. Trapping in Heaven.
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5. Shingebiss — an Allegory of Self-reliance in the Forest.

B. POETIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIAN MIND.

6. Song of the Okögis.
7. Chant of the Hawks.

TITLE VI., LET. D., VOL. IV. [4TH PAPER.]

A. INDIAN PICTOGRAPHY.

1. Ogellala Drawing on a Buffalo Robe.
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5. Symbolic Transcript from a Rock in New Mexico, in Lat. about 34° 40′.
6. Symbolic Characters from the Valley of the Gila.
7. Pictographic Inscription from Utah.
8. Mixed, or Indo-European Inscription by a Utah Indian.

B. ORAL TRADITIONS AND FICTIONS FROM THE WIGWAM.

1. A Shawnee Tradition purporting to be Historical.
2. Thanayeison, a Western Iroquois, to Conrad Wiser at Kaskaskia, in 1748.—An Allegorical Account of the first coming of the Whites.

C. INDIAN SHREWDNESS AND BUSINESS TALENT IN PUBLIC SPEAKING.

1. Wabashaw before the British Commanding Officer at Drummond Island, at the close of the War of 1812.
2. The Shawnee Prophet before the U. S. Agent at Waughpekenota, Ohio, on agreeing to migrate to the West, in 1827.

TITLE VI., LET. E., VOL. V. [5TH PAPER.]

THE INDIAN MIND.

INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY AND CHARACTER.

THE INDIAN MIND.

The theory of determining the capacities of the human mind, by the exactitude of geometrical admeasurements of the cranium, and its forms, has been strenuously advocated, and as strenuously denied. The means adopted by the late Dr. Samuel George Morton, in the elaborate study of his extensive museum of Indian crania, to ascertain the volume of the brain, were of the most mechanically precise and ingenious character. When the cubical volume had been obtained by these means, it was the result of an almost necessary induction, that it should be taken as the measure of the mental capacity; and until profounder investigations shall be made, this standard of comparison of the American Blumenbach must be regarded as fixed.

When we come, however, to apply it to the wide-spread tribes and families of the continent, as they exist, the laws of physics and mind do not appear completely to coincide; at least, there appears to be a necessity of discrimination between what may be termed the primordial measure of the intellect, and its active or expanded powers or qualities. It is from this view, that classifications of barbarous and civilized tribes, on merely physical data, appear to be untenable. Thus it is perceived that the Peruvians of the Atacama period (and this was the common Peruvian mind, as well before as under the rule of the Incas) had less cranial capacity, judged by the Mortonian standard, than other tribes in more northerly latitudes, who were yet exclusively in the hunter state. The examination of the Tlascalan and Aztec skulls, compared with tribes in the Mississippi valley, denoted similar results; while the Iroquois, and some other leading stocks, who were not advanced in arts or skill beyond the hunter and warrior state, had a volume of brain superior in cubical capacity to the South American tribes. The Iroquois were, together with the Lenapes and original Algonquins, and Appalachians, superior men in their general *physique*, tone, nerve, bravery, and oratory, to the Toltecs and Peruvians. The principles of the system of the Crania Americana proceed on the theory that the cranial power, at assumed periods, is exhausted, and that its development must be regarded as concluded by its *past*, and cannot be awakened into higher activity by its *future* history. This does not, as we apprehend, conform to natural laws, physical or mental. If so, the classification of groups of tribes into "civilized and barbarous" stocks, on mental indiciæ alone, encounters an objection. It may be doubted whether the physical volume of the Hellenic brain was not as physically great in its inchoate state, as after the Greeks reached their highest refinements; or whether the vigor of the Roman cranium were not equal *before* and *after* the building of Rome.

This question may be examined in relation to the Vesperic tribes, without following the ingenious author over the southern latitudes of the continent. The author is indebted to Mr. Phillips, who was the assistant of Dr. Morton, in his elaborate and carefully conducted cranial admeasurements, for re-examinations of the several groups of the home tribes, as established on the principle of languages. By these it is shown that the Iroquois, who evinced a superiority of mind by a confederacy of cantons, but who were still in the hunter and warrior state, had, in their highest specimens, a cranial volume of 102½; while the Algonquins, as examined in a Chippewa cranium, gave 91; a Miami, 89; and a Natic, 85; the Appalachians, judged by a Muscogee, 90; a Utchee, 84; a Cherokee, 87. At the same time, the tribes of inferior manners and customs reached in the predatory Ottagamies, 92; in the idle and dissipated Pottawattamies, 92; in the buffalo-hunting Assineboins, 101; the fierce Dacotas, 90; and even in the degraded Chinooks and other Oregonians, 80. (Vol. II., p. 335.) We should be cautious in prescribing the range of intellect by arithmetical data, when we perceive such developments in the intellectual standard adopted.

The power of numeration, in the United States' tribes, has been deemed, from the earliest voyages, to be very low. By recent inquiry it is seen, however, that they are by no means deficient. They generally reveal a decimal system, having original names for the digits to 10. They then repeat these names, with a conjunction thrown between them, till 20, for which there is a separate inflection to the decimal, and this inflection is added to the primary particle for numbers till 100, for which there is a separate denomination. By awaking the latent powers of computation, most of the tribes, and all the instanced ones, it is believed, are found capable of denoting high numbers. Inquiries made of the Choctaws prove that they can compute, by doubling their denominators, or by new inflections, to 1,000,000,000; the Dacotas to the same; the Cherokees to 300,000,000; the Chippewas to 1,000,000,000; the Winnebagoes, the same; the Wyandots, 3,000,000; the Hitchites, but 1,000; the Pillagers, 100,000; the Camanches, but 30, &c., and even the wild and predatory Yumas have the decimal system. (Vol. II., p. 204.

There have been, until very recently, no attempts by the Indians to invent a symbol for a *sound*, unless we consider such those devices for the few onomapoetic names which all barbarous nations accidentally possess. The devices which they draw on trees, bark scrolls, or sometimes the faces of rocks, are merely ideographic symbols, the general purport of which is understood by their tribesmen. Such devices are also drawn on the tabular pieces of cedar placed at the head of their graves. (Plate 56, Vol. I.) When this mode of commemoration aspires to any thing higher, as an ideographic or pictorial record of success in hunting or war, or skill in necromancy, it is called by the Algonquins *kekewin*, meaning instructions. (Vol. I., p. 350.) In all the latter instances, it is particularly deemed the art of their Medais, doctors, prophets, or priests, and becomes a branch of aboriginal learning; and the art then reaches beyond the knowledge of the commonalty. Its proper explanation, at all times, depends on the memory of the inscriber, for this knowledge of secret and occult things belongs only to the hieratic class, who derive their influence, chiefly, from the tenacity with which they keep this reserved knowledge. The sacred songs of their jossakeeds and powwows are also recorded by these pictorial appeals to the eye and memory. To the neophyte they reveal the agency of the spiritual and the mysterious; and these pictographs are not understood by the mere hunters, or common people. They are taught by the medais and priest-class, often at great expense, and are carved on wood or bark by the priestly sophomores of the medicine-dance society. A horse is known to have been given for one of these annotated songs. This system of pictographical representation has been exhibited, in its details, in relation to each of the great topics of Indian life. (Vide Vols. I., II., III. and IV.) Nothing of a higher character of notation has been observed, until the invention of the syllabical symbols of the Cherokee alphabet, represented, with examples, in Vol. II., page 228.

Surrounded by the forest, with the great phenomena of light and darkness, meteors and lightning, and the wild tumult of tornadoes, lakes and waterfalls, means are ever present to excite his wonder or fancy. A firm believer in dæmonology, and a subtle system of genii, giants, dwarfs, and magical agencies, the Indian mind is filled with panoramas of the most vivid and sublime images. To him the wilderness is a storehouse of symbols; and when the mood for conversation and amusement comes in his lodge circle, he relates to the wondering listeners tales and legends, which have sometimes their origin, perhaps, in traditions, but are generally the combinations of a wild and grotesque fancy. In these tales of the wigwam, the sounds and sights of the wilderness are so many voices, which he understands. The world is a phantasmagoria; every thing is wonderful, when the mind is prepared to see wonders. The birds and quadrupeds he encounters are enchanted human beings. He sees the little footprints of fairies on the sands; the creaking of the branches of the antique trees of the forest are voices of spirits and monedas, who hover around his path for good or evil. He sees translated in the glittering stars above, heroes of olden times. Examples of this species of the lodge stories of the Indians, derived from the relations of various tribes, have been given in the preceding volumes. They generally denote a habit of amusing thought, often a disposition to account for the existence of peculiarities in the animals, birds and other natural objects, and the creation of things around him. (Vide Vol. II., p. 229; Vol. III., p. 513; Vol. IV., p. 254.) These oral tales frequently betray a disposition to supply by imagination the lapse of their actual history. They are based on a (to us) new and aboriginal poetic machinery, namely, that of the agency of monedos, spirits of the woods, air and waters, the impersonation of thunder-gods, and the whole catalogue of the Indian mythology and cosmogony. Sometimes there is a moral, either plainly expressed, or shining out amid the grotesque heap of wild imaginings and superstitions. A rebuke is shown to fraternal neglect by the tale given (Vol. II.) of the wolf brother. An admonition to over-severity in fasting is implied by the transformation, to a bird, of the young hunter (Vol. II.), who undergoes his stated characteristic trial of endurance at the age of assuming manhood. A pleasing fancy is thrown around the story of the magic ring in the prairie (Vol. I.). The passage of the varying seasons, under the benevolence of the Great Spirit, is brought impressively to mind in the allegory of spring and summer; and it would not be easy to invent and throw more natural and vivid images around a tale of symbolic hunter life, than is shown by the allegory of the origin of Indian corn. The thread-work, and all the elements of these legends, have been gathered, with no small degree of literary labor and scrutiny, from the actual narratives of the natives in their own wigwams, omitting grossness, and the repetition of tedious verbal details, which serve no purpose, in the originals, but to while away the time, while they hinder the denouement of events of the story.

Because an Indian is furious in his resentments, in a state of war or fierce personal feuds, or cruel and unsparing in his wrath, it is not to be inferred that this is his natural or ordinary mood. But, it may be asked, is this unscrupulous fury, under such circumstances, greater than that of a brutal commander, who puts a whole garrison to the sword merely because they have defended a work with heroic bravery. Is his endurance at the stake, and his shouts and songs of triumph under torment, more strange than the firmness which has sustained martyrs in dying for a principle. We should regard the dawning of light in the Indian mind with a just appreciation, since, if with his imperfect glimpses of the true purposes of life, he evinces the intelligence denoted, it would seem to be only necessary to enlarge the circle of his knowledge to enable him clearly to see, and warmly to admire, the beauty and comely proportion of the entire fabric of civilization. But when the Indian quits the field of his imaginations and superstitions, leaving, for a moment, the ideal regions of his hopes and fears, which have been created by the teachings of his Indian priesthood and ghostly counsellors of sorcery and magic — when these attractive scenes of his early beliefs and boyhood are left behind, and he comes to consider themes of real and vital interest, such as lands, properties, and his relative position as a man in society, as a man of wants and desires, who suffers in poverty and rejoices in prosperity — we behold no lack of mental vision, no want of shrewd intellect to guide the utterances of his tongue. Our earliest notices of him denote a man of excellent powers in oratory. Nothing that actually exists in his life and trainings would seem, indeed, to justify the expectation of so much vigor of thought and propriety of expression. But it is not recollected, in this view, that he has been brought up in the school of nature, where his mind, from childhood, has been impressed by images which are bold, vivid, and fresh. His books, truly, have been the heavens, with all their bright phenomena; and when he takes the oratorical attitude, and employs figures to enable him to express his meanings, within the compass of a limited vocabulary, it is from this storehouse of his thoughts that the selection is made. These illustrations are striking and pertinent, because they are simple and true. He is shrewd and cautious in dealing with the whites, because his suspicions have been schooled and awakened, all his life, by his position of danger, and distrust, and perfidy from his own race.

Nor is he deficient when he comes to discourse of things of the heart and of its affections. Stoical and imperturbable, indeed, he is in his manner; but it is sufficient to allude to the names of Garrangula; of Logan; of Sagoyawatha; or Red Jacket; of Cannasatigo, Pontiac, Skenandoa, of the once powerful Passaconnaway, and a line of renowned aboriginal speakers, to sustain the conclusion that they have produced men of intellectual, energetic, and eloquent minds.

So long as the North American Indian is in civilized society, he is much under the influence of its precepts. But when he retires from the council-house to his native woods, and hears the wild murmur of nature around him, he subsides into that state of domestic repose, nonchalance and indolence which are so characteristic of the Indian life. It is then that the aboriginal state assumes its most poetic garb. With the open heavens continually before him, his thoughts and dreams are of the spirit-world; and as a social being in his wigwam, he aims to illustrate life, in every aspect, by appeals to the wonderful and the mysterious.

Wonderful, indeed, in many respects, is the man: but he is not altogether inexplicable. If the physiologist does not perceive why the Indian should not develop mind — if he aims to preserve ideas of the strength and skill of his distinguished men, by mnemonic appeals to a rude pictography — if he invents fictions to amuse his hearers — if he is eloquent in council and debate, when he has great things at stake — if, in fine, his faculties can be stimulated to understand the mental operations of arithmetic, and to comprehend the elements of knowledge — it is not perceived why the aboriginal man is deficient in his natural intellectual powers. The gospel mystery of the union of God and man has been dissolved before his eyes by Eliot and Brainerd, and a host of successors have made him feel his deficiencies in presenting himself, in his own strength and power of obedience, before his Creator. Letters have opened their golden caskets to many men and women, of the wild rover of the woods. He has been made to see the folly of intemperance as of a consuming fire. Industry has seemed, to the man thus awakened, as a golden yoke, which is not only easy to be borne, but redounds to the pleasure of the wearer. Art is not without attractions to the reclaimed Indian, who has excellent imitative faculties; and we have examples to show, that even strains of harmony and elegiac poetry have sometimes sprung from his lips.

Is not the race, then, worthy of the highest humanities bestowed on them?

VII. TOPICAL HISTORY. D.

[4th Paper, Title VII.]

TITLE VII.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, TOPICAL HISTORY.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE VII.

TITLE VII., LET. A., VOL. II. [1ST PAPER.]

1. Mandans.
2. Pontiac Manuscript—a Journal kept by a Civilian within the Fort, during the Siege of Detroit, by the Confederate Indians, in 1763.
3. Traditionary Gleams from the Island of Hayti (the ancient San Domingo) of Anacoana, the unfortunate Queen of the Caribs.

TITLE VII., LET. B., VOL. III. [2D PAPER.]

1. Strength of the upper Posts of 1778, from a Manuscript found in his own Hand-writing, among the Papers of James Madison.
2. Memoranda of a Journey in the Western Parts of the United States of America, in 1785. By Lewis Brantz—from the Original MSS.
3. Relation of the Voyages and Adventures of a Merchant Voyager, in the Indian Territories of North America, in 1783. By John Baptiste Perrault. From the unpublished MSS.

TITLE VII., LET. C., VOL. IV. [3D PAPER.]

1. Diary of Matthew Clarkson on a Commercial Excursion West of the Alleghanies, in 1766. From the Original MSS.
2. Passages of the Incidents of a Tour in the Semi-Alpine Region traversed by De Soto, in 1542, West of the Mississippi River, from the Original Journal. By Henry R. Schoolcraft. [Deferred from Vol. III.]
3. Narrative of a Journey, in 1737, from Tolpehocken, in Pennsylvania, through the Forests to Onondaga, the Seat of the Iroquois Power in New York. By Conrad Wiser, Esq., Indian Agent and Provincial Interpreter. From the translated MSS.
4. Remarks concerning the Savages of North America, in the European Magazine, Vol. VI., A. D. 1784. By Dr. B. Franklin.
5. Seneca Traditions of the Era of the Revolutionary War. By Asher Tyler.

TITLE VII., LET. D., VOL. V. [4TH PAPER.]

Position and State of Manners and Arts in the Creek Nation, in 1791.

TOPICAL HISTORY.

[The following official letter, journal, and observations of Major C. Swan, U. S. A., in 1791, present the most full and satisfactory account of the Creek Nation of the era, which has come to our notice. The manuscripts having been obligingly placed at our disposal, are now first published; and will well repay perusal by all who take an interest in this once prominent and still important Indian nation.]

POSITION AND STATE OF MANNERS AND ARTS IN THE CREEK, OR MUSCOGEE NATION IN 1791.

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 29, 1795.

SIR:—Pursuant to the letter of instruction which I had the honor to receive from you on the 18th of August, 1790, I accompanied Brigadier-General M'Gillivray and the chiefs and warriors of the Creek nation, who attended at the treaty in New York, from that place to their nation. Fortunately no disaster happened on our voyage to St. Mary's river, or on our journey by land through the country, that occasioned me to use the authority you were pleased to give me of drawing on you, in case it should be found necessary, and we all arrived safely at the first Indian village, on the Flint river, the latter part of September.

Situated as I found myself among these people, it was not only my inclination, but I found it my interest, to become as useful as possible to the great chief; and on all occasions I endeavored to impress on the jealous minds of the Indians in general, that the white people of the United States were sincere and candid in all their overtures of peace and friendship towards them; and that, being myself in their power, I was pledged to them for the truth of what I had told them, and which their friends had been witnesses of at the great white town.

I conceived that General M'Gillivray viewed me for some time rather in the light of a spy than otherwise; but from a uniform declaration to the contrary, and a persevering attention to his person, I was flattered that all his suspicions were removed; and from an alteration in his conduct towards me, I have reason to believe that I gained his confidence effectually.

I found from experiment that to learn the language, and to pronounce it well, must be a task of several youthful years; therefore, after obtaining a vocabulary of their principal words and some familiar sentences, I directed my inquiries more particularly to the other objects contained in your letter.

In making notes while in the country, I found myself watched with an eye of jealousy, and therefore thought it prudent to keep them out of sight, which I always did, even from my only friend, Mr. M'Gillivray himself.

Going into the country down at the southern corner of it—travelling up the Chattahoosee river to the Coweta district—from thence crossing the country westward to little Tallassie—and by coming out of it by the route through all the districts and tribes of the upper Creeks and Natchez, together with a variety of jaunts and visits to the different towns and villages of the Coosades and Alabamas while residing at little Tallassie, has afforded me a comprehensive view of the whole country of the lower and upper Creeks, and an opportunity of seeing all their largest villages, and of becoming generally known among them.

The following sheets contain the results of my observations during the excursion, which I humbly beg leave to have the honor of offering to you, with a hope that they contain such information, with respect to the natives and the fine country they possess, as may be pleasing and satisfactory to yourself, as well as interesting and useful to the government.

To be attached to the Indians and their manner of living, is at once sacrificing all the social virtues to the disgusting habits of savage barbarism.

It is a custom with M'Gillivray to spend his winters on the sea-coast among the Spaniards, leaving his wife, servants, and horses at a plantation he has near Tensau, within the borders of West Florida, about 180 miles down the Alabama river; and of returning to pass his summers in the nation. I therefore could not have remained in the country through the winter season without suffering the inconveniences of cold, and probably of *hunger*, and these without an associate or companion.

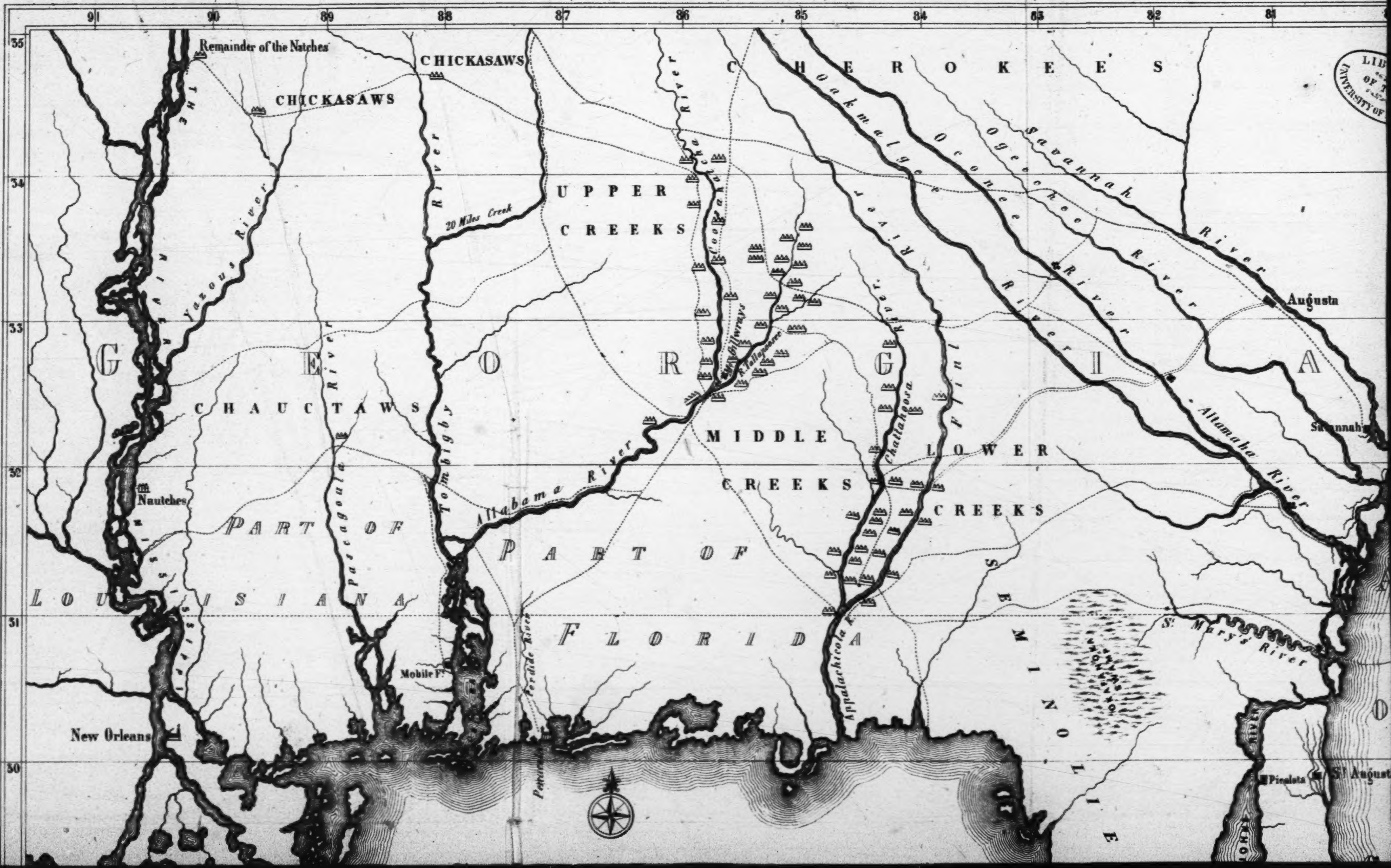
These, sir, are the reasons that induced me to leave the country so soon; and I presume that whoever may try the experiment, even for no longer a time than I have done, will find sufficient exercise for their patience, fortitude, and solitary philosophy.

I have the honor to be, sir,
With the most perfect veneration and respect,
Your devoted and obedient servant,
CALEB SWAN,
Deputy Agent, Creek Nation.

HON. HENRY KNOX,
Secretary of the War Department.

A New Map of Georgia, with part of Florida, Louisiana, and Carolina, drawn from original Draughts, assisted by the most appr

Collected by Eman: Bowen, Geographer to his Majesty 1764



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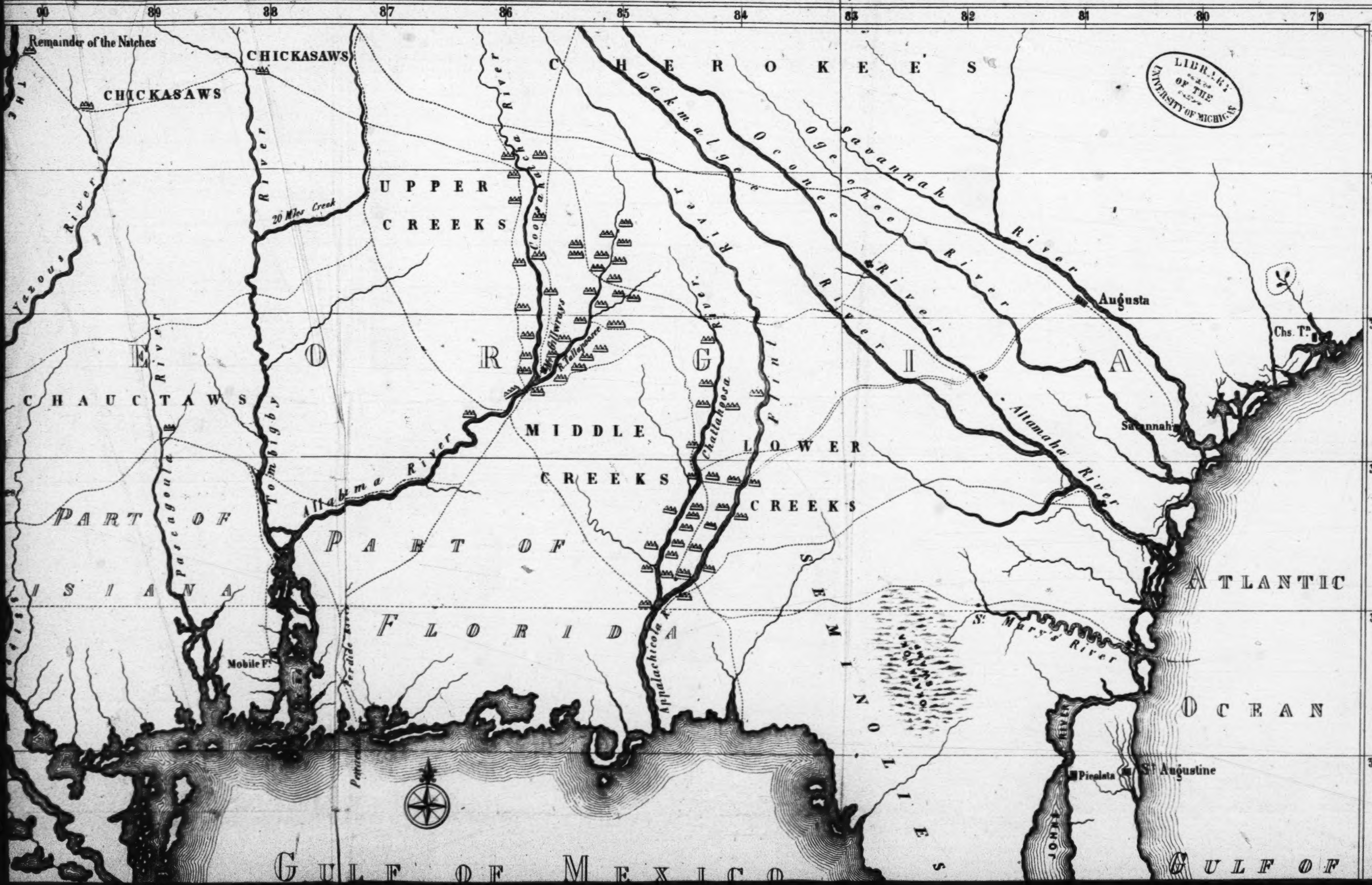
r Map of Georgia, with part of Florida, Louisiana, and Carolina, drawn from original draughts, assisted by the most approved Maps and Charts.

Collected by Eman: Bowen, Geographer to his Majesty 1764.



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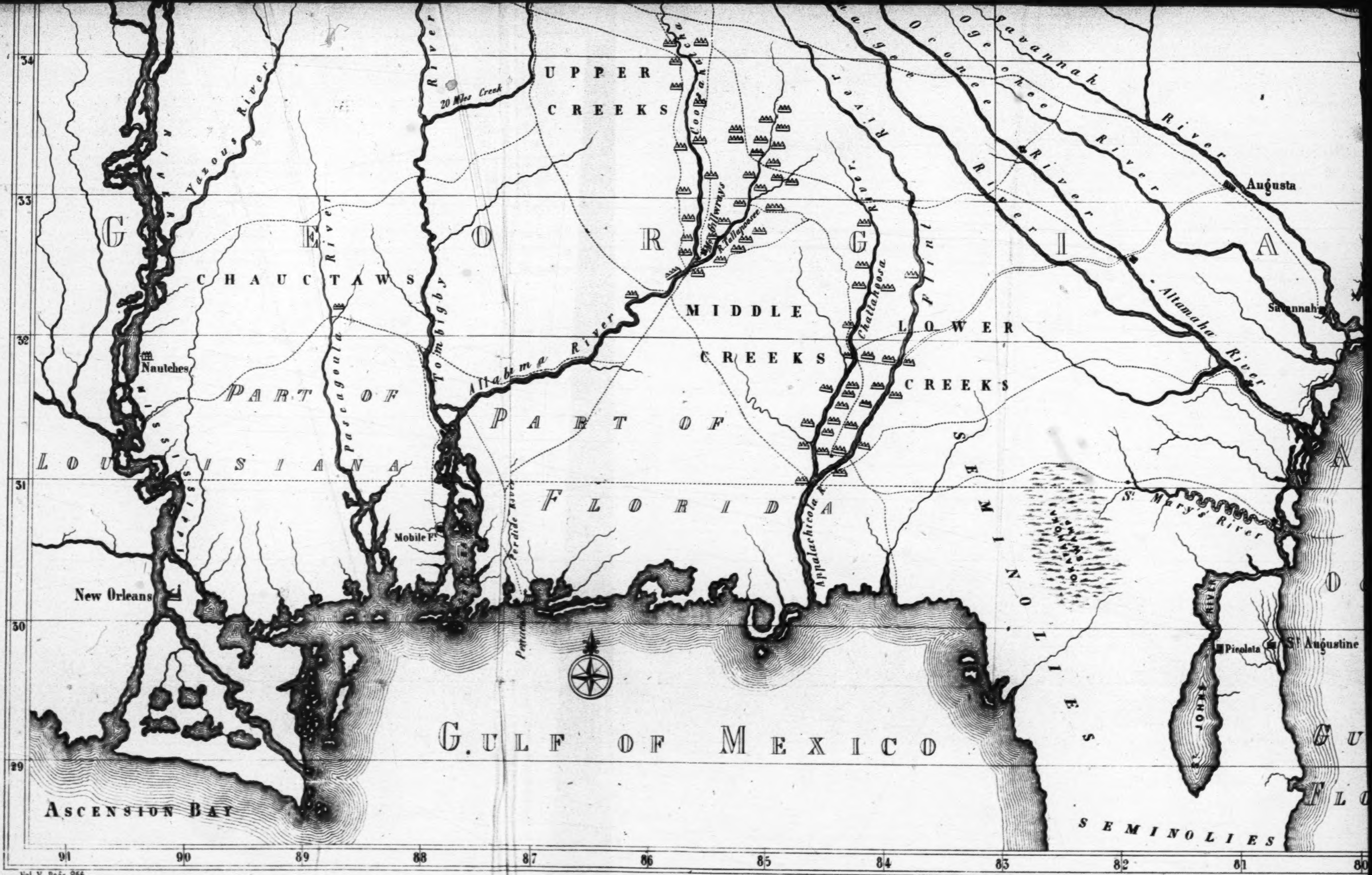

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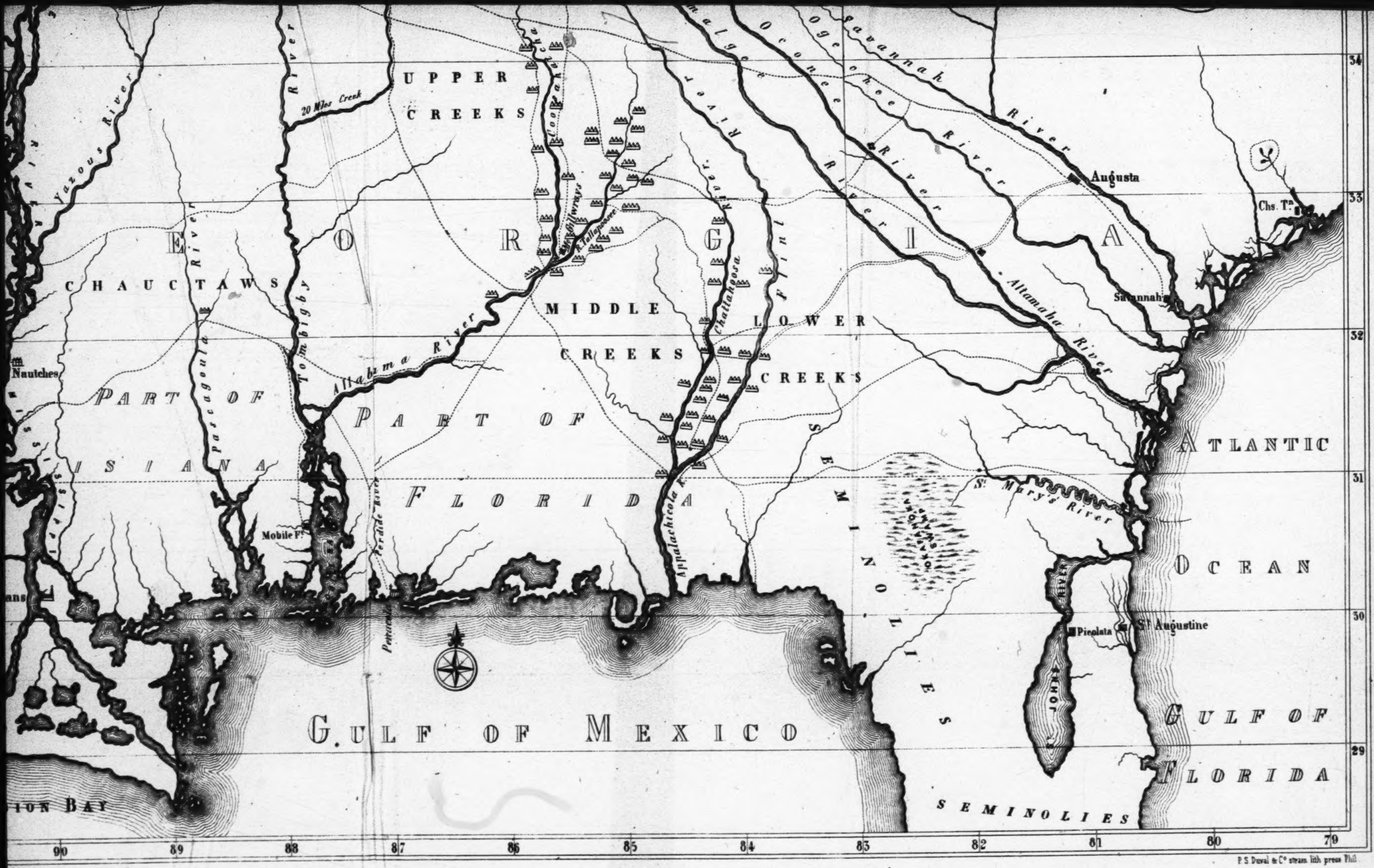

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PERSONAL JOURNAL.

August 19*th*, 1790. Sailed from New York with Brigadier-General M'Gillivray, and the Indian chiefs of the Creek Nation, bound to St. Mary's river, in Georgia.

September 1*st*. Captain Smith, of the schooner we were in, imprudently run the vessel through a large breaker, at the north end of Cumberland Island. The vessel struck on the sands several times, and afterwards went over.

Sept. 2*d*. Arrived all safe at Captain Burbeck's post, on St. Mary's, and received a visit of compliment from Don Carolus Caxton Howard, Secretary of the Government of East Florida, Mr. Leslie and others, from St. Augustine.

Sept. 8*th*. Proceeded up the river, and remained three days at Colonel L. Marbery's, procuring horses. Here several of the chiefs of the lower Creeks separated, and pursued their own routes homeward.

Sept. 11*th*. Took our departure from Spanish Creek, at the head of St. Mary's river.

Sept. 12*th*, 13*th*, 14*th*, 15*th*, 16*th*, 17*th*, 18*th*, 19*th*, and 20*th*. Incessant rains, and five of our horses died on the way.

Sept. 21*st*. Came to the Alabaha, a branch of St. Mark's river, and found it flooded by the late rains for half a mile on each side, over its natural banks. Our present prospects are gloomy: our provisions and clothing wasted and spoiled by the rains, our progress impeded by the floods, and we are 170 miles advanced from any white settlement.

Sept. 22*d*. Endeavored to build a canoe; having but one small hatchet, the attempt was fruitless.

Sept. 23*d*. The waters continue to rise.

Sept. 24*th*. The waters come to a stand.

Sept. 25*th*. The Indians killed a stray cow in the woods, and stretched her skin over hoops, into the shape of a bowl, with which to make the experiment of getting over the river.

Sept. 26*th*. Early in the morning the Indians commenced the business by swimming and towing the skin boat by a string, which they hold in their teeth, getting up a general war-hoop, to frighten away the voracious alligators that inhabit this river in vast numbers. By uncommon and hazardous exertion, we were, with all our baggage safely towed over, and landed (to our great joy,) on the opposite side about dark, having met with no accident except the loss of four horses, which were entangled in the vines, and drowned in swimming through the waters.

Sept. 27*th.* Supplied ourselves with fifteen fresh horses, taken from J. Kinnard's negroes, whom we met in the woods, bound to St. Mary's with a drove for sale.

Sept. 28*th,* 29*th.* Journeyed in the wilderness, being much exhausted with fatigue, and on short allowance of provisions.

Sept. 30*th.* Arrived at the Chehau towns, on Flint river; found the Indians assembled in great numbers to hear the tidings from their chief, whom they had given up for lost.

October 1*st.* Encamped at John, or Jack Kinnard's, living on the borders of the lower Creeks and Seminolies, and here replenished our provisions.

Oct. 5*th.* Crossed the Chattahoosee river at the Broken Arrow, twelve miles below the Cassita and Coweta towns.

Oct. 7*th.* Crossed the Tallapoosee at the town of the Tuckabatches. Here the chief (M'Gillivray) made some further communications to the people, who were assembled to hear his *talk.*

Oct. 8*th.* Arrived at Little Tallassie, on the Allabamous river.

Oct. 20*th.* Attended a general meeting called by the Mad Dog, king of the Tuckabatches, where M'Gillivray made some further communications to the Red people. Some seem pleased; others throw their tobacco into the fire, in disgust.

Oct. 21*st.* Snow fell an inch deep in this country.

Oct. 22*d.* The moon totally eclipsed,[1] and served to regulate my account of time, which from a variety of causes I have not been able to keep accurately.

Oct. 29*th.* A young woman, sister to M'Gillivray's wife, hanged herself in a fit of violent passion, but was cut down and saved.

November 20*th.* A woman related to M'Gillivray hanged herself at Little Tallasse, and was privately buried in the village the same evening.

Nov. 26*th.* Charles Weatherford brought a letter from the Secretary of War, dated 15th September last.

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[1] The Indians in all the surrounding villages are yelling with fear, and firing guns in all directions. They have an opinion, on those occasions, that a frog is swallowing the moon; and make all their most hideous noises to frighten it away.

December 15*th*. Left Little Tallassie for the upper country, and arrived at the Natchez villages in two days.

Dec. 20*th*. Went over to the district of the Hillabes.

Dec. 21*st*. Arrived at the Ufalas, and attended the Square three times to the ceremony of the black-drink, at the pressing invitation of the *White Lieutenant*.[1]

Dec. 22*d*. Crossed the Chattahoossee by the upper war-path, at the horse-ford, sixty miles above the Cassitah and Coweta towns.

Dec. 24*th*. Crossed Flint river at the upper falls, and stretched down the country in a south-east direction.

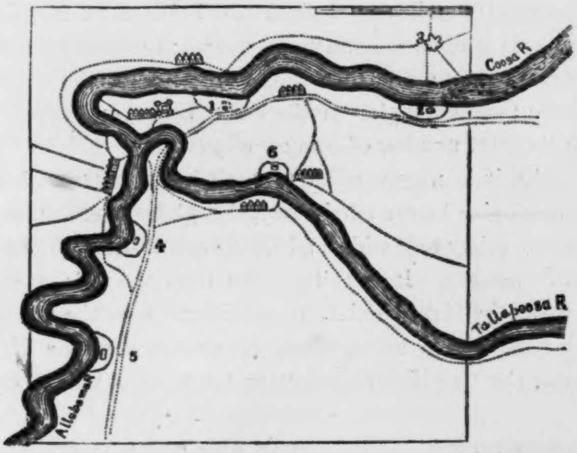
Dec. 27*th*. Crossed the Oakmulgee at the upper falls.[2]

Dec. 28*th*. Crossed the Oconee at the falls ten miles above Captain Savage's post, at the Rock landing.

1791. *January* 17*th*. Left the Rock landing, and arrived in Philadelphia, via New York, on the 13th March, 1791.

SKETCH OF LITTLE TALLASSIE, OR THE HICKORY GROUND.

Scale three miles to an inch.



⌂⌂⌂ Indian towns.
✠ Old French fort Alabama.
—— Indian paths.

□ 1. M'Gillivray's plantation.
□ 2. M'Gillivray's apple-grove.
3. M'Gillivray's cow-pen.

4. Chs. Weatherford's place.
5. M'Gillivray's sister's place.
6. Melford's place.

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[1] The White Lieutenant, a half-breed Indian, is the great *War Mico* of the whole district of the Oakfuskies. In point of appearance, and abilities as an orator, he stands unrivalled by any chief in the country. He is about fifty years of age, six feet two inches high, and well made; and is said to have the sole influence over 1000 gun men. He has a certain benevolence in his countenance, and gentleness in his manners, that savors more of civilization than any other Indian that I have seen.

[2] All the lands on this path, from the Indian villages on the Chattahoossee river eastward to the Oakmulgee, and even to the Oconee rivers, are of a most superior quality. It might give pain to a traveller, who now must view it but as a forlorn rude desert, which with a little labor might be made to "blossom like the rose."

TOPOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS.

St. Mary's river is very crooked, with a wide open marsh on each side, from its mouth upwards for thirty miles, where the marsh is terminated by thick woods; the river then becomes nearly straight for thirty miles further, up to Allen's, an Indian trader at the head of its navigation. At this trading-station, the river is like a dead creek, about four fathoms deep, and ten rods wide. It is well laid down in the Rev. Mr. Morse's map, but the great Okafanoka Swamp, which is the source of the river, is misplaced entirely; instead of spreading itself north-westwardly into Georgia, it extends away southerly into East Florida.

The old path from St. Mary's to the Creek Nation, is difficult to be traced, having been little used since 1783. After leaving St. Mary's, for 100 miles westward it is a continual soft, miry, pine barren, affording neither water nor food for men or horses; it is so poor, indeed, that the common game of the woods is not to be found in it.

The Alabaha is a considerable river, not laid down in any of the common maps of the southern country, 100 miles west from the head of St. Mary's, and runs in a southerly direction. It is often difficult to be crossed; the banks are low, and a trifling rain swells it to more than a mile in width. In a freshet the current is rapid, and passengers are liable to be entangled in vines and briars, and drowned; there is also real danger, from its great number of hungry alligators.

From the Alabaha it is ninety miles to the Chehau villages, low down on Flint river; and a continual pine barren all the way, though less sterile than that left behind.

Flint river is about thirty rods wide, and from twelve to fifteen feet deep in summer time, with a gentle current. It is thirty miles from the villages of the Chehaus to Jack Kinnard's, a rich half-breed chief; from Kinnard's to the tribes of the Euchees and Hitchetees, is about eighty miles, where the path crosses the Chattahoosee river, twelve miles below the Cussitah and Coweta towns, at a village called the Broken Arrow.

The Chattahoosee river is about thirty rods wide, and very rapid and full of shoals. The lands in general upon it are light and sandy, and the clay of a bright red. The lower Creeks are settled in scattering clans and villages, from the head to the mouth of this river; and from the high color of the clay, their huts and cabins, at a little distance, resemble clusters of new-burned brick-kilns.

From the Chattahoosee to the Tallapoosee river, is about seventy miles, by the main path which crosses at the falls just above the town of the Tuckabatches.

The Tallapoosee rises in the high-lands near the Cherokees; it runs through the high country of the Oakfuskie tribes in a westerly direction, and is full of rocks, falls, and shoals, until it reaches the Tuckabatchees, where it becomes deep and quiet; from thence the course of it is west for about thirty miles to Little Tallassie, where it unites with the Coosa or Coosahatcha.

The Coosa river also rises in the high-lands near the Cherokees; its course is generally south, running through the country of the Natchez and other tribes of the upper Creeks, the roughest and most broken district in the whole nation. It is rapid, and so full of rocks and shoals, that although there is a sufficiency of water, it is hardly navigable even for canoes. It joins with the Tallapoosee, at little Tallassie, and there forms the beautiful river Alabama, which continues in a southwestwardly direction to the bay of Mobile.

This long river, and its main branches, form the western line of settlements or villages of the Creek nation, but their hunting-grounds extend 200 miles beyond, to the Tombigbee river, which is the dividing line between their country and that of the Choctaws.

The Alabama river is remarkable for its gentle current, pure waters, and good fish; it runs about two miles an hour; it is seventy or eighty rods wide at the head of it, and from fifteen to eighteen feet deep in the driest season of the year. The banks are about fifty feet high, and seldom, if ever, overflowed. Travellers who have navigated it in large boats, in the month of May, have gone in nine days from little Tallassie to Mobile bay, and compute the distance by water to be about 350 miles. This river, for forty miles downward, and probably much farther, is very beautiful; it has high, clear fields all along the banks, that afford romantic views of its different courses and windings for miles together. Having no shoals, or sand spits, it might be navigated with large boats up to M'Gillivray's, at Little Tallassie, through the centre of an inviting, fertile and extensive country, capable of producing every thing necessary to the comfort and convenience of mankind. The surrounding country is well watered; the soil is of a dark brown color, with deep strata of red or brown clay, and with the slovenly management even of the savages, it produces most abundantly.

It is well timbered with oak, hickory, mulberry, poplar, wild cherry, wild locust, laurel, cypress, bay, gum, cedar, iron, and white cork woods. The low-lands and bottoms are interspersed with numerous cane-brakes, of enormous growth; and the higher grounds, and banks of rivers, produce ginseng, and the seneca, or snake-root, and the genuine sarsaparilla of Mexico in perfection.

There are also a great variety of other medicinal plants and herbs, which remain to be analyzed by the skilful botanist, and, without doubt, will be found as valuable and important as any hitherto discovered.

There are abundance of small waterfalls, and mill-seats of constant water to be had, in all parts of the country, within a few miles of each other.

There are useful mines and minerals on the Alabama, some specimens of which I have collected and have the honor herewith to present.

The western part of the country of the Creeks particularly, though but small compared to the whole, is without doubt, from its natural advantages, of more real value than all the rest of their territory.

The whole of the country claimed by the Creeks, within the limits of the United States, at a moderate computation, must contain nearly 84,000 square miles, according to Bowen's maps and surveys, annexed hereto, which, by good judges, are affirmed to be accurate.

At present it is but a rude wilderness, exhibiting many natural beauties, which are only rendered unpleasant by being in possession of the jealous natives.

The country possesses every species of wood and clay proper for building, and the soil and climate seem well suited to the culture of corn, wine, oil, silk, hemp, rice, wheat, tobacco, indigo, every species of fruit trees, and English grass; and must, in process of time, become a most delectable part of the United States; and with a free navigation through the bay of Mobile, may probably, one day or other, be the seat of manufactures and commerce.

The climate of this inland country is remarkably healthy; the wet and dry seasons are regular and periodical. The rainy season is from Christmas to the beginning of March, and from the middle of July to the latter end of September. Between these two periods there is seldom much rain or cloudy weather.

The constant breezes, which are probably occasioned by the high hills and numerous rapid water-courses, render the heat of summer very temperate; and towards autumn they are delightfully perfumed by the ripening aromatic shrubbery, which abounds throughout the country.

The winters are soft and mild, and the summers sweet and wholesome.

There are no stagnant waters or infectious fogs about the rivers; consequently, neither alligators, mosquitoes, or sand-flies, have ever been known to infest this pleasant country.

The animals of the forest, in this country, differ little from those at the northward; the tiger, or panther, is more common here, but of less size than those taken towards Canada: large black wolves are plenty, and, I believe, peculiar to the country.

The birds in this region resemble ours, in the northern States, in every respect; but, in addition, may be counted the land stork, of prodigious size, commonly called the pine barren hooping crane. There are also great numbers of paroquets, and the beautiful red bird, so much sought for by Europeans, and called by them the Virginia nightingale.

The reptiles here are (except being generally larger, and more thrifty) very much like those found in the northern climates. But the gofer, a species of the land tortoise, might deserve some attention from the curious naturalist. This creature lives on the land altogether, feeds on grass, and chews the cud like a sheep. He retires to his hole, in some sandy place, in day-time, and at night comes out to feed. He is of the shape of common land tortoises, and of enormous strength; although but of about eight or ten inches in length, and six or eight inches in breadth, he is able to walk on hard ground, carrying the heaviest man on his back with tolerable ease. The Indians have a belief that this animal has the power of causing droughts or floods; they therefore, whenever they meet one, dash him to pieces with religious violence.

ORIGIN OF THE MUSCOGIES OR CREEK INDIANS.

Men of the best information and longest acquaintance with these Indians give the following account of the rise and progress of the nation.

Tradition, handed down from one generation to another, has established a general belief among them (which may be true), that a long time ago some strange, wandering clans of Indians from the *north-west* found their way down to the present country of the Seminolies: there meeting with plenty of game, they settled themselves in the vicinity of the then powerful tribes of the Florida and Appalachian Indians: that for some time they remained on a friendly footing with each other. The new-comers were styled *Seminolies* (signifying wanderers, or lost men).

These wanderers from the north increased, and at length became so powerful a body as to excite the jealousy of their Appalachian neighbors. Wars ensued, and finally the Seminolies became masters of the country. "The remnants of the Appalachians were totally destroyed by the Creeks in 1719."

In process of time, the game of the country was found insufficient to support their increasing numbers. Some clans and families emigrated northward, and took possession of the present district of the Cowetas; having established themselves there, other emigrations followed, and in time spread themselves eastward as far as the Oakmulgee river, and other waters of Georgia and South Carolina, and westward as far as the Tallapoosee and Coosa rivers, which are the main branches of the Alabama. Here they were encountered by the Alabama nation, whom they afterwards conquered; and by restoring to them their lands and river, gained their attachment, and they were incorporated with the Creek nation. The Creeks became famous for their abilities and warlike powers; and being possessed of a well watered country, were distinguished from their ancestors (the Seminolies of the low barren country) by the name of Creeks or Muscogies.

The kind soil, pure water, and air of their country being favorable to their constitutions as warriors, has perhaps contributed to give them a character superior to most of the nations that surround them.

Their numbers have increased faster by the acquisition of foreign subjects, than by the increase of the original stock. It appears long to have been a maxim of their policy, to give equal liberty and protection to tribes conquered by themselves, as well as to those vanquished by others — although many individuals, taken in war, are slaves among them; and their children are called, of the slave race, and cannot arrive to much honorary distinction in the country on that account.

The Alabamas and Coosades are said to be the first who adopted the ceremonies and customs of the Creeks, and became part of the nation. The Natchez, or Sunset Indians, from the Mississippi, joined the Creeks about fifty years since, after being driven out of Louisiana, and added considerably to their confederative body. And now the Shawanese, called by them Sawanes, are joining them in large numbers every year, having already four towns on the Tallapoosee river, that contain near 300 war men, and more are soon expected.

SEMINOLIES.

The Seminolies are in small wandering hordes through the whole country, from the point of East Florida to the Appalachiocola river, near which they have Micasuka, and some other permanent villages. Their country being sandy and barren, occasions those who cannot live by fishing along the sea-shore to scatter in small clans and families through the inland country, wherever they can find hommocks of rising ground, upon which they can raise corn, or in other places accommodated with water, which is very scarce throughout the country. They are considerably numerous, but poor and miserable beyond description; being so thinly scattered over a barren desert, they seldom assemble to take black drink, or deliberate on public matters, like the upper aud lower Creeks.

The Seminolies are the original stock of the Creek nation, but their language has undergone so great a change, that it is hardly understood by the upper Creeks, or even by themselves in general. It is preserved by many old people, and taught by women to the children as a kind of religious duty; but as they grow to manhood, they forget and lose it by the more frequent use of the modern tongue.

They are more unsettled, in their manner of living, than any other district of people in the nation.

Their country is a place of refuge for vagrants and murderers from every part of the nation, who, by flying from the upper and lower districts to this desert, are able to elude the pursuit and revenge of even Indians themselves.

The term Seminolies (signifying wanderers) is well applied to them, for they are, most of them, continually shifting from one place to another every year.

The foregoing account of the Seminolies was given by General M'Gillivray, who seldom, if ever, has visited their country. He is known to them as their great chief, but few of them have ever seen him.

The Seminolies are said to be principally under the influence of *Jack Kinnard*, a rich Scotch half-breed, living on the neck of land between Flint and the Chattahoosee rivers, ninety miles below the Cussitah and Coweta towns — and of a Spanish half-breed chief, living on the Appalachiacola river, near the Micasuka village, called the *Bully*. But the truth is, they have no government among them.

Kinnard is a noted trader, farmer, and herdsman. He has two wives, about forty valuable negroes, and some Indian slaves. He has from 1200 to 1500 head of cattle and horses, and commonly from 5000 to 6000 Spanish dollars in his house, which are the produce of cattle he sells.

He accumulated his property entirely by plunder and freebooting, during the American war, and the late Georgia quarrel. This raised him to the dignity of a chief, and enabled him to go largely into trade, by which he supplies all the Indians around him, who are dupes to his avarice. He cannot read or write, and commonly has some mean person about his house to do it for him. He is addicted to excessive drunkenness, and, like all half-breeds, is very proud of being white-blooded. He is a despot, shoots his negroes when he pleases, and has cut off the ears of one of his favorite wives, with his own hands, in a drunken fit of suspicion.

He is of so much consequence, in his own country, as to threaten the Spaniards into compliance with almost any thing he demands.

The following is a copy of a letter he dictated and sent to Don Juan Nepomecena de Quesada, the Governor of St. Augustine, in August, 1790. The Governor, in consequence, released Allen, the prisoner, and sent an express near 700 miles, up to Little Tallassie, with a statement of the affair to Mr. M'Gillivray.

"I send you this talk. Our people have had a talk given out here, that our beloved white man, James Allen, is put in jail by your talk, for making the red men take away Lang's cattle, when Lang owed him 170 chalks, which was right. James Allen is our beloved white man, and must be given to us in twenty days back again, to buy our horses, as he did before. Now — give him back, and save you trouble — which shall be — now. This is my talk!

his
JOHN × KINNARD."
mark.

The Bully is a man of as much property and influence as Kinnard. He is about fifty years old — keeps three young wives. For size and strength, has never yet found his equal. He is master of the art of English boxing — and has been the Sampson of these Philistines from his youth upward.

Population and Military Strength.

The smallest of their towns have from 20 to 30 houses in them, and some of the largest contain from 150 to 200, that are tolerably compact. These houses stand in clusters of four, five, six, seven and eight together, irregularly distributed up and down the banks of rivers or small streams; each cluster of houses contains a clan, or family of relations, who eat and live in common. Each town has a public square, hot-house, and yard near the centre of it, appropriated to various public uses — of which I shall endeavor to give a particular description, together with the ceremonies performed therein, hereafter.

The following are the names of the principal towns of the upper and lower Creeks, that have public squares, beginning at the head of the Coosa or Coosa-hatcha river, viz:

1. Upper Ufalas,
2. Abbacoochees,
3. Natchez,
4. Coosas,
5. Oteetoocheenas,
6. Pinclatchas,
7. Pocuntullahases,
8. Weeokees,
9. Little Tallassie,
10. Tuskeegees,
11. Coosadas,
12. Alabamas,
13. Tawasas,
14. Pawactas,
15. Autobas,
16. Auhoba,
17. Wetumpkees, big,
18. Wetumpkees, little,
19. Wacacoys,
20. Wacksoyochees.

Central, inland, in the high country, between the Coosa and Tallapoosee rivers, in the district called the Hillabees, are the following towns, viz:

21. Hillabees,
22. Killeegko,
23. Oakchoys,
24. Slakagulgas,
25. Wacacoys.

And on the waters of the Tallapoosee, from the head of the river downward, the following, viz:

26. Tuckabatchee Teehassa,
27. Totacaga,
28. New York,[1]
29. Chalaacpauley,
30. Soguspogus,
31. Oakfuskee,
32. Ufala, little,
33. Ufala, big,
34. Sogahatches,
35. Tuckabatchees,
36. Big Tallassie, or half-way house,
37. Clewauleys,
38. Coosahatches,
39. Coolamies,
40. Shawanese, or Savanas, } Shawanese Refugees.
41. Kenhulka, }
42. Muckeleses.

Of the lower Creeks, beginning on the head-waters of the Chattahoosee, and so on downward, are the towns of

43. Chelucconinny,
44. Chattahoosee,
45. Hohtatoga,
46. Cowetas,
47. Cussitahs,
48. Chalagatsca, or broken arrow,
49. Euchees, several,
50. Hitchatees, several,
51. Palachuola,
52. Chewackala.

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[1] Named by Colonel Ray, a New York British loyalist.

Besides near 20 towns and villages of the little and big Chehaus, low down on Flint and Chattahoosee rivers, the names of which I could not ascertain.

From their roving and unsteady manner of living, it is impossible to determine, with much precision, the number of Indians that compose the Creek nation.

General M'Gillivray estimates the number of gun-men to be between 5000 and 6000, exclusive of the Seminolies, who are of little or no account in war, except as small parties of marauders, acting independent of the general interest of the others.

The useless old men, the women and children may be reckoned as three times the number of gun-men, making in the whole about 25,000 or 26,000 souls. Every town and village has one established white trader in it, and there are several neighborhoods, besides, that have traders. Each trader commonly employs one or two white pack-horse men; besides these, there is, in almost every town, one family of whites, and in some two, who do not trade; these last are people who have fled from some part of the frontier, to this asylum of liberty.

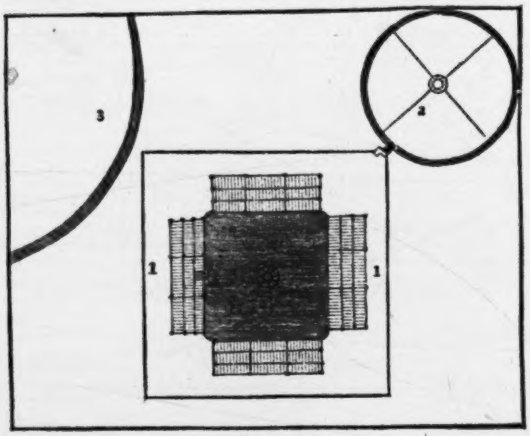
It may be conjectured with safety, that, to include the whites of every description throughout the country, they will amount to nearly 300 persons — a number sufficient to contaminate all the natives; for it is a fact that every town is principally under the influence of the white men residing in it; and as most of them have been attached to the British in the late war, and of course have, from loss of friends and property, or persecution, retained bitter resentments against the people of the United States, and more especially against those living on the frontiers. They often, to have revenge, and *to obtain plunder* that may be taken, use their influence to send out predatory parties against the settlements in their vicinity.

The Creek Indians are very badly armed. The *chief* has made it a point to furnish them with muskets in preference to rifles, which, from the necessity of being wiped out after every shot, have been found less convenient than the former. Their muskets are of the slender, French manufacture, procured through the Spanish government at Pensacola, but are so slightly made, that they soon become unfit for any service.

If the Indians were able to purchase for themselves, they would, however, prefer rifles in all cases, because they find them more sure and lasting: a good one will, at any time, command the price of 100 chalks, or $50, to be paid in skins or horses in the country.

The most influential chiefs of the country, either in peace or war, are the Hallowing King, of the Cowetas; the White Lieutenant, of the Oakfuskies; the Mad Dog King, of the Tuckabatchees; the old Tallassie King Opilth-Mico, of the Half-way House at Big Tallassie; the Dog Warrior, of the Natchez; and Old Red-shoe, King of the Alabamas and Coosades. A treaty made with the before-named chiefs would, probably, be communicated to all the people of the country, and be believed and relied upon.

CEREMONIES, CUSTOMS AND OPINIONS.



1. Square. 2. Hot-house. 3. Chunkey-yard.

SITE OF THE PUBLIC SQUARE, HOT-HOUSE AND CHUNKEY-YARD.

OF THE SQUARE.—The public squares, placed near the centre of each town, are formed by four buildings of equal size, facing inwards, and enclosing an area of about thirty feet on each side. These houses are made of the same materials as their dwelling-houses, but differ by having the front which faces the square left entirely open, and the walls of the back sides have an open space of two feet or more next to the eaves, to admit a circulation of air. Each of these houses is partitioned into three apartments, making twelve in all, which are called the cabins; the partitions which separate these cabins are made of clay, and only as high as a man's shoulders, when sitting. Each cabin has three seats, or rather platforms, being broad enough to sleep upon. The first is raised about two feet from the ground, the second is eight inches higher, and the third, or back seat, as much above the second. The whole of the seats are joined together by a covering of cane-mats, as large as carpets. It is a rule, to have a new covering to the seats every year, previous to the ceremony of the busk; therefore, as the old coverings are never removed, they have, in most of their squares, eight, ten and twelve coverings, laid one upon the other.

The squares are generally made to face the east, west, north and south. The centre cabin, on the east side, is always allotted to the beloved, or first men of the town, and is called the beloved seat. Three cabins, on the south side, belong to the most distinguished warriors; and those on the north side, to the second men, &c. The west side is appropriated to hold the lumber and apparatus used in cooking black-drink, war-physic, &c. On the post, or on a plank over each of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on.

Up under the roofs of the houses are suspended a heterogeneous collection of emblems and trophies of peace and war, viz: eagles' feathers, swans' wings, wooden scalping-knives, war-clubs, red painted wands, bunches of hoops on which to dry their scalps, remnants of scalps, bundles of snake-root war-physic, baskets, &c.

Such posts and other timbers about the square as are smooth enough to admit of it, have a variety of rude paintings of warriors' heads with horns, horned rattlesnakes, horned alligators, &c., &c.

Some of the squares in the red or war-towns, which have always been governed by warriors, are called painted squares, having all the posts and smooth timber about them painted red, with white or black edges. This is considered a peculiar and very honorary mark of distinction. Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square, which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles over the whole of the area between the houses. Whence these privileges arose, I could never learn; and it is a doubt with me if they know themselves.

Travelling Indians, having no relations in the town, often sleep in the public square as they are passing on their journey. This is one of their ancient rites of hospitality. And poor old men and women, suffering for want of clothes, are entitled to sleep in the hot-houses of the town they live in, if they please.

The square is the place for all public meetings, and the performance of all their principal warlike and religious ceremonies.

If a man dies in the town, the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage.

Each square has a *black-drink cook*, and two or three young warriors that attend every morning when black-drink is to be taken, and warn the people to assemble by beating a drum.

Each square, as necessary appendages, has a hot-house at the north-west corner of it, and a May-pole, with a large circular beaten yard around it, at the south-west corner, which is called the chunkey-yard. These two places are chiefly appropriated to dancing. The yard is used in warm, and the hot-house in cold weather.

The hot-house is a perfect pyramid of about twenty-five feet high, on a circular base of the same diameter. The walls of it are of clay, about six feet high, and from thence drawn regularly to a point at the top, and covered round with tufts of bark. Inside of the hot-house is one broad circular seat made of canes, and attached to the walls all around. The fire is kindled in the centre; and the house, having no ventilator, soon becomes intolerably hot; yet the savages, amidst all the smoke and dust raised from the earthen floor by their violent manner of dancing, bear it for hours together without the least apparent inconvenience.

THE CEREMONY OF THE BLACK-DRINK

Is a military institution, blended with religious opinions.

The black-drink is a strong decoction of the shrub well known in the Carolinas by the name of Cassina, or the Uupon Tea.

The leaves are collected, parched in a pot until brown, boiled over a fire in the centre of the square, dipped out and poured from one pan or cooler into another, and back again, until it ferments and produces a large quantity of white froth, from which, with the purifying qualities the Indians ascribe to it, they style it *white-drink;* but the liquor of itself, which, if strong, is nearly as black as molasses, is by the white people universally called *black-drink.*

It is a gentle diuretic, and, if taken in large quantities, sometimes affects the nerves. If it were qualified with sugar, &c., it could hardly be distinguished in taste from strong bohea tea.

Except rum, there is no liquor of which the Creek Indians are so excessively fond. In addition to their habitual fondness of it, they have a religious belief that it infallibly possesses the following qualities, viz.: That it purifies them from all sin, and leaves them in a state of perfect innocence; that it inspires them with an invincible prowess in war; and that it is the only solid cement of friendship, benevolence, and hospitality. Most of them really seem to believe that the Great Spirit or Master of breath has communicated the virtues of the black-drink to them, and them only (no other Indians being known to use it as they do), and that it is a peculiar blessing bestowed on them, his chosen people. Therefore, a stranger going among them cannot recommend himself to their protection in any manner so well as by offering to partake of it with them as often as possible.

The method of serving up black-drink in the square is as follows, viz.:

The warriors and chiefs being assembled and seated, three young men acting as masters of ceremony on the occasion, each having a gourd or calabash full of the liquor, place themselves in front of the three greatest chiefs or warriors, and announce that they are ready by the word choh! After a short pause, stooping forward, they run up to the warriors and hold the cup or shell parallel to their mouths; the warriors receive it from them, and wait until the young men fall back and adjust themselves to give what they term the *yohullah*, or black-drink note. As the young men begin to aspirate the note, the great men place the cups to their mouths, and are obliged to drink during the aspirated note of the young men, which, after exhausting their breath, is repeated on a finer key, until the lungs are no longer inflated. This long aspiration is continued near half a minute, and the cup is taken from the mouth of the warrior who is drinking at the instant the note is finished. The young men then receive the cups from the chiefs or head warriors, and pass it to the others of inferior rank, giving them the word choh! but not the yohullah note. None are entitled to the long black-drink note but the great men, whose abilities and merit are rated on this occasion by the capacity of their stomachs to receive the liquor.

It is generally served round in this manner three times at every meeting; during the recess of serving it up, they all sit quietly in their several cabins, and amuse themselves by smoking, conversing, exchanging tobacco, &c., and in disgorging what black-drink they have previously swallowed.

Their mode of disgorging, or spouting out the black-drink, is singular, and has not the most agreeable appearance. After drinking copiously, the warrior, by hugging his arms across his stomach, and leaning forward, disgorges the liquor in a large stream from his mouth, to the distance of six or eight feet. Thus, immediately after drinking, they begin spouting on all sides of the square, and in every direction; and in that country, as well as in others more civilized, it is thought a handsome accomplishment in a young fellow to be able to spout well.

They come into the square and go out again, on these occasions, without formality.

THE CEREMONY OF THE BUSK.

The ceremony of the busk is the most important and serious of any observed by the Creek Indians.

It is the offering up of their first fruits, or an annual sacrifice, always celebrated about harvest time.

When corn is ripe, and the cassina or new black-drink has come to perfection, the busking begins on the morning of a day appointed by the priest, or *fire-maker* (as he is styled) of the town, and is celebrated for four days successively.

On the morning of the first day, the priest, dressed in white leather moccasins and stockings, with a white dressed deer-skin over his shoulders, repairs at break of day, unattended, to the square. His first business is to create the new fire, which he accomplishes with much labor by the friction of two dry sticks. After the fire is produced, four young men enter at the openings of the four corners of the square, each having a stick of wood for the new fire; they approach the new fire with much reverence, and place the ends of the wood they carry, in a very formal manner, to it. After the fire is sufficiently kindled, four other young men come forward in the same manner, each having a fair ear of new corn, which the priest takes from them, and places with great solemnity in the fire, where it is consumed. Four young warriors then enter the square in the manner before mentioned, each having some of the new cassina. A small part of it is given to the new fire by the priest, and the remainder is immediately parched and cooked for use. During these formalities, the priest is continually muttering some mysterious jargon which nobody understands, nor is it proper for any inquiries to be made on the subject; the people in general believe that he is then communicating with the *great master of breath*.

At this time, the warriors and others being assembled, they proceed to drink black-drink in their usual manner. Some of the new fire is next carried and left on the outside of the square, for public use; and the women allowed to come and take it to their several houses, which have the day before been cleaned, and decorated with green boughs, for its reception; all the old fire in the town having been previously extinguished, and the ashes swept clean away, to make room for the new. During this day, the women are suffered to dance with the children on the outside of the square, but by no means suffered to come into it. The men keep entirely by themselves, and sleep in the square.

The second day is devoted by the men to taking their war-physic. It is a strong decoction of the button snake-root, or senneca, which they use in such quantities as often to injure their health by producing spasms, &c.

The third day is spent by the young men in hunting or fishing, while the elder ones remain in the square and sleep, or continue their black-drink, war-physic, &c., as they choose. During the first three days of busking, while the men are physicking, the women are constantly bathing. It is unlawful for any man to touch one of them, even with the tip of his finger; and both sexes abstain rigidly from all kind of food or sustenance, and more particularly from salt.

On the fourth day, the whole town are assembled in the square, men, women, and children promiscuously, and devoted to conviviality. All the game killed the day before by the young hunters, is given to the public; large quantities of new corn, and other provisions, are collected and cooked by the women over the new fire. The whole body of the square is occupied with pots and pans of cooked provisions, and they all partake in general festivity. The evening is spent in dancing, or other trifling amusements, and the ceremony is concluded.

N. B. All the provisions that remain are a perquisite to the old priest, or fire-maker.

ANTH$^{\text{Y}}$. ALEX. M'GILLIVRAY.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

Courtship is always begun by proxy. The man, if not intimately acquainted with the lady of his choice, sends her his *talk* (as it is termed), accompanied with small presents of clothing, by some woman of her acquaintance. If the young woman *takes his talk*, his proxy then asks the consent of her uncles, aunts, and brothers (the father having no voice or authority in the business), which being obtained, the young woman goes to him, and they live together during pleasure or convenience. This is the most common mode of taking a wife, and at present the most fashionable.

But if a man takes a wife conformably to the more ancient and serious custom of the country, it requires a longer courtship, and some established formalities.

The man, to signify his wishes, kills a bear with his own hands, and sends a panful of the oil to his mistress. If she receives the oil, he next attends and helps her hoe the corn in her field; afterwards plants her beans; and when they come up, he sets poles for them to run upon. In the meantime he attends her corn, until the beans have run up and entwined their vines about the poles. This is thought emblematical of their approaching union and bondage; and they then take each other for better or for worse, and are bound to all intents and purposes. A widow having been bound in the above manner, is considered an adulteress if she speaks or makes free with any man, within four summers after the death of her husband.

With a couple united in the above manner, the tie is considered more strongly binding than in the other case; being under this obligation to each other, the least freedom with any other person, either in the man or woman, is considered as adultery, and invariably punished by the relations of the offended party, by whipping, and cutting off the hair and ears close to the head.

The ceremony of cropping, as it is called, is done in the following manner. The relations of the injured party assemble and use every stratagem to come at the offender. This is called, in the phrase of the country, *raising the gang upon him.* Each of the gang carries a stick nearly as large as a hoop-pole. Having caught the offender, they beat him or her, as the case may be, until senseless, and then operate with the knife. It is extremely difficult to evade this punishment; but if the offender can keep clear of them by flight or otherwise until they lay down their sticks, the law is satisfied, and they (one family only excepted) have no right to take them up again. But the great and powerful **WIND FAMILY**, of whom Mr. M'Gillivray is a descendant, if defeated in the first attempt, have the right of *raising the gang* and *lifting the cudgels* as often as they please until punishment is duly inflicted.

OPINIONS OF THE DEITY.

The Creeks believe in a good and bad spirit, and in a future state of rewards and punishments.

The good spirit they style Hesákádum Esceé, which signifies God, or Master of Breath.

The bad spirit is styled Stefuts Aségó, which signifies the devil, or rather sorcerer.

They believe that the good spirit inhabits some distant, unknown region, where game is plenty, and goods very cheap! where corn grows all the year round, and the springs of pure water are never dried up.

They believe, also, that the bad spirit dwells a great ways off, in some dismal swamp, which is full of galling briars, and that he is commonly half starved, having no game, or bear's oil, in all his territories.

They have an opinion that droughts, floods, and famines, and their miscarriages in war, are produced by the agency of the bad spirit. But of these things, they all appear to have confused and irregular ideas, and some sceptical opinions.

MANNER OF BURYING THE DEAD.

When one of a family dies, the relations bury the corpse about four feet deep, in a round hole dug directly under the cabin or rock whereon he died. The corpse is placed in the hole in a sitting posture, with a blanket wrapped about it, and the legs bent under it and tied together. If a warrior, he is painted, and his pipe, ornaments, and warlike appendages are deposited with him. The grave is then covered with canes tied to a hoop round the top of the hole, and then a firm layer of clay, sufficient to support the weight of a man. The relations howl loudly and mourn publicly for four days. If the deceased has been a man of eminent character, the family immediately remove from the house in which he is buried, and erect a new one, with a belief that where the bones of their dead are deposited, the place is always attended by "goblins and chimeras dire."

They believe there is a state of future existence, and that according to the tenor of their lives, they shall hereafter be rewarded with the privilege of hunting in the realms of the Master of Breath, or of becoming Seminolies in the regions of the old sorcerer.

But as it is very difficult for them to draw any parallel between virtue and vice, they are most of them flattered with the expectation of hereafter becoming great war-leaders, or swift hunters in the beloved country of the great Hesákádum Eseé.

DISEASES AND REMEDIES.

The Indians eat every green wild fruit they can lay their hands upon, which is said to engender the fevers that sometimes attack them in the latter part of summer; and their children are often afflicted with worms from the same cause.

The *cassia fistularius*, or pod of the wild locust, which grows here in abundance, furnishes them late in autumn with a kind of sweetmeats, which they gather and bring home wherever they can find it; and it is esteemed a good antidote in the complaints of their children.

Their diseases are real and imaginary. In their complaints and disorders, they sometimes employ male, but more frequently female practitioners, whom they call very cunning men or women, to attend them; and as all their disorders are to be cured by the herbs and styptics of the woods, assisted by magic, their mode of proceeding is not less singular than superstitious. All physic and decoctions must undergo a process of boiling, stirring, or filtration, attended with blowing, singing, hissing, muttering, and a variety of mysterious and sublime operations, before it is fitted for use. If the physician fails in the cure, he will ascribe it to cats or dogs that may be about the house; and they are either killed instantly, or sent out of the neighborhood. If after all the patient dies, the chance is two to one that the doctor is considered as a witch or sorcerer, influenced by the devil, and is pursued, beaten, and sometimes killed by the surviving relations; but if successful in restoring the patient to health, he is paid almost his own price for his services, in skins or cattle.

Stitches in the side, or small rheumatic pains, which are frequent with them, are often considered as the effect of some magic wound. They firmly believe that their Indian enemies have the power of shooting them as they lay asleep, at the distance of 500 miles. They often complain of having been shot by a Choctaw or Chickasaw from the midst of these nations, and send or go directly to the most cunning and eminent doctress for relief. The cunning woman tells them that what they have apprehended is verily true, and proceeds to examine and make the cure. In these cases, scratching or cupping is the remedy; or, as is often the case, sucking the affected part with her mouth, produces to their view some fragment of a bullet, or piece of a wad, which she had purposely concealed in her mouth to confirm the truth of what she had asserted; after this, a few magic draughts of their physic must be administered, and the patient is made whole.

Gonorrhœas are common among them, but not virulent. Contrary to what has been believed, their cures are undoubtedly imperfect, and not to be depended upon.

It is an established rule, that pregnant women be entirely alone at the time of delivery; and this rule is rigidly adhered to. Nature seems to have fortified them with strength to undergo the operation without assistance. On the 12th of December, 1790, four women came from the *white ground*, ten miles from Little Tallassie, to sell horse-ropes to the beloved man. The day was cold and rainy, with a sleet of snow; they stayed all night. About midnight, one of them, a young woman, was taken in travail; her mother was with her, and immediately ordered her to take some fire and go into the swamp, about thirty rods from the out-house where they slept. She went alone, was delivered of her child, and at ten o'clock next morning, being bare-footed and half naked, took the infant on her back, and returned home through the rain and snow, which still continued to fall, without the least apparent inconvenience.

This circumstance, had I not been present and seen the woman with the infant on her back, I might have been doubtful of its possibility.

In their periodical habits, the women are equally tenacious of being seen or touched, and never leave their hiding-places during the continuance of them.

HABITS, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

They have an opinion that, to sleep with women, enervates and renders them unfit for warriors; men therefore but seldom have their wives in the apartments where they lodge. Every family has two huts or cabins; one is the man's, and the other belongs to his wife, where she stays and does her work, seldom or ever coming into the man's house, unless to bring him victuals, or on other errands.

The women perform all the labor, both in the house and field, and are, in fact, but slaves to the men, being subject to their commands without any will of their own, except in the management of the children. They are universally called *wenches;* and the only distinction between them and the negro women is, that they have Indian children; and when a man would have you understand that he is speaking of his wife, he designates her as his son's mother, &c. Yet even in this unhappy, servile state, the women are remarkable for their care and attention to the men, constantly watching over them in their desperate drunkennesses and quarrels, with the utmost solicitude and anxiety.

Beauty is of no estimation in either sex. It is strength, or agility, that recommends the young man to his mistress; and to be a skilful or swift hunter is the highest merit with the woman he may choose for a wife. He proves his merit and abilities to her as often as he can, by presenting her, or her guardian uncles and aunts, with bear's oil, and venison of his own killing.

Simple fornication is no crime or reproach among the Creeks; the sexes indulge their propensities with each other promiscuously, unrestrained by law or custom, and without secrecy or shame. If a young woman becomes pregnant before she is married, which most of them do, the child is maintained in her clan without the least murmuring.

If a young woman becomes pregnant by a fellow whom she had expected to marry, and is disappointed, she, in revenge, is authorized by a custom of the country, to destroy the infant at the birth, if she pleases, which is often done, by leaving it to perish in the swamp where it was born, or throwing it into the water. And, indeed, to destroy a new-born infant is not uncommon in families that are grown so numerous as to be supported with difficulty; it is done by mutual consent of the clan and parents, and without remorse.

The refined passion of love is unknown to any of them — although they apply the word *love* to rum, and every thing else they wish to be possessed of. The very frequent suicides committed in consequence of the most trifling disappointment, or quarrel, between men and women, are not the result of grief, but of savage and unbounded revenge.

Marriage is considered only as a temporary convenience, not binding on the parties more than one year. If a separation is desired by either the man or his wife, it is commonly consented to, and takes place without ceremony; but he or she is not at liberty to take any other person as wife or husband, until after the celebration of the ensuing busk, at which, if they attend and partake of the physic and bathing, they are at once exonerated from the marriage-contract, and at liberty to choose again: but to be only intimate with any other person, between the time of separation and the ceremony of the next busk, is deemed as adultery, and would incur the penalty of whipping and cropping, as the custom of the country requires. This punishment, however, depends, sometimes, on the superior strength of the clan to which the injured party belongs.

The married women are termed bound wenches—the single girls, free wenches. The least freedom with a bound wench is considered criminal, and invariably punished, or attempted to be punished by the cropping law.

A plurality of wives is allowed of—a mother and her two daughters are often kept by one man, at the same time; but this is most frequently by white traders, who are better able to support them. A large portion of the old and middle-aged men, by frequently changing, have had many different wives, and their children, scattered around the country, are unknown to them.

Few women have more than two children by the same father; hence they have found the necessity of conferring the honors of chiefs and micos on the issue of the female line, for it would be impossible to trace the right by the male issue.

The custom of frequently throwing away their old wives, and taking new ones, is well adapted to their barbarous mode of life. The total want of that conjugal affection which dignifies families in civilized society, perhaps arises from the little pleasure that can be experienced in the arms of women continually harassed by hard labor, and dirty drudgery. Therefore, this inconstancy is favorable to their population: without it they could scarcely keep up their numbers; and even with it, they increase very slowly.

By a confused intermixture of blood, a whole tribe become uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters and cousins to each other; and as some members of each clan commonly wander abroad, and intermarry in distant towns, and others from those towns come in and supply their places, the whole body of the people have become connected by the ties of blood and hospitality, and are really but one great family of relations—whose ceremonies, manners, and habits are nearly alike, though their language differs considerably.

The father has no care of his own child. The invariable custom is, for the women to keep and rear all the children, having the entire control over them until they are able to provide for themselves. They appear to have sufficient natural affection for them; they never strike or whip a child for its faults. Their mode of correction is singular: if a child requires punishment, the mother scratches its legs and thighs with the point of a pin or needle, until it bleeds; some keep the jaw-bone of a gar-fish, having two teeth, entirely for the purpose.

They say that this punishment has several good effects; that it not only deters the child from mischief, but it loosens the skin, and gives a pliancy to the limbs; and the profusion of blood that follows the operation, serves to convince the child that the loss of it is not attended with danger, or loss of life: that when he becomes *a man and a warrior*, he need not shrink from an enemy, or apprehend that the wounds he may receive, and loss of blood, will endanger his life.

Scratching is also practised among young warriors, as a ceremony or token of friendship. When they have exchanged promises of inviolable attachment, they proceed to scratch each other before they part. This is more frequently done in drunken frolics than at any other time. After a rum-drinking, numbers of them appear covered with blood, and lacerated from their shoulders down to their heels. Such marks of friendship are indelible, and effectually remind them of their friendly promises as long as they live.

The common food of the Creek is Indian corn, pounded and boiled, with which they mix a small quantity of strong lees of the ashes of hickory wood. It is boiled until the corn is tender, and the liquor becomes as thick as rich soup. The lees give it a tart taste, and preserve it from souring by the heat of the climate. From day to day they have it constantly standing in large pots or pans, with a spoon in it, ready for use. It is called by the Indians *Oafka*, and by the whites, *Thin-drink*. Those who have been long used to it are excessively fond of it. The Indians, who eat not much of any other food, go to it, and eat of it, about once an hour all day.

They are without system or rule in any thing. They have no regular meals. Thoughtless, negligent and wasteful, they sometimes have abundance, and at other times nothing at all to eat. But in all their vicissitudes, they betray no appearance of feeling distress. They are so extremely indolent, that, from the time they have consumed the meats killed in the winter, until the ripening of the new corn, they are all straitened, and many of them much distressed for food, and suffer under an annual famine of about two months every summer.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

The men, in general, are of a good size, stout, athletic and handsome: the women are also of a good height, but coarse, thick-necked and ugly. Being condemned, by the custom of the country, to carry burdens, pound corn, and perform all the hard labor, they are universally masculine in appearance, without one soft blandishment to render them desirable or lovely. Both sexes have a phlegmatic coldness and indifference, uncommon and unknown to most white people. When a man meets his wife and children, after an absence of some months, in which time she has not heard a word from him, it is with a perfect seeming indifference. Perhaps the first word spoken will be — So, you have got back again, I see. He answers — Yes. She may then reply — *Momuscha*, i. e., Very well — and there ends the conversation. The man reserves the tale of his adventures, to be told to his other friends over a cup of *black-drink* the next morning, at the square; and there it is retailed, in a tedious, circumlocutory conversation of many hours.

All the children in the country, up to the age of twelve or fourteen years (to judge from appearance), go stark naked in summer and winter: and the women, in general, wear no clothes in summer, except one single, simple, short petticoat, of blue stroud, tied around the waist, and reaching only to the upper part of the knees; and in winter they have only the addition of a blanket (if they can get it), thrown over their shoulders.

A stranger going into the country must feel distressed, when he sees naked women bringing in huge burdens of wood on their backs, or bent under the scorching sun, at hard labor in the field; while the indolent, robust young men are riding about, or stretched at ease on some scaffold, amusing themselves with a pipe, or a whistle.

The Indians are credulous. Enveloped in dark ignorance, and shut out from all communion with the enlightened world, the few of them that have a desire for knowledge are deprived of the means of obtaining it. They are naturally fickle, inconstant, and excessively jealous of the encroachments of the white people. They easily become the dupes of the traders that live in their towns, who have established so complete an ascendency over them, that, whatever they tell them is implicitly believed, until contradicted by some more artful story. Thus situated, it is in the power of an ignorant vagabond trader, at any time, over a pipe and cup of black-drink, to persuade them that the most solemn treaty is no more than a well-covered plot, laid to deprive them of their lands, under the specious pretences of friendship and presents, and that the sooner they break it the better. This arouses their jealousy, which, with their insatiable thirst for plunder, will probably, so long as the white villains are among them, continually destroy the good effects intended by treaties.

For near forty years past, the Creek Indians have had little intercourse with any other foreigners but those of the English nation. Their prejudice in favor of English men, and English goods, has been carefully kept alive by tories and others, to this day. Most of their towns have now in their possession British drums, with the arms of the nation, and other emblems, painted on them; and some of the squares have the remnants of old British flags yet preserved in them. They still believe that the "*great king over the water*" is able to keep the whole world in subjection.

About three years ago, a Mr. Bowles, of the Bahamas, formerly a lieutenant in the Pennsylvania loyalists (aided and abetted, as is said, by Lord Dunmore, in order to disturb the trade of the country, of which he had been disappointed by the superior address of Panton Leslie & Co.), availing himself of the prejudices of the Indians, landed in East Florida, with several old cannon, taken from the wrecks on the Florida Keys, and some ammunition, assumed the title of brigadier-general, and, with three captains of his own promoting, viz: Robins, Wellbanks, and Dalton, and thirty-seven whites and mulattoes, which they procured out of Providence jail, he proceeded to the lower Creeks, gave out word that he was immediately from London, that an English army of 20,000 men were on the point of landing, and were come to join the Creeks in the war against the States. The Indians and traders believed every word of it—even the sagacious chief himself was, for some time, duped by this impostor.

Mr. Bowles remained several months among the Indians, and after having run himself in debt to many of the traders from 2000 to 3000 chalks each, he was ordered by Mr. M'Gillivray to quit the country. Captain Dalton, to save his life, fled in disguise to Pensacola, where he obtained a passage to Ireland. Captain Wellbanks fled to the Cherokees, and remains there. And Captain Robins, a carpenter by trade, was detained in the nation as a useful artificer, and was employed by M'Gillivray to build him a house; after working near three years, he left it unfinished, and in November last stole two horses and a negro wench from M'Gillivray, with which he ran away.

When Mr. Bowles left the country, he persuaded several Indians and half-breeds, of note, to follow him; they stole a vessel in Mobile bay, and went over to the Bahamas, where Bowles selected five of the handsomest of his followers, viz: three Cherokees and two Creeks, and sold the others to the wreckers. With these five he went to Nova Scotia, and from thence to London.

Arriving in London at the time of the expected Spanish war, he represented that 20,000 Indian warriors (of whom those with him were the principals) were zealous to drive the Spaniards all out of Mexico, and had sent to request the aid of their old English friends—in consequence of which, they were much caressed at court!

COUNTING TIME.

The new year commences with the Creeks immediately after the celebration of the busk, at the ripening of the new corn, in August. They divide the year into two seasons only, to wit: winter and summer; and subdivide it by the successive moons, beginning the WINTER with the moon of

August, called	Heyóthlúcco	Or, the big ripening moon.
September, "	Otauwoóskóchee	Little chesnut moon.
October, "	Otauwóoskólúcco	Big chesnut moon.
November, "	Heewóolée	Falling leaf moon.
December, "	Thláffólúcco	Big winter moon.
January, "	Thláffóchósee	Little winter moon, alias big winter moon's young brother.

SUMMER.

February,	called	Hootáhlähássee	The windy moon.
March,	"	Taúsaútchöosee	Little spring moon.
April,	"	Taúsaütchéelucco	Big spring moon.
May,	"	Keéhássee	Mulberry moon.
June,	"	Kóchóhassee	Blackberry moon.
July,	"	Hóyeúchee	Little ripening moon.

They count the number of days or years, either past or to come, by tens. Having no exact method of keeping or reckoning their time, they can seldom tell nearer than within one month of the time any remarkable occurrence took place in the preceding year; but circumstances, or any speeches that might have attended such occurrence, they remember accurately. There is not one in the whole nation knows how old he is.

They know when the winter or hunting-season approaches, by a change of the face of nature—and they also know when the summer or planting-season advances, by the increasing heat and vegetation—and take little pains to inform themselves further on the subject.

The summer-season, with the men, is devoted to war, or their domestic amusements of riding, horse-hunting, ball-plays, and dancing; and by the women, to their customary hard labor.

PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS.

Their various dances are indescribable. They are always designated by the name of the animal which they exhibit in them, viz.: the fish-dance is led down by the most expert woman or man, having a wooden fish in his hand; the snake-dance is performed in the same manner; the buffalo-dance is distinguished by the most violent exertion of the feet, legs, and shoulders. But the most favorite dance in the country is the eagle-feather dance, which is conducted with a degree of moderation.

In general, their dances are performed with the most violent contortions of the limbs, and an excessive exertion of the muscular powers.

They have sometimes most farcical dramatic representations, which terminate in the grossest obscenity.

Their ball-plays are manly, and require astonishing exertion, but white men have been found to excel the best of them at that exercise; they therefore seldom or ever admit a white man into the ball-ground. Legs and arms have often been broken in their ball-plays, but no resentments follow an accident of this kind.

The women and men both attend them in large numbers, as a kind of gala; and bets often run as high as a good horse, or an equivalent of skins.

FIRST INTERCOURSE OF THE CREEKS WITH THE WHITE PEOPLE.

Soon after the settlement of South Carolina, an intercourse and trade took place from Fort Moor, in that province, between the white people and the lower Creeks, which appears to have been the first communication they had with British subjects; before this, they traded altogether with the French of Louisiana, and the people of Pensacola and St. Mark's. The upper Creeks continued to send all their skins to the French of Mobile for many years after the trade of the lower Creeks had been drawn into South Carolina.

In 1732, when the colony of Georgia was founded by General Oglethorpe, he called eight tribes of the lower Creeks to a treaty in Savannah. He states the number of warriors in these tribes then, to be 1300. By the kind treatment and good management of Governor Oglethorpe, they soon became strongly attached to the British interest.

"The French of Louisiana, jealous of this step, immediately sent troops and agents among the upper Creeks, and erected a fort at Little Tallassie, of fourteen guns. By establishing a post in the midst of them, they found means to attach them to the French people—the Choctaws being before in their interest, as well as the Chickasaws, and lower Cherokees. In 1739, General Oglethorpe called his allies (the lower Creeks), to a conference at the Cowetas, and attended in person, renewed the former treaties, and confirmed them in their attachment to the British Government; at this conference, deputies attended from the Oakfuskies, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees. The Cherokees and Creeks afterwards joined the British in an expedition against the Spaniards at St. Augustine, in the year 1742."[1]

It appears that from 1732, the affections of the upper and lower Creeks were divided between the French and English, until the peace of 1763; when the Floridas were ceded to the English, and the French fort "Allabamous," at Little Tallassie, was then abandoned by them. The British kept up a captain's command, at this fort, for some years after the peace of 1763; but at that time, possessing all the country eastward and southward, to which the Indians were obliged to come to trade, the British withdrew their troops, and sent numbers of agents and commissaries among them, by which they effectually attached them to the "great king over the water." By pursuing the same policy with the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees, they monopolized all the trade of these four great nations, until the American Revolution; and indeed during the late war, and ever since the peace of 1783, the trade is, in fact, beneficial only to British subjects.

Their strong prejudices in favor of the English nation, and of everything they see that has been manufactured in it, and of every person connected with it, are carefully kept alive by tories and renegades of every sort, who are constantly among them; and their hatred of the Spaniards is equally evident and implacable.

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[1] Vide Dr. Harrison's Coll. Voyages, Travels, and Settlements. 2 vol. fol., Lond. 1764.

Mode of Government.

The government, if it may be termed one, is a kind of military democracy. At present, the nation has a chief whose title is *Steutsa'cco'-Cho'ota'*, or the *great beloved man*. He is eminent with the people only for his superior talents and political abilities. Every individual has so high an opinion of his own importance and independency, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to impress on the community at large the necessity of any social compact, that should be binding upon it longer than common danger threatened them with the loss of their lands and hunting ranges.

Each town has its chief or *mico*, and some experienced war-leaders; it has also what they style *beloved second men*, whose business is to regulate the police of the town and public buildings. They are generally men of the best memories, that can tell long stories, and give minute details of ancient customs.

The micos are counsellors and orators, and until very lately had a control over the warriors and leaders, whose business was to conduct the scouts and war-parties.

The micos were formerly styled the kings, or beloved men of the *white towns*, which were (as they say) once considered as places of refuge and safety to prisoners who could escape death or torture by flight, and find an asylum in these sacred places.

Other towns were called war, or red towns, and differed from the white towns of the micos, by being governed entirely by warriors.

This is said to have been their former government, but is now done away.

In conformity to the modern government, the chiefs and principal warriors have annual meetings to deliberate on public affairs. The time and place is fixed by a chief; and the space between the time of warning and that of assembling is called the broken days. They assemble in the public square of some central town, drink black-drink, exchange tobacco, and the chiefs and orators afterwards proceed to give or receive advice with profound gravity and moderation.

The influence of the great beloved man, on all occasions, consists in the privilege of advising and not in the power of commanding. Every individual is at liberty to choose whether or not he shall engage in any warlike enterprise. But the rage of young men to acquire war-names, and the thirst of plunder in the elder ones and leaders, are motives sufficient to raise gangs of volunteers to go in quest of *hair* and horses at any time when they are disengaged from hunting. It is little matter with them what the pretence for going to war may be. They think that force constitutes right; and victory is an infallible proof of justice on their side; and they attack as boldly as they are indefatigable in securing a scalp, or to obtain plunder.

Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, *bring in hair.*

When the young warrior, after a successful expedition, approaches the town he belongs to, he announces his arrival by the war-hoop, which can be heard a mile or more, and his friends go out to meet him. The scalp he has taken is then suspended on the end of a red painted wand, and, amidst the yelling multitude, accompanied with the war-song, is brought in triumph by him into the square, or centre of the town, where it is either deposited, or cut up and divided among his friends, who then dub him *a man and a warrior*, worthy of a *war-name*, and a seat at the ceremony of the black-drink, which he receives accordingly.

Those who have seldom been abroad, and are not distinguished by war-names, are styled *old women*, which is the greatest term of reproach that can be used to them. They have also one other common term of reproach, viz.: Esté dogo, i. e. *you are nobody;* this is a very offensive expression, and cautiously to be used; to say, *you are a liar*, is a common and harmless reply; but to use either of the other two expressions would bring on a quarrel at once.

The complete equipment of a war-party is simply to each man a gun and ammunition, a knife, a small bag of gritz, or pounded corn, and two or three horse-ropes, or halters. These parties are commonly small; never more than forty, fifty, and sixty go out together, as may be seen by their war-camps frequently to be found in the woods, which are so constructed that the exact number of men in the party can at once be ascertained.

They make a point of taking boys and girls prisoners, whom they carefully preserve to supply the places of such of their people as have been, or may be killed from among them. But they save grown men and women as prisoners only when avarice takes precedence of barbarity; and they set the price of ransom upon them according to the rank and estimation in which they may be held among their countrymen.

When prisoners of the latter description are brought into any of their towns, the Indian women, by paying a small premium of tobacco to the victorious warriors, are permitted to have the honor of whipping them as they pass along. This is often practised, to the pain and ridicule of the unfortunate victim of their sport and barbarity.

It is asserted, that in most cases, if the Indians are warmly attacked by their enemy, and can once be dislodged from their several trees, that they will content themselves with one scalp, which they divide among the whole, then scatter and make the best speed home to their several towns to tell their friends of the affair. They are much given to lying and exaggeration on these occasions.

Their ruling passion seems to be war; and their mode of conducting it constitutes some part of their general government. And next they are devoted to hunting.

The present great beloved man, who left Georgia in disgust about the year 1776, and attached himself to the upper Creeks, where he was born, by the advice of his father immediately set about placing himself at the head of the nation. His kindred and family connexion in the country, and his evident abilities, soon gave him such influence among them that the British made him their commissary, with the rank and pay of Lieutenant-Colonel, under Colonel Brown, then superintendant.

After the English had abandoned the nation, in 1782, this beloved man found it necessary, in order to carry on the war with success against the Georgians, to undertake a reform in the policy of the nation, which had for a long time been divided by faction.

He effected a total revolution in one of their most ancient customs, by placing the warriors in all cases over the micos or kings, who, though not active as warriors, were always considered as important counsellors. The micos resisted this measure for some time; and the struggle became at last so serious, that the beloved chief had one Sullivan and two others, partizans of the micos, put to death in the public squares. They were all three *white men* who had undertaken to lead the faction against him; but he finally crushed the insurgents, and effected his purposes.

The spirit of opposition still remained against him in the old Tallassie king, Opilth Mico, who, with his clan, pronounced M'Gillivray a boy and an usurper, taking steps that must be derogatory to his family and consequence. And under these circumstances he undertook to treat separately with the Georgians. The consequences were, his houses were burnt in his absence, and his corn and cattle destroyed. Notwithstanding, he remained refractory for a long time, as well as some of the most important of the lower towns, until, finding the Georgians aimed at them indiscriminately, and a Mr. Alexander had killed twelve of their real friends (the Cussitahs), they dropped their internal disputes, and united all their efforts, under the great chief, against the frontiers.

There is but one institution in the nation that resembles civilization: it was introduced by M'Gillivray, and although sometimes observed, is oftener dispensed with.

If an Indian steals a horse, he is liable, by this law, to return him, or another of equal value, and pay a fine of thirty chalks, or fifteen dollars; if he is unable to do so, he may be tied and whipped thirty lashes by the injured party. But, as in other cases, the infliction of punishment depends, at last, on the superior force of the injured clan.

When the inhabitants of any particular town are notorious for horse-stealing, or have acted otherwise unadvisedly, the chief has the entire power of punishing them collectively by removing the white man from among them, and depriving them of trade. This at once humbles them most effectually; for they conceive the privilege of having a good white trader in their town, to be inestimable.

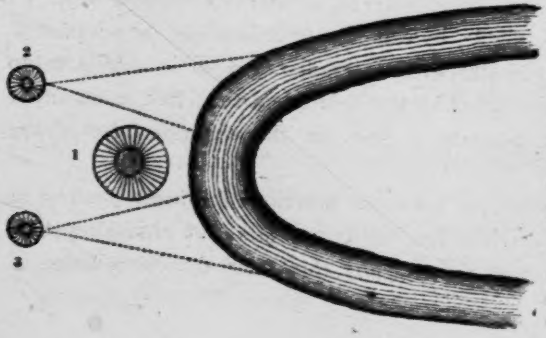
Scarcely a day passes but complaints or accusations, of some kind or other, are laid before Mr. M'Gillivray by some Indian or white trader. His uniform method of proceeding is cautiously to hear the evidence of the parties, and never to decide on the case. By putting off the trial from one time to another, the parties at length forget their resentments, and often compromise the quarrel between themselves. It is good policy in the chief not to give decisions in the disputes of his people; for all his systems would not defend him against the effects of the resentment of the party against whom he might in justice be obliged to give an opinion.

Some young men of his relations, and several active warriors living about Little Tallassie, whom the chief keeps continually attached to him by frequent and profuse presents, serve him as a kind of watch, and often in the capacity of constables—pursue, take up, and punish, such characters as he may direct; and on some occasions have acted as executioners.

It is a maxim of his policy to give protection to outlaws, debtors, thieves, and murderers from all parts of the country, who have fled in great numbers from the hands of justice, and found an asylum in the Creek nation. The whites living among the Indians (with very few exceptions), are the most abandoned wretches that can be found, perhaps, on this side of Botany Bay; there is scarcely a crime but some of them has been guilty of. Most of the traders, and all their hirelings and pack-horse-men, are of the above description.

All the traders have licenses, and particular towns allotted to them respectively, with the liberty of selling their places to such purchasers as shall be approved of by Mr. M'Gillivray, or of exchanging with each other; but the Indians don't suffer them to cultivate much land, upon the supposition that if the traders raise produce themselves, they will not purchase the little they have to sell.

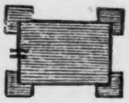
FURTHER REMARKS AND NOTES ON THE CREEK NATION AND THE COUNTRY.



Ten miles below Little Tallassie, on the Alabama river, there are three mounds which appear to have been intended as works of defence. The annexed sketch is the copy of one taken on the spot on the 18th November, 1790.

No. 1 is a mound 25 feet high, on a base of 33 feet diameter by measurement; the sides of it are so upright, that the cattle cannot get upon it to feed. The top is flat, and has several trees growing upon it. The largest was a hickory lately cut down; the stump is eighteen inches in diameter. The large mound appears to have been a castle from whence to annoy an enemy on the water directly before it; and the two lesser ones, having a fair view up and down the river for three-quarters of a mile each way, appear to have been places of look-out. The present Indians know not what they were intended for, or how long since they were made.

In the high country of the upper Creeks, five miles below the towns of the Natchez, between two mountains, there are the traces of a regular fortification, of an oblong square, containing near an acre of ground, having four bastions and a gate-way. The banks are about three feet above the surface of the ground, and the ditch, which is the inside, as much below the surface; one of the bastions contains a large limestone spring of water, which rises in this spot, and has nearly water enough to carry a mill.



There are preserved in the Tuckabatches' town, on the Tallapoosee river, some thin pieces of wrought brass, found in the earth when the Indians first dug for clay to build in this place. Nobody can tell how long since they were dug up; but the Indians preserve them as proofs of their right to the ground, having descended to them by their departed ancestors, from time immemorial.

VIII. PHYSICAL TYPE OF THE INDIAN RACE. D.

[4TH PAPER, TITLE VIII.]

TITLE VIII.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, PHYSICAL TYPE OF THE INDIAN RACE.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE VIII.

TITLE VIII., LET. A., VOL. II. [1ST PAPER.]

A. An Essay on the Physical Characteristics of the Indian, with 10 Plates of Crania. By Dr. Samuel George Morton.

1. Osteological Character.
2. Facial Angle.
3. Stature.
4. Fossil Remains of the American Race.
5. Complexion.
6. Hair.
7. Eyes.
8. Artificial Modifications of the Skull.
9. Volume of the Brain.

B. 10. Admeasurements of Crania of the various Groups of Tribes.

TITLE VIII., LET. B., VOL. III. [2D PAPER.]

1. Prefatory Note on the Unity of the Human Race.
2. Examination and Description of the Hair of the Head of the North American Indian. By Peter A. Browne, LL. D.
    - Collection of Indian Pile.
    - Deficiency of Lustre, &c.
    - Particular Description of the Hair of different Families.
    - Elementary Parts of the Pile.
    - Button, Follicle, Shaft, Color, Fibre, Ductility, Tenacity.
    - Ancient Specimens of Indian Hair.

TITLE VIII., LET. C., VOL. IV. [3D PAPER.]

1. Remarks on the Means of obtaining Information to advance the Inquiry into the Physical Type of the Indian.
2. Considerations on the Distinctive Characteristics of the American Aboriginal Tribes.

TITLE VIII., LET. D., VOL. V. [4TH PAPER.]

The Aboriginal Features and Physiognomy.

PHYSICAL TYPE OF THE INDIAN RACE.

THE ABORIGINAL FEATURES AND PHYSIOGNOMY.

FROM the earliest period the Indian tribes have been regarded as possessing what naturalists term a set of *suite* features—such as are not only peculiar in their development and physical type, but forming one of the distinct varieties of the human race. That a definite basis might be established for making observations on their manners, habits, and condition, it appeared necessary to determine this type. Having referred the question to medical and scientific gentlemen, eminent in this line of research, the results of their investigations have been submitted in prior volumes. It only remains definitely to allude to these separate papers.

The cranial museum of the late Dr. Samuel George Morton is believed to be larger, and to embrace a greater variety of the human species, than any other on this side of the Atlantic.[1] His "Crania Americana," embracing his elaborate studies of the subject, is, however, beyond the reach of most readers. In 1851, at the request of the author, he consented to review his collection of Indian crania, in connexion with a considerable number of new specimens, collected on the Oregon and Pacific coasts by Captain C. Wilkes, in his Exploring Expedition, which that gentleman, with the concurring assent of the National Institute, had given me permission to examine, and which were transported for this purpose to Philadelphia. Lithographs of ten of these crania are submitted with the paper he furnished on this occasion, which contains a synopsis of the physical type of the Red Man. (Vol. II., p. 315.) He had entirely completed his observations on this subject prior to his decease. Wishing to apply the results more particularly to the families of the Vesperic[2] tribes, the author requested Mr. Phillips, the confidential and operative assistant of Dr. Morton in his craniological labors, to re-examine the entire collection of skulls, with a view to apply the facts to the generic groups denoted by the classification of languages. The investigations of the cranial volume of the home-tribes of our history are appended to Dr. Morton's paper; and the combined result may be referred to as containing the most closely arranged and accurate comparative view of the Indian crania which has yet appeared. (Vol. II., pp. 315 to 335.)

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[1] The author had commenced, in 1837, a collection of Indian crania for Dr. Warren, of Boston; but, owing to the demise of William Ward, Esq., the medium of communication of these examinations, they were never completed.

[2] A term derived from a suggestion of the late Judge Story respecting a national name. It is applied to all the Indian families of tribes within the boundaries of the United States.

Natural history is greatly indebted, in modern days, to the enlarged scope of observation and minute examination of animal organizations which have resulted from the improved construction of the microscope. In repeating the observations of the distinguished French and German savans on this subject, and carrying them forward to new fields of research, particularly on the tissue of wool and hair, Mr. Peter A. Browne, LL.D., has elicited a class of valuable and curious discoveries in these branches. The delicate objects, when placed under a strong magnifying power, reveal the most exact forms of organization. The principal varieties of the hair of the human race denote peculiar forms, which are exactly reproduced by races vindicating their integrity of organizations. The several latitudes and varieties of the Indian hair, when obtained from the scalp of full-blooded natives, exhibit a remarkable agreement. From the collections this observer has been able to make of the species of Indian pile from a wide circle of tribes, he reaches the conclusion that the form of the aboriginal hair, when not modified by intermixture of blood, is uniformly round or circular; the external surface of the shaft or column, being at exactly equal distance from its central stamina. He observes that the straightness and lankness of the Indian hair is purely the result of this geometrical organization. At the same time, the Anglo-Saxon hair is ovoidal, and the Negro hair eccentrically flat, which disposes it to felt or crisp.

It was deemed important to secure these principles of microscopical investigation, which are given in Vol. III., p. 375 to 393.

A broader aspect is given to the indicia of the physical organization of the Red Man in the researches of the late Dr. Samuel Forrey, in the paper recorded in Vol. IV., p. 354 to 365. From the anatomical structure of the individual he argues the antiquity and identity of the organic forms of the race, and their general and entire unity of type with the foreign varieties of the species. A still more elaborate view, morally considered, has been presented by Dr. Thomas Smith, D. D., in which the theory of the unity of the human species is maintained on the basis of history and induction.[1] It is inferred that the varieties existing in the races of man are, to a large extent, the results of the phenomena of climate and geographical position, and of the differences of subsistence and employments. These are held to produce, in the savage and ignorant tribes, traits and developments of features of inferior and depressed type, whilst the nervous energy of the most refined stocks have as certain a tendency to elevate the abnormal *physique*. It is by this means he avers that arts, science, and knowledge, and above all, a true idea of the Deity, and the purity of principles required by him, tends to produce, morally and physically, the noblest stocks of men. Still, the primordial type is the same. Mr. Smith observes, p. 18, that man, in the most degraded condition of savage life, stands out, in his organization, from the inferior orders, to which he has been likened, alone; and is stamped by nature, as prominently in his physical organization, as he is a being of enlarged thought and action.

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[1] The Unity of the Human Race, 8vo., 403 pp., Edinburgh, 1851.

The effects of thought, language, and education on the development of the tribes before us, must be of striking moment, whether we regard their past, present or future history. Nor is it conceived that the most elaborate scrutiny of observation on the classes of facts brought into discussion, could add force to the following views:—

"The observed facts which first had a tendency to disturb the notion of the unity of the American tribes were, most probably," says Dr. Latham, "those connected with the languages. These really differ from each other to a very remarkable extent—an extent which, to any partial investigator, seems unparalleled; but an extent which the general philologist finds to be no greater than that which occurs in Caucasus; on the Indo-Chinese frontier; and in many parts of Africa."

"The likeness in the grammars," says the same writer, "has been generally considered to override the difference in the vocabularies; so that the American languages are considered to supply an argument in favor of the unity of the American population stronger than the one which they suggest against it. The evidence of language, then, is in favor of the unity of all the American populations, the Eskimo not excepted."

"Different," says Vater, "as may be the languages of America from each other, the discrepancy extends to words or roots only, the general internal or grammatical structure being the same for all." Of course, this grammatical structure must, in and of itself, be stamped with some very remarkable characteristics. It must differ from those of the whole world. Its verbs must be different from other verbs, its substantives other than the substantives of Europe, its adjectives unlike the adjectives of Asia. It must be this, or something like this; otherwise its identity of character goes for nothing, inasmuch as a common grammatical structure, in respect to common grammatical elements, is nothing more than what occurs all the world over. At present it is enough to say, that such either was, or appeared to be the case. "In Greenland," writes Vater, "as well as in Peru, on the Hudson river, in Massachusetts as well as in Mexico, and so far as the banks of the Orinoco, languages are spoken displaying forms more artfully distinguished and more numerous than almost any other idioms in the world possess." "When we consider these artfully and laboriously-contrived languages, which though existing at points separated from each other by so many hundreds of miles, have assumed a character not less remarkably similar among themselves than different from the principles of all other languages, it is certainly the most natural conclusion that these common methods of construction have their origin from a single point; that there has been one general source from which the culture of languages in America has been diffused, and which has been the common centre of its diversified idioms."

"In America," says Humboldt, "from the country of the Eskimo to the banks of the Orinoco, and again, from these torrid banks to the frozen climate of the Straits of Magellan, mother tongues, entirely different with regard to their roots, have, if we may use the expression, the same physiognomy. Striking analogies of grammatical construction are acknowledged, not only in the more perfect languages, as that of the Incas, the Aymara, the Guarani, the Mexican, and the Cora, but also in languages extremely rude. Idioms, the roots of which do not resemble each other more than the roots of the Sclavonian and Biscayan, have those resemblances of internal mechanism which are found in the Sanscrit, the Persian, the Greek, and the German languages. Almost everywhere in the New World, we recognise a multiplicity of forms and tenses in the verb, an industrious artifice to indicate beforehand, either by inflection of the personal pronouns which form the termination of the verb, or by intercalated suffix, the nature and the relation of its object and its subject, and to distinguish whether the object be animate or inanimate, of the masculine or the feminine gender, simple or complex in number. It is on account of this general analogy of structure, it is because American languages, which have no words in common — the Mexican, for instance, and the Juichua — resemble each other by their organization, and form complete contrasts with the languages of Latin Europe, that the Indians of the missions familiarize themselves more easily with other American idioms than with the language of the mistress country."

"The details of the ethnology of America," says Mr. Latham, "after a long investigation, having been thus imperfectly exhibited, the first of the two questions indicated in pp. 351, 352, still stands over for consideration: —

"A. The unity (or non-unity) of the American populations one amongst another; and

"B. The unity (or non-unity) of the American populations as compared with those of the Old World.

"In p. 351, it is stated that the two (three) sections of the American aborigines which interfere with the belief that the American stock is fundamentally one, are —

"I. The Eskimo.

"II. The Peruvians (and Mexicans).

"I. Taking the Eskimo first, the evidence in favor of their isolation is physical and moral.

"The latter, I think, is worth little, except in the way of cumulative evidence, *i. e.*, when taken along with other facts of a more definite and tangible sort. The Eskimo civilization (such as it is) is different from that of the other Americans; and how could it be otherwise, when we consider their Arctic habitat, their piscatory habits, and the differences of their faunas and floras? It is not lower, *i. e.*, not lower than that of the ruder Indians, a point well illustrated in Dr. King's paper on the Industrial Arts of the Eskimo.

"The physical difference is of more importance.

"And first, as to stature. — Instead of being shorter, the Eskimo are, in reality, taller than half the tribes of South America.

"Next, as to color. — The Eskimo are not copper-colored. Neither are the Americans in general. It is only best known in those that are typical of the so-called Red race; there being but little of the copper tinge when we get beyond the Algonkins and Iroquois.

"Lastly, as to the conformation of the skull, a point where (with great deference) I differ from the author of the excellent Crania Americana. — The Americans are said to be brakley-cephalic, the Eskimo dolikho-cephalic. The American skull is of smaller, the Eskimo of larger dimensions. I make no comment upon the second of these opinions. In respect to the first, I submit to the reader the following extracts from Dr. Morton's own valuable tables, premising that, as a general rule, the difference between the occipito-frontal and parietal diameters of the Eskimo is more than seven inches and a fraction, as compared with five inches and a fraction; and that of the other Indians less than seven and a fraction, as compared with five and a fraction. The language, as before stated, is admitted to be the American, in respect to its grammatical structure, and can be shown to be so in respect to its vocables.

"II. The Peruvians. — Here the question is more complex, the argument varying with the extent we give to the class represented by the Peruvians, and according to the test we take, *i. e.*, according as we separate them from the other Americans, on the score of a superior civilization, or on the score of a different physical conformation.

"A. When we separate the Peruvians from the other Americans, on the score of a superior civilization, we generally take something more than the proper Peruvians, and include the Mexicans in the same category. I do not trouble the reader with telling him what the Peruvio-Mexican or Mexico-Peruvian civilization was; the excellent historical works of Prescott show this. I only indicate two points: —

"1. The probability of its being over-valued.

"2. The fact of its superiority being a matter of degree rather than kind," &c. (See pp. 454 to 459.)

What breaks down, he concludes, the distinctions between the Peruvian and Eskimo, breaks down a portion of all those lesser ones by which the other members of the American population have been separated from each other.

"In the consolidation of the Mexican empire," says Dr. Latham, "I see nothing that differs in kind from the confederacies of the Indians of the Algonkin, Sioux, and Cherokee families, although in degree it had obtained a higher development than has yet appeared; and I think that whoever will take the trouble to compare Strachey's account of Virginia, where the empire of Powhatan had, at the time of the colonization, obtained its height, with Prescott's Mexico, will find reason for breaking down that over-broad line of demarcation which is so frequently drawn between the Mexicans and the other Americans.

"I think, too, that the social peculiarities of the Mexicans of Montezuma are not more remarkable than the external conditions of climate, soil, and land and sea relations; for it must be remembered that, as determining influences, towards the state in which they were found by Cortez, we have —

"1. The contiguity of two oceans.

"2. The range of temperature, arising from the differences of altitude produced by the existence of great elevation, combined with an intertropical latitude, and the consequent variety of products.

"3. The absence of the conditions of a hunter state, the range of the buffalo not extending so far as the Anahuac.

"4. The abundance of minerals.

"Surely these are sufficient predisposing causes for a very considerable amount of difference in the social and civilizational development."[1]

If the production of these opinions, by men eminent in their lines of inquiry, convey little which is new to the physiologist or the philologian, their exhibition in this connection will be deemed pertinent. Mr. Latham's opinion of the over-estimated character of both the civilization and languages of the tribes of the southern hemispheres, are strikingly in accordance with the view of American antiquities, presented in Section III. And while the information is thrown into a condensed form, it falls in with an original object, deemed to be important in the introduction of this Section (VIII.), that wherever the features or physical traits of the Indians are referred to, there is an invariable allusion to an established and fixed type.

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[1] Latham, pp. 408, 409.

IX. LANGUAGE. D.

[4TH PAPER, TITLE IX.]

TITLE IX.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, LANGUAGE.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE IX.

TITLE IV. AND V., VOL. I.

Voc. 1. Natic, or Massachusetts Language.
" 2. Shoshonee. Folio 216.
" 3. Yuma of California.

TITLE IX., LET. A., VOL. II. [1ST (ELEMENTARY) PAPER.]

Art. 1. Indian Languages of the United States.
" 2. Plan of Thought of the American Languages.
" 3. An Essay on the Grammatical Structure of the Algonquin Languages.
" 4. Remarks on the Principles of the Cherokee Language.

VOCABULARIES. P. 457.

4. Chippewa. Dialect of St. Mary.
5. " Dialect of Lake Michigan.
6. " Dialect of Saginaw.
7. " Dialect of Michilimackinac.
8. Miami.
9. Menomonie.
10. Shawnee.
11. Delaware.
12. Mohawk.
13. Oneida.

14. Onondaga.
15. Cayuga.
16. Comanche, or Nüuni.
17. Satsikta, or Blackfeet.
18. Costanos of California.
19. Cushna of California.

TITLE XI., LET. B., VOL. III. [2D PAPER.]

Art. 1. Generic Table of Indian Families of Languages.
" 2. Historical and Philological Comments.
" 3. Queries on Pronominal and Verbal Forms.
" 4. Comments on these Forms.
" 5. Observations on the Indian Dialects of Northwestern California.

VOCABULARIES.

20. Delaware of Edgpülluk, N. J., 1792.
21. Tcho-ko-yen.
22. Top-eh.
23. Kula-napo.
24. Yask-ai.
25. Chow-e-shak.
26. Batem-da-kai-ëe.
27. Wee-yot.
28. Wish-osk.
29. Weits-pek.
30. Hoo-pah.
31. Tah-le-wah.
32. Eh-nek.
33. Mandan.
34. Arapahoe.
35. Cheyenne.
36. Pueblo of Tesuque.
37. Pimo of the Rio Gila.

TITLE XI., LET. C., VOL. IV. [3D PAPER.]

Art. 1. Observations on the Manner of Compounding Words in the Indian Languages.
Art. 2. A Memoir on the Influence of the Chippewa Tongue.
" 3. Remarks on the Iowa Language.
" 4. Languages of California.

VOCABULARIES.

38. Osage.
39. Tuolumnee.
40. Co-co-noons.
41. Sacramento.
42. Muscogee.
43. Assinaboin.
44. Navajo.
45. Zuni.

TITLE IX., LET. D., VOL. V. [4TH PAPER.]

Chippewa Language.
Conjugation of the verb WAUB, to see.

LANGUAGE.

CHIPPEWA LANGUAGE.

The personal and tensal inflections of this language, are given in the following conjugations of one of its most common verbs. If unusual terms are used to convey meanings which seem to require them, it is with a desire to exhibit the language as it is, and to enable the student of it to arrive at proper generalizations respecting its principles. Nothing else, indeed, is designed, farther than to lay materials for examination before the inquirer, that he may reduce and bring it within its true limits and proportions. That a savage language should have forms and modes of expression which require this pruning and study, is to be expected. When we consider the manners and customs of the people, it may be expected, as we find it, to abound in many phrases of dubious meaning, and doubtful and imprecise expression. The boundaries between truth and error, in the natural and intellectual world, are not as well-defined as with educated and civilized nations, and there is greater scope for verbal obscurities. When the state of society is such that great decision of character would sometimes involve the life of the speaker, he may be expected to turn and balance his words, and often flee the point at issue. The Indian is, besides, of so suspicious a nature, and so perpetually on the watch against evil intentions, that he is often unwilling to tell directly what he knows, and apt to conceal truth in a doubtful expression. If he often speaks in a dubitative, plaintive, or interrogative voice, it is because he often doubts, complains, and seeks knowledge by interrogation.

These voices have heretofore complicated the consideration of the grammar; they are not different moods, but merely variations of the same mood—as if we should say, I saw him indistinctly, I did *not* see him indistinctly, &c. &c., forms of expression in daily use in all languages, but which, if we should go through their conjugation for mood, tense, or adverbial changes of expression, would load down our grammars with verbal distinctions of no value. Changes are rung on the root-forms *ad infinitum*, until the multiplication excites surprise, and the fact is learned that there is little but a pronominal variety in these sounds, or in the principles of grammatical construction. Even these inflections do not always strictly maintain their integrity, but are often supplied to the mind of the speaker, in their plurals, by the inflections for number. It is these voices which have puzzled inquirers. They form, indeed, the key to unlock the savage grammars of this continent; and when these voices are taken from the conjugations, they are rendered simple, and conformable to the transitive, or what have been called the polysynthetic American languages.

The language under consideration has, in addition to these sources of complexity, the want of the pronoun *she*, as contradistinguished from *he*; being in this respect like the old Hebrew of the epoch of the Pentateuch, as denoted by Gesenius; it is also wholly deficient in the definite article.

Its prepositions, like its verbs and adjectives, take the transitive form; and even its conjunctions and interjections are cluttered with the same principle. A savage must see, and paint to the eye of his hearer, every minutiæ of his verbal laws, or he is not satisfied.

The most intricate part of the language is the Subjunctive mood; yet not one-half of the forms in this mood express any condition at all. The Potential mood is formed in the same manner as the Indicative; but it is thought there is a Potential mood formed after the manner of the Subjunctive, as well as of the Indicative, *e.g.*:

Wau bu mu ge bun, nen dau gee e nau .	If I had seen him, I should have told him.
Dau neen ga e se *wau bu mu ge bun* . .	How can I see him?

These two forms are precisely the same, yet one refers to the past, and the other to the future. There is also a second future tense in the Subjunctive mood, *e.g.*:

Gee wau bu mug	When I saw him.
Bau mau *gee wau bu mug*	When I shall have seen him.

It is said by some good speakers, that there is a second future tense in the Indicative mood:

Nen gu gee wau bu mau	I will have seen him.

I do not recollect that I ever heard this form used in common conversation.

There is some variation in the language as spoken by the Indians in different parts of the country. A few I will notice:

Ne wau bun dau naun	We see it — E.[1]
" " men	We see it — W.
Nin noo je moo e go naun	It cures us — E.
" " men	It cures us — W.

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[1] E, east; W, west.

Gau ween-ge wau bu mau zee naun —E.	We do not see him.
Gau ween-ge wau bu mau zee *wau* naun—W.	" "
Wau bun je ga sung—E.	
" " se eung—W. . . .	

The plaintive particle *se* more frequently stands as a separate syllable at the West, than at the East.

What are called repeating and characterizing forms, must have a particle such as *gau ga-wau* prefixed to the root *wau;* or the root *wau* must be changed to *ou-eau,* to make the sense complete. These two forms never express condition or supposition, but directly affirm a thing; yet they are formed after the manner of the Subjunctive mood.

But we are writing a disquisition, where it was only intended to introduce an example:

WAUB, TO SEE.

This is the root-form of the verb, dissected from all its transitive and pronominal forms, animate or inanimate.

ACTIVE, TRANSITIVE CONJUGATION IN *MAU.*

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Ne wau bu mau[1]	I see him or her.	1	Ne wau bu mau naun	We; Ex.
2	Ge " " "	Thou.	1	Ge " " " "	We; In.
3	O " " maun............	He.	2	" " " " wau	You.
4	" " " mau ni	His.	3	O " " " waun.........	They.
			4	" " " " ni	Theirs.

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[1] The following are the alphabetical values of the English vowels used:

English vowels.	*Chippewa.*
A as *a* in state, as *ai* in maid, and *aa* in baak.	*a*du, m*a*.
E as in pin.	*e*ne ne.
U as in gun.	m*u* ne doo a d*u* r*u*.
Au as *aw* in law, *au* in auction.	Waub, to see.
Ee as *ee* in bee, see.	m*ee* neg.
Oo as in food, mood.	

Vowels marked — have a nasal sound, as nōōs, mōōs. When the double or diphthongal vowels are not employed in their full power, a diæresis is used. A vowel marked thus ^ denotes that the sound must be suddenly suspended as mô, o-dâ, eoô.

Imperfect Tense.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
1 Ne wau bu mau bun	I saw him or her.	1 Ne wau bu maume nau bun	We; Ex.
2 G “ “ “	Thou.	1 Ge “ mau me “ “	We; In.
3 O “ “ “	He.	2 “ “ “ wau “	You.
4 “ “ “ ne bun	His.	3 O “ “ “ “	They.
		4 “ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Perfect Tense.

1 Nen gee wau bu mau	I have seen him.	1 Nen gee wau bu mau naun	We; Ex.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thou.	1 Ge “ “ “	We; In.
3 O “ “ maun	He.	2 “ “ “ wau	You.
4 “ “ “ mau ne	His.	3 O “ “ waun	They.
		4 “ “ “ ne	Theirs.

Pluperfect Tense.

1 Nen gee wau bu mau bun	I had seen him.	1 Nen gee wau bu mau me nau bun	We; Ex.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thou.	1 Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
3 O “ “ “	He.	2 “ “ “ wau bun	You.
4 “ “ “ ne bun	His.	3 O “ “ “	They.
		4 “ “ “ ne bun	Theirs.

Future Tense.

1 Nen ga wau bu mau	I will see him.	1 Nen ga wau bu mau naun	We; Ex.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thou.	1 Ge “ “ “	We; In.
3 O “ “ maun	He.	2 “ “ “ wau	You.
4 “ “ “ mau ne	His.	3 O “ “ waun	They.
		4 “ “ “ ne	Theirs.

POTENTIAL MOOD.

Present or Future Tense.

1 Nen dau wau bu mau	I may or can see him.	1 Nen dau wau bu mau naun	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thou.	2 “ “ “ wau	You.
3 O “ “ maun	He.	3 O “ “ waun	They.
4 “ “ “ maun ne.	His.	4 “ “ “ ne	Theirs.

Perfect Tense.

1 Nen dau gee wau bu mau	I might, could, &c. have seen him.	1 Nen dau gee wau bu mau naun	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thou.	2 “ “ “ “ wau	You.
3 O “ “ maun	He.	3 O “ “ “ waun	They.
4 “ “ “ maune	His.	4 “ “ “ “ ne	Theirs.

From the present tense of the indicative mood, the perfect tense is formed, by adding *gee* between the pronominal prefix and the root *wau*. The future tense is formed by adding *ga* in the same manner. For the present of the potential mood, add *dau;* for the imperfect, add *dau gee.* From the imperfect of indicative mood, the pluperfect is formed, by adding *gee* in the same manner as those above; remembering always to change the *Ne* of the first person into *Nen.* The potential mood will not be introduced any more, neither the three last tenses of the indicative mood. The present and imperfect tenses of the indicative, with attention to this note, will always render the formation of the others easy.

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
Gau ween. 1 Ne wau bu mau zee	I do not see him.	1 Ne wau bu mau zee naun[1]	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “	We; In.
“ 2 Ge “ “ “	Thou.	2 Ge “ “ ouu	You.
“ 3 O “ “ zeen	He.	3 O “ “ ouun	They.
“ 4 “ “ “ zee ne.	His.	4 “ “ “ ne	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bu mau zee bun.	1 Ne wau bu mau zee me nau bun.
2 Ge “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ “	2 “ “ “ wau bun.
4 “ “ “ ne bun.	3 O “ “ “
	4 “ “ “ ne bun.

In the indicative and potential moods, the negative form requires a separate negative to precede the verb, besides the particle *zee* inserted.

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bu mau dög	Perhaps I see him.	1 Ne wau bu mau me nuu dög	We; Ex.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thou.	1 Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
3 O “ “ dö ga nun	He.	2 “ “ “ wau dög	You.
4 “ “ “ ne dö ga nun.	His.	3 O “ “ “ dö ga nun	They.
		4 “ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Perfect Tense, or Past Time.

1 Nen gee wau bu mau dög.	1 Nen gee wau bu mau me nau dög.
2 Ge “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ dö ga nun.	2 “ “ “ wau dög.
4 “ “ “ ne dö ga nun.	3 O “ “ “ dö ga nun.
	4 “ “ “ ne “

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[1] The Chippewas of the West vary this form a little, by inserting a syllable after *zee*, as Ne wau bu mau zee *wau naun.*

Future Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
1 Nen gu wau bu mau dög.	1 Nen gu wau bu mau me nau dög.
2 Ge “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ dö ga nun.	2 “ “ “ wau “
4 “ “ “ ne dö ga nun.	3 O “ “ “ dö ga nun.
	4 “ “ “ ne “

In the doubtful voice, there are three tenses in the indicative, and two in the potential mood. The present tense of the indicative mood will only be given in future, from which the others can be formed, by attending to the directions in the first above note.

NEGATIVE AND DOUBTFUL VOICES.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bu mau zee dög......	Perhaps I do not see him.	1 Ne wau bu mau zee me nuu dög ...	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “ ...	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thou.	2 “ “ “ wau dög ...	You.
3 O “ “ dö ga nun ...	He.	3 O “ “ “ dö ga nun.	They.
4 “ “ “ ne dö ga nun	His.	4 “ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bu mau se nun	I see him with pity, sorrow or contempt.	1 Ne wau bu mau se naun	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thou.	2 “ “ “ wau	You.
3 O “ “ “	He.	3 O “ “ waun............	They.
4 “ “ “ ne	His.	4 “ “ “ ne	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bu mau se nau bun.	1 Ne wau bu mau se me nau bun.
2 Ge “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ “	2 “ “ “ wau bun.
4 “ “ “ ne bun.	3 O “ “ “
	4 “ “ “ ne bun.

PLAINTIVE AND DOUBTFUL VOICES.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bu mau se nuu dög...	Perhaps I see him with pity, sorrow or contempt.	1 Ne wau bu mau se me nuu dög........	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
		2 “ “ “ wau dög	You.
2 Ge “ “ “ “ ...	Thou.	3 O “ “ “ dö ga nun.....	They.
3 O “ “ “ dö ga nun.	He.	4 “ “ “ ne “	Theirs.
4 “ “ “ “ ne “	His.		

The plaintive form is very rarely used negatively, though it is sometimes by the best speakers. When, however, this form is used negatively, the negative particle *zee* is placed after the plaintive one *se;* thus, for instance, Gau ween, Ne wau bun du se zeen.

PARTICLES.

Wee	Wish, desire.
Be	Coming, behind.
Ne	Before, future.
Da	Able, in time.
Wee, be	Wish to come.
Wee ne	Wish to go.
Wee da	Wish to be in time, or to be able.
Wee ne da	Wish to go in time.

These particles are capable of being connected with nearly all the forms of the verb, in the indicative and potential moods, e. g.

Ne *wee* wau ba muu	I *wish* to see him.
Nem *be* “ “	I *come* to see him.
Nen ga *ne* “ “	I will *go* and see him.
“ *da* “ “	I will be in time, or able to see him.
Ne *wee be* “ “	I wish to come and see him.
“ *ne* “ “	I wish to go and see him.
“ *da* “ “	I wish to be in time, of able to see him.
“ *ne da* wau ba mu	I wish to go in time to see him.

A repetition of the root *wau*, in the indicative and potential moods, expresses repeated action; but in the subjunctive mood, it is a particle nearly allied to *wee*.

Ne *wau* wau bu mau	I see him repeatedly, or I inspect him closely.

In Chippewa, words combine and coalesce almost without end.

Nen gu nu wau bu mau	I look at him.
Ne men wau bu mau	I see him with pleasure.
Ne nes gau bu mau	I see him with anger.
Ne sen gau bu mau	I see him with hatred.
Ne na goau bu mau	A free translation of this would perhaps be, I see him by turning my eyes sidewise.
Nen daun goau mau bu mau	I see him standing steadily, faithfully.
Ne mau nau bu mau	I see him with disgust.
Nen du goau bu mau	I see him in conjunction with.
Nem bu goe zau bu mau	I see him with desire.
Nen ge de mau gau bu mau	I see him with pity.
Nen da bau bu mau	I see him in the distance.
Nem bu gu gau bu mau	I see him plainly.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD in *mau*.

The following is a list of particles used in this mood besides those before.

Wau.....	What is to be; what is wished or desired.	A ne......	Before, as to place (future).
Gau	What; that which; who; when; where.	E ne......	Before, as to place (past).
Je........	That it may; to be.	Gee.......	Past time.
Ga.......	Will; shall.		

Me uoô *wau* wau bu mug.............	That is he whom I am desirous of seeing, or am going to see.
“ *gau* “ “	That is he whom I saw.
“ *gau be* “ “	That is he whom I saw in coming.
“ *ga ne* “ “	That is he whom I shall see on my way.
“ *ga be* “ “	That is he whom I shall come to see.
“ *ga gee* “ “	That is he whom I might or should have seen.
“ gau ne “ “	That is he whom I saw on my way.
“ ou eau[1] “ “	That is he whom I see.
Wa nan *ga* “ “	Who shall I see?
Gees pen *wee* “ “	If I wish to see him.
“ *be* “ “	If I come and see him.
“ *da* “ “	If I am in time to see.
“ *wee be* “ “	If I wish to come and see him.
“ *wee da* “ “	If I wish to be in time to see him.
Me dus *je* “ “	For this cause I shall see him.
“ *je ne* “ “	For this cause I shall see him on my way.
“ *je wee* “ “	For this cause I shall desire to see him.
“ je be “ “	For this cause I shall come and see him.
“ je gee “ “	For this cause I should have seen him.
“ je da “ “	For this cause I shall be able to see him.
“ *je wee ne* “	For this cause I wish to see him on my way.
“ je wee ne da “	For this cause I wish to be in time, or to be able to see him on my way.
A ne wau bu mug......................	When I see him on my way (future).
E ne “ mu ge bun...............	When I saw him on my way.

Present Tense.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
Gees ben.[2] 1 Wau bu mug.........	I see him.	Gees ben. 1 Wau bu mun ged...	If we see him; Ex.
“ 2 “ mud.........	Thou.	“ 1 “ mung ...	We.
“ 3 “ maud	He.	“ 2 “ mag ...	You.
“ 4 “ mau ned ...	His.	“ 3 “ mau waud.	They.
		“ 4 “ “ ned...	

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[1] This is not a particle, but merely a variation of the root *wau;* although all the forms in this mood begin with *wau*, yet a good part of them must be changed to *ou eau*, or one of the particles added to make the sense complete. It is at least a general thing that the root is varied when the word stands independent of all others.

[2] This word is pronounced by some of the eastern bands as if written *Keesh-pin*.

Imperfect Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
Gees ben. 1 Wau bu mu ge bun.	Gees ben. 1 Wau bu mun ge de bun.
" 2 " " de "	" 1 " " go "
" 3 " mau "	" 2 " ma " "
" 4 " " ne "	" 3 " mau wau "
	" 4 " " ne "

The present tense of this mood is also future: *Wau bu mug* zu nen gu e n[illegible]; If I see him I will tell him. The imperfect tense is, in certain cases, used to express future time: Au neen nau, ga-e-se *wau bu ma ge bun;* How shall I see him. *Gee*, added to the present, forms the perfect tense; and *gee*, added to the imperfect, forms the pluperfect tense.

Negative Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu mau ze wug..............	If I do not see him.	1	Wau bu mau ze wun ged......	We; Ex.
			1	" " " wung	We; In.
2	" " " wud	Thou.	2	" " " oag	You.
3	" " zeg	He.	3	" " " goau	They.
4	" " ze neg...............	His.	4	" " " neg	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu mau ze ou ge bun	1	Wau bu mau ze wun ge de bun.
2	" " " " de "	1	" " " go "
3	" " " go "	2	" " wa " "
4	" " " ne go "	3	" " goau "
		4	" " ne go "

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu mau ou gan........	If I chance to see him.	1	Wau bu mau wun ge dan.....	We; Ex.
			1	" " " goan	We; In.
2	" " " dan........	Thou.	2	" " wa "	You.
3	" " goan	He.	3	" " wau "	They.
4	" " ne goan......	His.	4	" " ne "	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu mau wu ge bu nan.	1	Wau bu mau wun ge de bu nan.
2	" " " de "	1	" " " go bu nan.
3	" " go "	2	" " wa " "
4	" " ne " "	3	" " wau " "
		4	" " ne " "

Zee after *mau* forms the negative.

Plaintive Voice.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau bu mau sug	If I see him with pity.	1	Wau bu mau sun ged	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ sung	We; In.
2	“ “ sud	Thou.	2	“ “ sag	You.
3	“ “ sed	He.	3	“ “ se waud	They.
4	“ “ se ned	His.	4	“ “ “ ned	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu mau su ge bun.	1	Wau bu mau sun ge de bun.
2	“ “ “ de “	1	“ “ “ go bun.
3	“ “ se bun.	2	“ “ sa “ “
4	“ “ “ ne “	3	“ “ se wau “
		4	“ “ “ ne “

Doubtful and Plaintive Voices.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu mau se ou gan	If I chance to see him with pity.	1	Wau bu mau se wun ge dan	If we chance to see him with pity; Ex.
2	“ “ “ dan	Thou.	1	“ “ “ goan	We; In.
3	“ “ “ goan	He.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
4	“ “ “ ne goan	His.	3	“ “ wau “	They.
			4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu mau se ou ge bu nan	1	Wau bu mau se wun ge de bu nan
2	“ “ de “ ...	1	“ “ “ go bu nan ...
3	“ “ go bu nan ..	2	“ “ wa “ ...
4	“ “ ne go bu nan	3	“ “ wau “ ...
		4	‘ “ ne “ ...

Repeating Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu mu gen	At the times I see him.	1	Wau bu mun ge jen	We; Ex
			1	“ “ gon	We; In.
2	“ mud jen	Thou.	2	“ ma “	You.
3	“ mau “	He.	3	“ mau wau jen	They.
4	“ “ ne jen	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu mu ge bu neen ...	1	Wau bu mun ge de bu neen ...
2	“ “ de “ ...	1	“ “ go bu neen ...
3	“ mau bu neen ...	2	“ ma “ “ ...
4	“ “ ne bu neen ...	3	“ mau wau bu neen ...
		4	“ “ ne “ ...

Negative Repeating Voice.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau bu mau ze ou gen	At the times that I do not see him.	1	Wau bu mau ze wun ge jen........	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ “ gon............	We; In.
2	“ “ wud jen ...	Thou.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
3	“ “ gon “ ...	He.	3	“ “ goau nen	They.
4	“ “ ne gon.....	His.	4	“ “ ne gon.............	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu mau ze ou ge bu neen	1	Wau bu mau ze wun ge de bu neen
		1	“ “ “ go bu neen..
2	“ “ de bu neen	2	“ “ wa “ “ ...
3	“ “ go “	3	“ “ goau bu neen......
4	“ “ ne “ “	4	“ “ ne go bu neen.....

Plaintive Repeating Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu mau su gen .... —	At the times I see him with pity.	1	Wau bu mau sun ge jen............	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ gon	We; In.
2	“ “ jen	Thou.	2	“ “ sa “	You. —
3	“ “ se “	He.	3	“ “ se wau jen............	They.
4	“ “ “ ne jen	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu mau su ge bu neen	1	Wau bu mau sun ge de bu neen ..
		1	“ “ go bu neen......
2	“ “ de “ ...	2	“ “ sa “ ......
3	“ “ se bu neen...	3	“ “ se wau “ ......
4	“ “ ne bu neen	4	“ “ ne “ ......

There is a characterising form of voice both in the conjugations in *mau* and in *meg*, and ought to have been inserted, though the same forms are found elsewhere. Without the particle, the characterising form stands thus:

Wau eau bu med...............	The person who sees me.	Wau eau bu med...............	The person whom I see.
“ meg....................	Thee.	“ mud..................	Thou seest.
‘ me go jen..........	Him.	“ mun jen............	He sees.
“ “ ne jen......	His.	“ “ ne jen........	His sees.

INDICATIVE MOOD in *maug*.

Present Tense.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
1 Ne wau bu maug	I see them.	1 Ne wau bu mau nau neg	We; Ex.
2 Ge " "	Thou.	1 Ge " "	We; In.
3 O " maun	He.	2 " " waug	You.
4 " " mau ne ne	His.	3 O " " waun	They.
		4 " " ne ne	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bu mau bu neeg...	1 Ne wau bu mau me nau bu neeg..
2 Ge " " " ...	1 Ge " " " ...
3 O " " neen...	2 " " " wau bu neeg.
4 " ne bu neen...	3 O " " " neen.
	4 " " " ne " " ...

NEGATIVE FORM.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bu mau zeeg	I do not see them.	1 Ne wau bu mau zee nau neg	We; Ex.
2 Ge " "	Thou.	1 Ge " " "	We; In.
3 O " zeen	He.	2 " " " waug	You.
4 " zee ne ne.	His.	3 O " " waun	They.
		4 " " " ne ne	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bu mau zee bu neeg.	1 Ne wau bu mau zee me nau bu neeg.
2 Ge " " "	1 Ge " " " "
3 O " " bu neen.	2 " " " wau bu neeg
4 " " " ne bu neen.	3 O " " " neen.
	4 " " " ne bu neen.

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bu mau do ga nug...	Perhaps I see them.	1 Ne wau bu mau me nau do ga nug.	We; Ex.
2 Ge " " " " ...	Thou.	1 Ge " " " " "	We; In.
3 O " " " nun...	He.	2 " " " wau " "	You.
4 " " " ne do ga nun	His.	3 O " " " " nun.	They.
		4 " " " ne " "	Theirs.

Zee after *mau* stands for the negative.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
1 Ne wau bu mau se nug......	I see them with pity and sorrow.	1 Ne wau bu mau se nau neg.........	We; Ex.
		1 Ge " " "	We; In.
2 Ge " " "	Thou.	2 " " " waug	You.
3 O " " nun......	He.	3 O " " waun	They.
4 " " " ne ne....	His.	4 " " " ne no	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bu mau se nau bu neeg.	1 Ne wau bu mau se me nau bu neeg.
	1 Ge " " " "
2 Ge " " " "	2 " " " wau bu neeg.
3 O " " " neen.	3 O " " " neen.
4 " " " ne bu "	4 " " " ne bu neen.

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bu mau se nau do ga nug.	Perhaps I see them with pity.	1 Ne wau bu mau se me nau do ga nug.	We; Ex.
		1 Ge " " " " "	We; In.
2 Ge " " " " "	Thou.	2 " " " wau do ga nug.	You.
3 O " " " " nun.	He.	3 O " " " " nun.	They.
4 " " " ne " "	His.	4 " " " ne " "	Theirs.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD in *maug*.

Present Tense.

1 Wau bu ma goau.................	If I see them.	1 Wau bu man ge doau...............	We; Ex.
2 " " doau.................	Thou.	1 " " goau.....................	We; In.
3 " maud.....................	He.	2 " ma "	You.
4 " mau ned.................	His.	3 " mau waud	They.
		4 " " ned.....................	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Wau bu ma goau bun.	1 Wau bu mun ge doau bun.
2 " " doau "	1 " " goau bun.
3 " mau bun.	2 " ma "
4 " " ne bun.	3 " mau wau bun.
	4 " " ne "

NEGATIVE.

Present Tense.

1 Wau bu mau ze wa goau.......	If I do not see them.	1 Wau bu mau ze wan ge doau.......	We; Ex.
		1 " " " goau...........	We; In.
2 " " " doau......	Thou.	2 " " wa "	You.
3 " mau zeg.................	He.	3 " " goau.................	They.
4 " " ze neg.............	His.	4 " " neg.................	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
1 Wau bu mau ze wa goau bun.	1 Wau bu mau ze wan ge doau bun.
2 “ “ “ doau “	1 “ “ “ goau bun.
3 “ “ go bun.	2 “ “ wa “
4 “ “ ne go bun.	3 “ “ goau bun.
	4 “ “ ne go “

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Wau bu mau wa goau oan....	If I chance to see them.	1 Wau bu mau wan ge doau oan.....	We; Ex.
		1 “ “ goau oan.........	We; In.
2 “ “ doau “	Thou.	2 “ mau wa “	You.
3 “ mau goan.............	He.	3 “ “ wau “	They.
4 “ “ ne goan.........	His.	4 “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Wau bu mau ou goau bu nan.	1 Wau bu mau wun ge doau bu nan.
2 “ “ doau “	1 “ “ goau bu nan.
3 “ mau go bu nan.	2 “ mau wa “ “
4 “ “ ne go bu nan.	3 “ “ wau go “
	4 “ “ ne “ “

Ze after *mau* stands for the negative.

Present Tense.

1 Wau bu mau su goau.......	If I see them with pity.	1 Wau bu mau se wan ge doau......	We; Ex.
		1 “ “ sun goau.	
2 “ “ “ doau	Thou.	2 “ “ sa goau.	
3 “ “ sed	He.	3 “ “ se waud.	
4 “ “ se ned	His.	4 “ “ “ ned.	

Imperfect Tense.

1 Wau bu mau su goau bun.	1 Wau bu mau sun ge doau bun.
2 “ “ “ doau “	1 “ “ “ goau bun.
3 “ “ se bun.	2 “ “ sa “ “
4 “ “ “ ne bun.	3 “ “ se “ “
	4 “ “ “ ne “

DOUBTFUL AND PLAINTIVE VOICES.

Present Tense.

1 Wau bu mau se na goau oan.	If I chance to see them with pity.	1 Wau bu mau se wan ge doau oan.	We; Ex.
		1 “ “ “ “ goau oan.....	We; In.
2 “ “ “ “ dun “	Thou.	2 “ “ “ wa “ “	You.
3 “ “ “ goan.........	He.	3 “ “ “ wau “	They.
4 “ “ “ ne goan.....	His.	4 “ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

Singular.

1	Wau bu mau se wa goau bu nan.
2	" " " " doau "
3	" " " go bu nan.
4	" " " ne go bu nan.

Plural.

1	Wau bu mau se wan ge doau bu nan.
1	" " " " goau bu nan.
2	" " " wa " "
3	" " " wau go "
4	" " " ne " "

REPEATING VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu ma goau nen	At this time I see them.
2	" " doau "	Thou.
3	" mau jen[1]	He.
4	" " ne jen	His.

1	Wau bu mau ge doau nen..........	We; Ex.
1	" " goau nen	We; In.
2	" ma "	You.
3	" mau wau jen	They.
4	" " ne "	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu ma goau bu neen.
2	" " doau "
3	" mau bu neen.
4	" " ne bu neen.

1	Wau bu mau ge doau bu neen.
1	" " goau bu neen.
2	" ma " "
3	" mau wau "
4	" " ne "

NEGATIVE AND REPEATING VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu mau ze wa goau nen	At the times I do not see them.
2	" " doau "	Thou.
3	" " gon "	He.
4	" " ne gon "	His.

1	Wau bu mau ze wan ge doau nen.	We; Ex.
1	" " goau nen.....	We; In.
2	" " wa " ...	You.
3	" " goau nen	They.
4	" " ne gon	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu mau ze wa goau bu neen.......................
2	" " doau "
3	" go bu neen
4	" ne go bu neen

1	Wau bu mau ze wan ge doau bu neen................................
1	" " goau bu neen
2	" " oa "
3	" " wau go "
4	" " ne "

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[1] There is a diversity of acceptation to this form, Wau eau — p. 310:

Wau bu mau jen {
At the times he sees them.
" " him.
Those whom he sees.
The one whom he sees.

Plaintive and Repeating Voices.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau bu mau su goau nen.	At the times I see them with pity.	1	Wau bu mau sun ge doau ne	We; Ex.
2	“ “ doau “	Thou.	1	“ “ goau nen	We; In.
3	“ se jen	He.	2	“ sa “	You.
4	“ “ ne jen	His.	3	“ se wau jen	They.
			4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu mau su goau bu neen	1	Wau bu mau sun ge doau bu neen
2	“ “ doau “	1	“ “ goau bu neen
3	“ se bu neen	2	“ sa “ “
4	“ “ ne bu neen	3	“ se wau “
		4	“ “ ne “

Characterising Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu ma geg	Those whom I see.	1	Wau bu man ge jeg	We; Ex.
2	“ mud jeg	Thou.	1	“ “ gog	We; In.
3	“ mau jen	He.	2	“ ma “	You.
4	“ “ ne jen	His.	3	“ mau wau jen	They.
			4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu ma ge bu neeg	1	Wau bu mau ge de bu neeg
2	“ “ de “	1	“ “ go bu neeg
3	“ mau bu neen	2	“ ma “ “
4	“ “ ne bu neen	3	“ mau wau bu neen
		4	“ “ ne “

Negative and Characterizing Voices.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu mau ze wa geg	Those whom I do not see.	1	Wau bu mau ze wun ge jeg	We; Ex.
2	“ “ wud jeg	Thou.	1	“ “ “ gog	We; In.
3	“ “ gon “	He.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
4	“ “ ne gon	His.	3	“ “ goau nen	They.
			4	“ “ ne gon	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu mau ze wa ge bu neeg.	1	Wau bu mau ze wun ge de bu neeg.
2	“ “ “ de “	1	“ “ “ go bu neeg.
3	“ “ go bu neen.	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ ne go bu neen.	3	“ “ wau go bu neen.
		4	“ “ ne “ “

DOUBTFUL AND CHARACTERIZING VOICES.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau bu mau wa ga nug...	Those whom I chance to see.	1	Wau bu mau wun ge da nug......	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ goa nug.........	We; In.
2	“ “ da “ ...	Thou.	2	“ mau wa “	You.
3	“ mau goa nun.....	He.	3	“ “ wau goa nun.........	They.
4	“ “ ne goa nun.	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu mau wa ge bu na nug.	1	Wau bu mau wan ge de bu na nug.
2	“ “ de “	1	“ “ go bu na nug.
3	“ mau go bu na nun.	2	“ mau wa “ “
4	“ “ ne go bu na nun.	3	“ “ wau “ na nun.
		4	“ “ ne “ “

PLAINTIVE AND CHARACTERIZING VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu mau su geg.........	Those whom I see with pity.	1	Wau bu mau sun ge jeg............	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ “ gog................	We; In.
2	“ “ sud jeg........	Thou.	2	“ “ sa gog..............	You.
3	“ “ se jen...	He.	3	“ “ se wau jen............	They.
4	“ “ se ne jen......	His.	4	“ “ se ne jen..............	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu mau su ge bu neeg.	1	Wau bu mau sun ge de bu neeg.
2	“ “ su de “	1	“ “ “ go bu neeg.
3	“ “ se bu neen.	2	“ “ sa “
4	“ “ se ne bu neen.	3	“ “ se wau bu neen.
		4	“ “ se ne “

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE AND CHARACTERIZING VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu mau se wa ga nug..	Those whom I chance to see with pity.	1	Wau bu mau se wun ge da nug ...	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ wun goa nug......	We; In.
2	“ “ wa da nug.	Thou.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
3	“ “ goa nun ...	He.	3	“ “ wau goa nun......	They.
4	“ “ ne goa nun.	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

Singular.

1 Wau bu mau se wa ge bu na nug.
2 “ “ wa de “
3 “ “ go bu na nun.
4 “ “ ne go bu na nun

Plural

1 Wau bu mau se wun ge de bu na nug.
1 “ “ wun go bu na nug.
2 “ “ wa “ “
3 “ “ wau “ na nun.
4 “ “ ne “ “

INDICATIVE MOOD in *meg* or *daug* or *oog*.—INVERSE TRANSITION.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bu meg.............. He sees me.
2 Ge “ “ .... He sees thee.
3 O “ me goon........ Him.
4 “ “ me goo ne....... His.

1 Ne wau bu me go naun............. Us; Ex.
1 Ge “ “ “ .... Us; In.
2 “ “ “ wau................ You.
3 O “ “ waun............. Them.
4 “ “ “ ne .... Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bu me go bun.
2 Ge “ “ “
3 O “ “ “
4 “ “ “ ne bun.

1 Ne wau bu me go me nau bun.
1 Ge “ “ “ “
2 “ “ “ wau bun.
3 O “ “ “
4 “ “ “ ne bun.

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bu me goo zee...... He does not see me.
2 Ge “ “ “ ...... Thee.
3 O “ “ zeen..... Him.
4 “ “ “ zee ne... His.

1 Ne wau bu me goo zee naun....... Us; Ex.
1 Ge “ “ “ “ ...... We; In.
2 “ “ “ “ wau........ You.
3 O “ “ “ waun...... Them.
4 “ “ “ “ ne.......... Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bu me goo zee bun.
2 Ge “ “ “
3 O “ “ zee bu neen.[1]
4 “ “ “ “ ne bu neen.[1]

1 Ne wau bu me goo zee me nau bun.
1 Ge “ “ “ “
2 “ “ “ zee wau bun.
3 O “ “ “ bu neen.[1]
4 “ “ “ “ ne bu neen.

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[1] In all the forms, the third and fourth persons of the past time are capable of the termination *neen*, the power of which is to express previous or more remote time. But it does not appear to be absolutely necessary to the formation of past time.

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Ne wau bu me go dög	Perhaps he sees me.	1	Ne wau bu me go me nau dög	Us; Ex.
2	Ge “ “ “	Thee.	1	Ge “ “ “ “	Us; In.
3	O “ “ dö ga nun	Him.	2	“ “ “ wau dög	You.
4	“ “ “ ne “	His.	3	O “ “ “ dö ga nun	Them.
			4	“ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Zee after *go* stands for the negative.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Perfect Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me gös	He sees me with pity, sorrow, contempt, &c.	1	Ne wau bu me go se naun	Us; Ex.
2	Ge “ “	Thou.	1	Ge “ “ “	Us; In.
3	O “ me gö sun	He.	2	“ “ “ se wau	You.
4	“ “ “ se ne	His.	3	O “ “ se waun	Them.
			4	“ “ “ se ne	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me go se bun.	1	Ne wau bu me go se me nau bun.
2	Ge “ “ “	1	Ge “ “ “ “
3	O “ “ “	2	“ “ “ se wau bun.
4	“ “ “ se ne bun.	3	O “ “ “
		4	“ “ “ se ne bun.

PLAINTIVE AND DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me go se dög	Perhaps he sees me with pity.	1	Ne wau bu me go se me nau dög	Us; Ex.
2	Ge “ “ “	Thee.	1	Ge “ “ “ “	Us; In.
3	O “ “ se do ga nun	Him.	2	“ “ “ se wau dög	You.
4	“ “ “ se ne “	His.	3	O “ “ “ do ga nun	Them.
			4	“ “ “ se ne “	Theirs.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD in *meg.*

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu med	If he see me.	1	Wau bu me eu men ged	Us; Ex.
2	“ meg	Thee.	1	“ “ nung	Us; In.
3	“ me göd	Him.	2	“ “ nag	You.
4	“ “ gö ned	His.	3	“ “ go waud	Them.
			4	“ “ “ ned	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

	Singular.		*Plural.*
1	Wau bu me bun.	1	Wau bu me eu men ge de bun.
2	“ “ ge bun	1	“ “ nun go bun.
3	“ “ go bun.	2	“ “ na “ “
4	“ “ “ ne bun.	3	“ “ go wau “
		4	“ “ “ ne “

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me zeg	If he do not see me.	1	Wau bu me ze eu men ged	We; Ex.
2	“ “ ze nög	Thee.	1	“ “ “ no wung	We; In.
3	“ “ go zeg	Him.	2	“ “ “ “ wag	You.
4	“ “ ze neg	His.	3	“ “ go ze goau	Them.
			4	“ “ “ neg	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me ze go bun.	1	Wau bu me ze eu men ge de bun.
2	“ “ “ no go bun.	1	“ “ “ no wan go bun.
3	“ “ goo ze go bun.	2	“ “ “ “ wa “
4	“ “ “ ne go bun	3	“ “ goo ze goau bun.
		4	“ “ “ ne ge “

DOUBTFUL VOICE

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me goan	If he happen to see me.	1	Wau bu me no wun ge dan	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ “ “ goan	We; In.
2	“ “ no goan	Thee.	2	“ “ “ wa “	You.
3	“ “ goo “	Him.	3	“ “ go wau “	Them.
4	“ “ “ ne goan	His.	4	“ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me go bu nan.	1	Wau bu me no wun ge de bu nan.
2	“ “ noo go bu nan.	1	“ “ “ “ go bu nan.
3	“ “ goo “ “	2	“ “ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ “ “ “	3	“ “ go wau “ “
		4	“ “ ne “ “

NEGATIVE AND DOUBTFUL VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me zee goan	If he do not happen to see me.	1	Wau bu me ze no wun ge dan	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ “ goan	Us; In.
2	“ “ no goan	Thee.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
3	“ “ goo zee	Him.	3	“ goo zee wau “	Them.
4	“ “ ne goan	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

	Singular.		*Plural.*
1	Wau bu me zee go bu nan.	1	Wau bu me ze no wun ge de bu nan.
2	“ “ ze no go bu nan.	1	“ “ “ go bu nan.
3	“ “ goo ze “	2	“ “ “ wa “
4	“ “ “ ne go bu nan.	3	“ “ goo zee wau “
		4	“ “ “ ne “

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me sed	If he see me with pity.	1	Wau bu me se eu men ged	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ nung	We; In.
2			2	“ “ nag	You.
3	“ “ go sed	Him.	3	“ “ goo se waud	Them.
4	“ “ se ned	His.	4	“ “ “ ned	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me se bun.	1	Wau bu me se eu men ge de bun.
2		1	“ “ nun go bun.
3	“ “ go se bun.	2	“ “ na “
4	“ “ “ ne bun.	3	“ go se wau bun.
		4	“ “ ne “

DOUBTFUL AND PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me se goan	If he chance to see me with pity.	1	Wau bu me se eu men ge dan	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ no wun goan	We; In.
2	“ “ no goan	Thee.	2	“ “ “ oa “	You.
3	“ “ goo se “	Him.	3	“ “ goo se wau “	Them.
4	“ “ “ ne goan,	His.	4	“ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me se go bu nan	1	Wau bu me se eu men ge de bu nan.
2	“ “ no go bu nan.	1	“ “ no wun go bu nan.
3	“ “ goo se “ “	2	“ “ wa “
4	“ “ “ ne go bu nan.	3	“ goo se wau “
		4	“ “ ne “

REPEATING VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me jen	At the times he sees me.	1	Wau bu me eu men ge jen	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ nun gon	Us; In.
2	“ “ gen	Thee.	2	“ “ na “	You.
3	“ “ go jen	Him.	3	“ “ go wau jen	Them.
4	“ “ “ ne jen	His.	4	“ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

	Singular.		*Plural.*
1	Wau bu me bu neen.	1	Wau bu me eu men ge de bu neen.
2	“ “ ge bu neen.	1	“ “ nun go bu neen.
3	“ “ go “	2	“ “ na “
4	“ “ “ ne bu neen.	3	“ “ go wau bu neen.
		4	“ “ “ ne “

NEGATIVE REPEATING VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me ze gon	At the times he does not see me.	1	Wau bu me ze eu men ge jen	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ no wun gon	Us; In.
2	“ “ ze no gen	Thee.	2	“ “ “ wa gon	You.
3	“ “ goo ze gon	Him.	3	“ me goo ze göau nen	Them.
4	“ “ “ mau ne	His.	4	“ “ “ ne gon	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me ze bu neen.	1	Wau bu me ze eu men ge de bu neen.
2	“ “ no ge bu neen.	1	“ “ no wun go bu neen.
3	“ me goo ze bu neen.	2	“ “ no wa “
4	“ “ ze ne bu neen.	3	“ me goo ze goau bu neen.
		4	“ “ ze ne “

PLAINTIVE REPEATING VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me se jen	At the times he sees me with pity.	1	Wau bu me se eu men ge jen	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ no wun gon	Us; In.
2	“ “ gen	Thee.	2	“ “ no wa gon	You.
3	“ me goo se jen	Him.	3	“ me goo se wau jen	Them.
4	“ “ se ne jen	His.	4	“ “ se ne jen	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me se bu neen.	1	Wau bu me se eu men ge de bu neen.
2	“ “ no go bu neen.	1	“ “ no wun go bu neen.
3	“ me goo se “	2	“ “ no wa “
4	“ “ se ne “	3	“ me goo se wau “
		4	“ “ se ne “

INDICATIVE MOOD in *goog.*—INVERSE TRANSITION.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me goog	They see me.	1	Ne wau bu me go nau neg	Us; Ex.
2	Ge “ “	Thee.	1	Ge “ “ “	Us; In.
3	O “ me goon	Him.	2	“ “ “ waug	You.
4	“ “ me goo ne ne	His.	3	O “ “ waun	Them.
			4	“ “ “ ne ne	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
1 Ne wau bu me go bu neeg.	1 Ne wau bu me go me nau bu neeg.
2 Ge “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ bu neen	2 “ “ “ wau bu neeg.
4 “ “ “ ne bu neen.	3 O “ “ “ neen.
	4 “ “ “ ne bu “

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bu me goo zeeg......	They do not see me.	1 Ne wau bu me goo zee nau neeg..	Us; Ex.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thee.	1 Ge “ “ “ “	Us; In.
3 O “ “ zeen......	Him.	2 “ “ “ “ waug......	You.
4 “ “ “ zee ne ne	His.	3 O “ “ “ waun......	Them.
		4 “ “ “ “ ne ne.....	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bu me goo zee bu neeg.	1 Ne wau bu me goo zee me nau bu neeg.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ zee bu neen.	2 “ “ “ zee wau bu neeg.
4 “ “ “ “ ne bu neen.	3 O “ “ “ bu neen.
	4 “ “ “ zee ne bu neen.

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bu me goo do ga nug......	Perhaps they see me.	1 Ne wau bu me goo me nau do ga nug.	Us; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “ “	Us; In.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	Thee.	2 Ge “ “ wau “ “	You.
3 O “ “ “ nun......	Him.	3 O “ “ “ “ nun.	Them.
4 “ “ “ ne do ga nun..	His.	4 “ “ “ ne do ga nun.....	Theirs

Zee after *goo*, for the negative.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bu me goo sug......	They see me with pity.	1 Ne wau bu me goo se nau neg.......	Us; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “.......	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thee.	2 “ “ “ se waug..........	You.
3 O “ “ sun......	Him.	3 O “ “ “ waun..........	Them.
4 “ “ “ se ne ne	His.	4 “ “ “ “ ne ne..........	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bu me goo se bu neeg.	1 Ne wau bu me goo se me nau bu neeg.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ “ neen.	2 “ “ “ se wau bu neeg.
4 “ “ “ se ne bu “	3 O “ “ “ “ neen.
	4 “ “ “ “ ne bu “

Doubtful Plaintive Voices.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Ne wau bu me goo se do ga nug.	Perhaps they see me with pity.	1	Ne wau bu me goo se me nau da ga nug.	We; Ex.
			1	Ge “ “ “ “ “	We; In.
2	Ge “ “ “ “	Thee.	2	“ “ “ se wau do ga nug	You.
3	O “ “ “ ga nun.	Him.	3	O “ “ “ “ “ nun	Them.
4	“ “ “ se ne do“	His.	4	“ “ “ “ ne do ga nug	Theirs.

Subjunctive Mood in *goog*.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me waud	If they see me.	1	Wau bu me eu men ge doau	Us; Ex
2	“ “ goau	Thee.	1	“ “ nun goau	Us; In
3	“ “ göd	Him.	2	“ “ na “	You.
4	“ “ go ned	His.	3	“ “ go waud	Them.
			4	“ “ “ ned	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me wau bun.	1	Wau bu me eu men ge doau bun.
2	“ “ goau “	1	“ “ nun göau bun.
3	“ “ go “	2	“ “ na “
4	“ “ “ ne “	3	“ “ go wau bun.
		4	“ “ “ ne “

Negative Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me ze göau	If they do not see me	1	Wau bu me ze eu men ge döau	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ no wan göau	Us; In.
2	“ “ no göau	Thee.	2	“ “ “ wa “	You.
3	“ me go zeg	Him.	3	“ me go ze göau	Them.
4	“ “ ze neg	His.	4	“ “ neg	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me ze wau bun.	1	Wau bu me ze eu men ge döau bun.
2	“ “ no göau bun.	1	“ “ no wun göau bun.
3	“ goo ze go “	2	“ “ wa “
4	“ “ ne go bun.	3	“ goo ze göau bun.
		4	“ “ ne go bun.

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me wau göan	If they chance to see me.	1	Wau bu me eu men ge döau wau.	Us; Ex.
			1	“ no wun göau wan	Us; In.
2	“ “ no göau wan.	Thee.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
3	“ “ goo göan	Him.	3	“ go wau göan	Them.
4	“ “ ne göan.	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

	Singular.		*Plural.*
1	Wau bu me wau go bu nan.	1	Wau bu me eu men ge döau bu nan.
2	“ “ no wau go bu nan.	1	“ “ no wan göau bu nan.
3	“ “ goo go bu nan.	2	“ “ wa “
4	“ “ “ ne go bu nan.	3	“ “ goo wau go “
		4	“ “ ne “ “

NEGATIVE DOUBTFUL VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me zee wau göan	If they do not chance to see me.	1	Wau bu me ze no wun (*or* eu men) ge döau oan	Us; Ex.
2	“ “ ze no göau oan	Thee.	1	Wau bu me ze no wun göau wan	Us; In.
3	“ “ goo zee göan.	Him.	2	“ “ wa “ “	You.
4	“ “ “ ne göan	His.	3	“ goo zee wau göan	Them.
			4	“ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me ze wau go bu nan.	1	Wau bu me zee no wun (*or* eu men) ge döau bu nan.
2	“ “ no wau go bu nan.	1	Wau bu me zee no wun göau bu nan.
3	“ “ goo zee go bu nan.	2	“ “ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ “ ne go bu nan.	3	“ “ goo zee wau go “
		4	“ “ “ ne “ “

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me se waud	If they see me with pity.	1	Wau bu me se eu men ge döau	Us; Ex.
2	“ “ göau	Thee.	1	“ “ “ nun göau	Us; In.
3	“ “ go sed	Him.	2	“ “ na “	You.
4	“ “ se ned	His.	3	“ “ go se waud	Them.
			4	“ “ “ ned	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me se wau bun.	1	Wau bu me se no wun (*or* eu men) ge döau bun.
2	“ “ döau “	1	Wau bu me se nun göau bun.
3	“ “ goo se “	2	“ “ na “
4	“ “ ne bu neen.	3	“ goo se wau bun.
		4	“ “ ne “

Doubtful and Plaintive Voices.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau bu me se wau göan...	If they chance to see me with pity.	1	Wau bu me se no wun (*or* eu men) ge döau wan	Us; Ex.
2	“ “ no göau oan	Thee.	1	Wau bu me se nun göau wan......	Us; In.
3	“ goo se göan....	Him.	2	“ “ na “ ...	You.
4	“ “ “ ne göan	His.	3	“ goo se wau göan......	Them.
			4	“ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me se wau go bu nan.	1	Wau bu me se no wun (*or* eu men) ge döau bu nan.
2	“ “ no wau go bu nan.	1	Wau bu me se no wun göau bu nan
3	“ “ goo see gö bu nan.	2	“ “ wa “
4	“ “ “ ne go bu nan.	3	“ goo se wau go “
		4	“ “ ne “

Repeating Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me wau jen.........	At the times they see me.	1	Wau bu me eu men ge döau nen..	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ nun göau nen..........	Us; In.
2	“ “ göau nen......	Thee.	2	“ “ na “	You.
3	“ “ go jen..........	Him.	3	“ “ go wau jen.............	Them.
4	“ “ “ ne jen......	His.	4	“ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me wau bu neen.	1	Wau bu me eu men ge döau bu neen.
2	“ “ göau “	1	“ “ nun göau bu neen.
3	“ “ goo “	2	“ “ na “ “
4	“ “ “ ne “	3	“ “ go wau “
		4	“ “ “ ne “

Negative and Repeating Voices.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me ze göau nen...	At the times they do not see me.	1	Wau bu me ze eu men ge döau nen.........	Us; Ex.
2	“ “ “ no göau nen.	Thee.	1	“ “ “ no wun göau nen..	Us; In.
3	“ “ goo ze.		2	“ “ “ “ wa “	You.
4	“ “ “ ne gön.		3	“ “ goo ze wau jen.........	Them.
			4	“ “ “ ne gön	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

	Singular.		*Plural.*
1	Wau bu me ze goau bu neen	1	Wau bu me ze eu men ge döau bu neen.
2	“ “ “ no göau bu neen.	1	“ “ “ no wun göau bu neen.
3	“ “ goo ze go “	2	“ “ “ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ “ ne go “	3	“ “ goo ze wau go “
		4	“ “ “ ne “

Plaintive and Repeating Voices.

Present Tense

1	Wau bu me se wau jen.....	At the times they see me with pity.	1	Wau bu me se eu men ge döau nen.	Us; Ex.
2	“ “ “ göau nen...	Thee.	1	“ “ “ nun göau nen....	Us; In.
3	“ “ goo se jen.....	Him.	2	“ “ “ na “	You.
4	“ “ “ ne jen..	His.	3	“ “ goo se wau jen.........	Them.
			4	“ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me se wau bu neen.	1	Wau bu me se eu men ge döau bu neen.
2	“ “ “ göau “	1	“ “ “ nun göau bu neen.
3	“ “ goo se “	2	“ “ “ na “ “
4	“ “ “ ne bu neen.	3	“ “ goo se wau “
		4	“ “ “ ne “

Characterising Voice.

Present Tense.

1	[1]Wau bu me jeg..............	Those who see me.	1	Wau bu me eu men ge jeg...........	Us; Ex.
2	“ “ geg.............	Thee.	1	“ “ nun gog..................	Us; In.
3	“ “ go jen..........	Him.	2	“ “ na “	You.
4	“ “ go ne jen......	His.	3	“ “ go wau jen..............	Them.
			4	“ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me bu neeg.	1	Wau bu me eu men ge ae ou neeg.
2	“ “ ge bu neeg.	1	“ “ nun go bu neeg.
3	“ “ go “ neen.	2	“ “ na “
4	“ “ “ ne bu neen.	3	“ “ go wau bu neen.
		4	“ “ “ ne “

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[1] In the characterizing voice, the first syllable must either be changed, or a particle prefixed. *Wau* is changed to *Wa eau*, *noo* to *noau*, *me* to *mau*, *be* to *ba*.

NEGATIVE CHARACTERIZING VOICES.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau bu me ze gög..........	Those who do not see me.	1	Wau bu me ze eu men (no au) ge jeg.	
			1	“ “ no wun gog.	
2	“ “ no geg......	Thee.	2	“ “ “ wa gog.	
3	“ me goo ze gon.		3	“ me goo ze göau nen.	
4	“ “ “ ne gon.		4	“ “ ‘ ne gon.	

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me ze bu neeg.	1	Wau bu me ze eu men ge de bu neeg.
		1	“ “ no wun go bu neeg.
2	“ “ no bu neeg.	2	“ “ “ oa “ “
3	“ me goo ze go bu neen.	3	“ me goo ze wau “ neen.
4	“ “ “ ne go bu neen.	4	“ “ “ ne “

DOUBTFUL CHARACTERIZING VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me göa nug...........	Those who chance to see me.	1	Wau bu me eu men (no au) ge da nug.	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ no oun goa nug	Us; In.
2	“ “ no goa nug......	Thee.	2	“ “ “ oa “	You.
3	“ “ goo goa nun.....	Him.	3	“ “ go ouu goa nun............	Them.
4	“ “ “ ne goan.....	His.	4	“ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me go bu na nug.	1	Wau bu me eu men (no au[1]) ge de bu na nug.
		1	“ “ no wun go bu na nug.
2	“ “ no go bu na nug.	2	“ “ “ wa “ “
3	“ “ goo go bu na nun.	3	“ “ go wau “ na nun.
4	“ “ “ ne go bu na nun.	4	“ “ “ ne “ “

NEGATIVE DOUBTFUL CHARACTERIZING VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me zee goa nug........	Those who do not chance to see me.	1	Wau bu me ze no wun ge da nug..	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ “ göa nug.....	Us; In.
2	“ “ no göa nug...	Thee.	2	“ “ no wa “	You.
3	“ me goo zee göa nun..	Him.	3	“ me goo ze wau goa nun...	Them.
4	“ “ “ ne göa nun	His.	4	“ “ “ ne “ ...	Theirs.

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[1] Generally, either form is correct.

Imperfect Tense.

	Singular.		*Plural.*
1	Wau bu me zee go bu na nug.	1	Wau bu me ze no wun ge de bu na nug.
2	“ “ no go bu na nug.	1	“ “ “ go bu na nug.
3	“ me goo zee go bu na nun.	2	“ “ no wa “ “
4	“ “ “ ne go bu na nun.	3	“ me goo ze wau “ na nun.
		4	“ “ “ ne “ “

Plaintive Characterizing Voices.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me se jeg	Those who see me with pity.	1	Wau bu me se eu men ge jeg	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ no wun gög	Us; In.
2	“ “ no geg	Thee.	2	“ “ “ wa gög	You.
3	“ me goo se jen	Him.	3	“ me goo se wun jen	Them.
4	“ “ “ ne jen	His.	4	“ “ “ ne jen	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me se bu neeg.	1	Wau bu me se eu men ge de bu neeg.
2	“ “ no bu neeg.	1	“ “ no wun go bu neeg.
3	“ me goo se bu neen.	2	“ “ “ oa “
4	“ “ “ ne bu neen.	3	“ me goo se wau go bu neen.
		4	“ “ “ ne “

Plaintive and Doubtful Characterizing Voices.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me se göa nug	Those who chance to see me with pity.	1	Wau bu me se eu men ge da nug	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ no wun goa nug	Us; In.
2	“ “ no göa nug	Thee.	2	“ “ “ wa “	You.
3	“ me goo se göa nun	Him	3	“ me goo se wau goa nun	Them.
4	“ “ “ ne “	His.	4	“ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me se go bu na nug.	1	Wau bu me se eu men ge de bu na nug.
2	“ “ no go bu na nug.	1	“ “ no wun go bu na nug.
3	“ me goo se “ “ nun.	2	“ “ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ “ ne go bu na nun.	3	“ me goo se wau “ na nun.
		4	“ “ “ ne “ “

Indicative Mood in *daun*.—Inanimate Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bun daun	I see it.	1	Ne wau bun dau men	We; Ex.
2	Ge “ “	Thou.	1	Ge “ “	We; In.
3	O “ “	He.	2	“ “ dau nau wau	You.
4	“ “ du me ne	His.	3	O “ “ “	They.
			4	“ “ du me ne	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

	Singular.		*Plural.*
1	Ne wau bun dau nau bun.	1	Ne wau bun dau me nau bun.
2	Ge “ “ “	1	Ge “ “ “
3	O “ “ “	2	“ “ dau nau wau bun.
4	“ “ du me ne bun.	3	O “ “ “
		4	“ “ du me ne bun.

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bun du zeen........	I do not see it.	1	Ne wau bun du zee men............	We; Ex.
2	Ge “ “	Thou.	1	Ge “ “ “	We; In.
3	O “ “	He.	2	“ “ “ nau wau........	You.
4	“ “ du zee me ne..	His.	3	O “ “ “	They.
			4	“ “ “ me ne...........	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense

1	Ne wau bun du zee nau bun.	1	Ne wau bun du zee me nau bun.
2	Ge “ “ “	1	Ge “ “ “ “
3	O “ “ “	2	“ “ “ nau wau bun.
4	“ “ “ me ne bun.	3	O “ “ “ “
		4	“ “ “ me ne “

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bun dau nau dög....	Perhaps I see it.	1	Ne wau bun dau me nau dög........	We; Ex.
2	Ge “ “ “	Thou.	1	Ge “ “ “	We; In.
3	O “ “ “	He.	2	“ “ dau nau wau dög......	You.
4	“ “ “ se ne “	His.	3	O “ “ “	They.
			4	“ “ du me ne dög...........	Theirs.

NEGATIVE DOUBTFUL VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bun du zee nau dög.	Perhaps I do not see it.	1	Ne wau bun du zee me nau dög....	We; Ex.
			1	Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
2	Ge “ “ “	Thou.	2	“ “ “ nau wau dög....	You.
3	O “ “ “	He.	3	O “ “ “ “	They.
4	“ “ “ ne “	His.	4	“ “ “ ne nun “	Theirs.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bun du sen............	I see it with pity.	1	Ne wau bun du se men...............	We; Ex.
2	Ge “ “	Thou.	1	Ge “ “ “	We; In.
3	O “ “	He.	2	“ “ “ nau wau.........	You.
4	“ “ se ne..............	His.	3	O “ “ “	They.
			4	“ “ “ ne..................	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
1 Ne wau bun du se nau bun.	1 Ne wau bun du se me nau bun.
2 Ge “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ “	2 “ “ “ nau wau “
4 “ “ “ ne bun	3 O “ “ “ “
	4 “ “ “ ne bun.

Doubtful Plaintive Voices.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bun du se nau dög	Perhaps I see it with pity.	1 Ne wau bun du se me nau dög	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thou.	2 “ “ “ nau wau “	You.
3 O “ “ “	He.	3 O “ “ “ “	They.
4 “ “ “ ne nau dög	His.	4 “ “ “ ne nau “	Theirs.

Subjunctive Mood in *daun.*

Present Tense.

1 Wau bun du maun	If I see it.	1 Wau bun du maung	We; Ex
2 “ “ mun	Thou.	1 “ “ mung	We; In.
3 “ dung	He.	2 “ “ mag	You.
4 ‘ du me ned	His.	3 “ “ mo waud	They.
		4 “ “ me ned	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Wau bun du maum bun.	1 Wau bun du maun ge bun.
2 “ “ mum “	1 “ “ mun go “
3 “ dun ge “	2 “ “ ma “ “
4 “ du me ne “	3 “ “ mo wau “
	4 “ “ me ne “

Negative Voice.

Present Tense.

1 Wau bun du ze waung	If I do not see it.	1 Wau bun du ze waun	We; Ex.
2 “ “ wun	Thou.	1 “ “ wung	We; In.
3 “ du zeg	He.	2 “ “ wag	You.
4 “ “ ze neg	His.	3 “ “ göau	They.
		4 “ “ neg	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Wau bun du ze waum baun.	1 Wau bun du ze waun ge bun.
2 “ “ wum bun.	1 “ “ wun go “
3 “ “ go “	2 “ “ wa “ “
4 “ “ ne go “	3 “ “ göau “
	4 “ “ ne go “

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau bun du mo wau nan..	If I chance to see it.	1	Wau bun du mo waun gan..........	We; Ex.
2	“ “ wu “	Thou.	1	“ “ wun göan..........	We; In.
3	“ “ göan	He.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
4	“ du me ne “	His.	3	“ “ wau “	They.
			4	“ du me ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun du mo waum bau nan.	1	Wau bun du mo waun ge bu nan.
2	“ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ wun go “
3	“ “ go “ “	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ du me ne go “ “	3	“ “ wau “ “
		4	“ du me ne “ “

Negative and Doubtful Voices.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun du zee wau nan..	If I do not chance to see it.	1	Wau bun du ze waum gan.........	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ wun göan...........	We; In.
2	“ “ “ wu “	Thou.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
3	“ “ “ göan......	He.	3	“ “ wau “	They.
4	“ “ “ ne goan ..	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau buu du zee waum bau nan.	1	Wau bun du zee waun ge bu nan.
		1	“ “ wum go “
2	“ “ wum bu “	2	“ “ wa “ “
3	“ “ go “	3	“ “ wau “ “
4	“ “ ne go “	4	“ “ ne “ “

Plaintive Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun du saun..........	If I see it with pity.	1	Wau bun du saung	We; Ex.
2	“ “ sun............	Thou.	1	“ “ sung....................	We; In.
3	“ “ sed............	He.	2	“ “ sag.....................	You.
4	“ “ se ned........	His.	3	“ “ se waud	They.
			4	“ “ “ ned.................	Theirs

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun du saum baun.	1	Wau bun du saun go bun.
2	“ “ sum bun.	1	“ “ sun “ “
3	“ “ se “	2	“ “ sa “ “
4	“ “ “ ne “	3	“ “ se wau “
		4	“ “ “ ne “

DOUBTFUL AND PLAINTIVE VOICE

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun du se wau nan ...	If I chance to see it with pity.	1	Wau bun du se waun gan..........	We; Ex.
2	“ “ wu “	Thou.	1	“ “ wun göan	We; In.
3	“ “ göan.......	He.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
4	“ “ ne göan ...	His.	3	“ “ wau “	They.
			4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun du se waum bau nan.	1	Wau bun du se waun go bu nan.
2	“ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ wun “ “
3	“ “ go “ “	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ ne go bu nan.	3	“ “ wau “ “
		4	“ “ ne “ “

INDICATIVE MOOD in *dau nun.*

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bun dau nun.......	I see them—things.	1	Ne wau bun dau me nau nen......	We; Ex.
2	Ge “ “ “	Thou.	1	Ge “ “ “ “	We. In.
3	O “ “ “	He.	2	“ “ “ nau wau..........	You.
4	“ “ du me ne	His.	3	O “ “ “	They.
			4	“ “ du me ne	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Ne wau bun dau nau bu neen.	1	Ne wau bun dau me nau bu neen.
2	Ge “ “ “ “	1	Ge “ “ “ “
3	O “ “ “ “	2	“ “ “ nau wau “
4	“ “ du me ne bu neen.	3	O “ “ “ “
		4	“ “ du me ne “

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bun du zee nun....	I do not see them.	1	Ne wau bun du zee me nau nen...	We; Ex.
2	Ge “ “ “ ...	Thou.	1	Ge “ “ “ “ ...	We; In.
3	O “ “ “ ...	He.	2	“ “ “ nau waun.......	You.
4	“ “ “ me ne..	His.	3	O “ “ “	They.
			4	“ “ “ me ne...........	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Ne wau bun du zee nau bu neen.	1	Ne wau bun du zee me nau bu neen.
2	Ge “ “ “ “	1	Ge “ “ “ “
3	O “ “ “ “	2	“ “ “ mau wau “
4	“ “ “ me ne bu neen.	3	O “ “ “ “
		4	“ “ “ me ne “

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
1 Ne wau bun dau nau do ga nun.	Perhaps I see them.	1 Ne wau bun dau me nau do ga nun.	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “ “	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	Thou	2 “ “ “ nau wau “ “	You.
3 O “ “ “ “	He.	3 O “ “ “ “ “	They.
4 “ “ du me ne do “	His.	4 “ “ du me ne “ “	Theirs.

NEGATIVE DOUBTFUL VOICES.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bun du zee nau do ga nun.	Perhaps I do not see them.	1 Ne wau bun du zee me nau do ga nun.	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “ “	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	Thou.	2 “ “ “ mau wau do “	You.
3 O “ “ “ “	He.	3 O “ “ “ “ “	They.
4 “ “ “ me ne do “	His.	4 “ “ “ me ne “ “	Theirs.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bun du sen nun ...	I see them with pity.	1 Ne wau bun du se nau nen.........	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thou.	2 “ “ “ nau waun	You.
3 O “ “ “	He.	3 O “ “ “	They.
4 “ “ “ ne me ne	His.	4 “ “ “ ne me ne	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bun du se nau bu neen.	1 Ne wau bun du se me nau bu neen.
2 Ge “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ “	2 “ “ “ nau wau “
4 “ “ “ ne me ne bu neen.	3 O “ “ “
	4 “ “ “ ne me ne bu neen.

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE VOICES.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bun du se nau do ga nun.	Perhaps I see them with pity.	1 Ne wau bun du se me nau do ga nun	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	Thou.	2 “ “ “ nau wau “	You.
3 O “ “ “ “	He.	3 O “ “ “ “	They.
4 “ “ “ “ ne me ne do ga nun.	His.	4 “ “ “ ne me ne do ga nun	Theirs.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD in *dau nun.*

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau bun du mau nen......	If I see them.	1	Wau bun du maun gen	We; Ex.
2	“ “ mu “	Thou.	1	“ “ mun gon...............	We; In.
3	“ dung gen.........	He.	2	“ “ ma “	You.
4	“ du me ne jen.....	His.	3	“ “ mo wau jen...........	They.
			4	“ “ me ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun du maum bau neen	1	Wau bun du maun go bu neen.
2	“ “ mum bu neen.	1	“ “ mun “
3	“ dun ge “	2	“ “ ma “ “
4	“ du me ne bu neen.	3	“ “ mo wau “
		4	“ “ me ne

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun du ze wau nen ...	If I do not see them.	1	Wau bun du ze waun gen...........	We; Ex.
2	“ “ “ wu “ ...	Thou.	1	“ “ “ wun gon	We; In.
3	“ “ “ gön	He.	2	“ “ “ wa “	You.
4	“ “ “ ne gön	His.	3	“ “ “ göau nen	They.
			4	“ “ “ ne gon..............	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun du ze waum bau neen.	1	Wau bun du ze waun go bu neen.
2	“ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ wun “
3	“ “ go “ “	2	“ “ wa “
4	“ “ ne go “ “	3	“ “ wau “
		4	“ “ ne “

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun du mo wau na nun.	If I chance to see them.	1	Wau bun du mo waun ga nun......	We; Ex.
2	“ “ wu “	Thou.	1	“ “ wun goa “	We; In.
3	“ “ göa nun......	He.	2	“ “ wa “ “	You.
4	“ du me ne göa nun..	His.	3	“ “ wau “ “	They.
			4	“ du me ne “ “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

	Singular.		*Plural.*
1	Wau bun du mo waum bau na nun.	1	Wau bun du mo waun go bu na nun.
2	“ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ wun “ “
3	“ “ go “ “	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ du me ne go “ “	3	“ “ wau “ “
		4	“ du me no “ “

Zee is exchanged for *mo*, and in the fourth person for *me*, constitutes the negative.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun du sau nen........	If I see them with pity.	1	Wau bun du saun gen................	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ sun gon..................	We; In.
2	“ “ su “	Thou.	2	“ “ sa “	You.
3	“ “ se jen..........	He.	3	“ “ se wau jen.............	They.
4	“ “ “ ne jen......	His.	4	“ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun du saum bau neen.	1	Wau bun du saun ge bu neen.
2	“ “ sum bu “	1	“ “ sun go “
3	“ “ se “ “	2	“ “ sa “ “
4	“ “ “ ne “ “	3	“ “ se wau “
		4	“ “ “ ne “

INDICATIVE MOOD in *gon*.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau be ë gon............	It causes me to see.	1	Ne wau be ë go men[1]...................	Us; Ex.
2	Ge “ “.............	Thee.	1	Ge “ “	Us; In.
3	O “ “.............	Him.	2	“ “ nui wau...............	You.
4	“ “ go ne..........	His.	3	O “ “	Them.
			4	“ “ ne.......................	Theirs

Imperfect Tense.

1	Ne wau be ë go nau bun.	1	Ne wau be ë go me nau bun.
2	Ge “ “	1	Ge “ “ “
3	O “ “	2	“ “ go nau wau bun.
4	“ “ ne bun.	3	O “ “ “
		4	“ “ go ne bun.

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[1] *Naun* is used by some bands at the east.

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Ne wau be ë go zeen	It does not cause me to see.	1	Ne wau be ë go zee men[1]	Us; Ex.
			1	Ge " " "	Us; In.
2	Ge " "	Thee.	2	" " " nau wau	You.
3	O " "	Him.	3	O " " "	Them.
4	" " go zee ne	His.	4	" " " ne	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Ne wau be ë go zee nau bun.	1	Ne wau be ë go zee me nau bun.
		1	Ge " " " "
2	Ge " " "	2	" " " nau wau "
3	O " " "	3	O " " " "
4	" " " ne bun.	4	" " " ne bun.

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau be ë go nau dög	Perhaps it causes me to see.	1	Ne wau be ë go me nau dög	Us; Ex.
			1	Ge " " " "	Us; In.
2	Ge " " "	Thee.	2	" " " nau wau "	You.
3	O " " "	Him.	3	O " " " "	Them.
4	" " " dö ga nun.	His.	4	" " " nau do ga nun	Theirs.

Zee after *go*, stands for the negative.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau be ë go sen	It causes me to see poorly.	1	Ne wau be ë go se men	Us; Ex.
			1	Ge " " "	Us; In.
2	Ge " "	Thee.	2	" " " nau wau	You.
3	O " "	Him.	3	O " " "	Them.
4	" " se ne	His.	4	" " " ne	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Ne wau be ë go se nau bun.	1	Ne wau be ë go se me nau bun.
		1	Ge " " " "
2	Ge " " "	2	" " " nau wau "
3	O " " "	3	O " " " "
4	" " " ne bun.	4	" " " ne bun.

---

[1] *Naun* is used by some bands to the east.

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE VOICES.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Ne wau be ë go se nau dög.....	Perhaps it causes me to see poorly.	1	Ne wau be ë go se me nau dög......	Us; Ex.
			1	Go “ “ “ “	Us; In.
2	Go “ “ “	Thee.	2	“ “ “ nau wau “	You.
3	O “ “ “	Him.	3	O “ “ “ “	Them.
4	“ “ “ nau do ga nun	His.	4	“ “ “ nau do ga nun..	Theirs.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD in *gon*.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu ë go eaun..........	If it cause me to see.	1	Wau be ë go eaung..................	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ eung.....................	Us; In.
2	“ “ eun...........	Thee.	2	“ “ eag.....................	You.
3	“ göd...............	Him.	3	“ “ waud..................	Them.
4	“ gö ned...........	His.	4	“ “ ned.....................	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau be ë go eaum baun.	1	Wau be ë go eaun go bun.
2	“ eum bun.	1	“ eun “
3	“ bun.	2	“ ea “
4	“ ne bun.	3	“ wau bun.
		4	“ ne “

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau be ë go ze waun.......	If it do not cause me to see.	1	Wau be ë go ze waung...............	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ wung................	Us; In.
2	“ “ wun.........	Thee.	2	“ “ wag..................	You.
3	“ go zeg............	Him.	3	“ “ göau.................	Them.
4	“ “ zeneg.........	His.	4	“ “ neg..................	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau be ë go ze waun baun.	1	Wau be ë go ze waun go bun.
2	“ “ “ wum bun.	1	“ “ “ wun “ “
3	“ “ “ bun.	2	“ “ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ “ ne bun.	3	“ “ “ wau bun.
		4	“ “ “ ne “

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau be ë go wau nan	If it chance to cause me to see.	1	Wau be ë go waun gan	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ wun göan	Us; In.
2	“ “ wu “	Thee.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
3	“ “ göan	Him.	3	“ “ wau “	Them.
4	“ “ ne göan	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau be ë go waum bau nan.	1	Wau be ë go waun go bu nan.
2	“ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ wun “ “
3	“ “ goo go “	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ “ ne go bu “	3	“ “ wau “ “
		4	“ “ ne “ “

Ze after *go* stands for the negative.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau be ë go saun	If it cause me to see poorly, unworthily.	1	Wau be ë go saung	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ sung	Us; In.
2	“ “ sun	Thee.	2	“ “ sag	You.
3	“ “ sed	Him.	3	“ “ se waud	Them.
4	“ “ se ned	His.	4	“ “ ned	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau be ë go saum baun.	1	Wau be ë go se waun go bun.
2	“ “ sum bun.	1	“ “ “ wun “
3	“ “ se “	2	“ “ “ wa “
4	“ “ “ ne “	3	“ “ “ wau “
		4	“ “ “ ne “

DOUBTFUL AND PLAINTIVE VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Wau be ë go se wau nan	If it chance to cause me to see poorly, unworthily.	1	Wau be ë go se waun gan	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ “ wun göan	Us; In.
2	“ “ “ wu “	Thee.	2	“ “ “ wa “	You.
3	“ “ “ göan	Him.	3	“ “ “ wau “	Them.
4	“ “ “ ne göan	His.	4	“ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
1 Wau be ë go se waum bau nan.	1 Wau be ë go se waun go bu nan
2 “ “ “ wum bu “	1 “ “ “ wun “ “
3 “ “ “ go “ “	2 “ “ “ wa “ “
4 “ “ “ ne go bu “	5 “ “ “ wau “ “
	4 “ “ “ ne “ “

INDICATIVE MOOD in *go nun.*

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau be ë go nun.........	They (things) cause me to see.	1 Ne wau be ë go nau nen............	Us; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “	Us; In.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thee.	2 “ “ “ “ ioun...........	You.
3 O “ “ “	Him.	3 O “ “ “ “	Them.
4 “ “ “ ne ne......	His.	4 “ “ “ ne ne..............	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau be ë go nau bu neen.	1 Ne wau be ë go me nau bu neen.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ “ “	2 “ “ “ nau wau “
4 “ “ “ ne ne “	3 O “ “ “ “
	4 “ “ “ ne ne “

Zee after *go*, performs the office of the negative.

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense

1 Ne wau be ë go nau do ga nun.	Perhaps they cause me to see.	1 Ne wau be ë go me nau do ga nun.	Us; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “ “	Us; In.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	Thee.	2 “ “ “ nau wau “ “	You.
3 O “ “ “ “	Him.	3 O “ “ “ “ “	Them.
4 “ “ “ ne ne do “	His.	4 “ “ “ ne ne “ “	Theirs.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau be ë go se nun	They cause me to see poorly, unworthily.	1 Ne wau be ë go se nau nen...	Us; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ ...	Us; In.
		2 “ “ “ waun............	You.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thee.	3 O “ “ “	Them.
3 O “ “ “	Him.	4 “ “ “ “	Theirs.
4 “ “ “ ne ne...	His.		

Imperfect Tense.

	Singular.		*Plural.*
1	Ne wau be ë go se nau bu neen.	1	Ne wau be ë go se me nau bu neen.
2	Ge “ “ “	1	Ge “ “ “ “
3	O “ “ “	2	“ “ “ nau wau “
4	“ “ “ ne ne bu neen.	3	O “ “ “
		4	“ “ “ ne ne “

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau be ë go se nau do ga nun	Perhaps they cause me to see poorly, &c.	1	Ne wau be ë go se me nau do ga nun	Us; Ex.
			1	Ge “ “ “ “ “	Us; In.
2	Ge “ “ “	Thee.	2	“ “ “ nau wau “	You.
3	O “ “ “	Him.	3	O “ “ “ “ “	Them.
4	“ “ ne ne do ga nun	His.	4	“ “ “ ne ne “ “	Theirs.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD in *go nun.*

Present Tense.

1	Wau be ë go eau nen[1]	If they cause me to see.	1	Wau be ë go eaun gen	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ eun gon...............	Us; In.
2	“ “ eu “	Thee.	2	“ “ ea “	You.
3	“ “ jen................	Him.	3	“ “ wau jen	Them.
4	“ “ ne jen............	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau be ë go eaum bau neen.	1	Wau be ë go eaun ge bu neen.
2	“ “ eum bu “	1	“ “ eun go “
3	“ “ bu neen.	2	“ “ ea “ “
4	“ “ “ ne go bu na nun.	3	“ “ wau bu neen.
		4	“ “ ne “

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau be ë wau nen..........	If they do not cause me to see.	1	Wau be ë go ze waun gen	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ wun gon............	Us; In.
2	“ wu “	Thee.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
3	“ jen	Him.	3	“ “ wau jen.............	Them.
4	“ ne jen	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

---

[1] This form has another signification besides the one given; it is used to express repeated action, as

Wau be ê go eau nen . . . At the *times it* causes me to see.

Imperfect Tense.

	Singular.		*Plural.*
1	Wau be ë go ze oaum bau neen.	1	Wau be ë go ze waun ge bu neen.
2	“ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ wun go “
3	“ “ bu neen.	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ ne bu neen.	3	“ “ wau “
		4	“ “ ne “

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau be ë go wau na nun...	If they chance to cause me to see.	1	Wau be ë go waun ga nun..........	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ wun göa nun..........	Us; In.
2	“ “ wu “ ...	Thee.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
3	“ “ göa nun..........	Him.	3	“ “ wau “	Them.
4	“ “ ne göa nun....	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau be ë go waum bau na nun.	1	Wau be ë go waun ge bu na nun.
2	“ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ wun go “
3	“ “ go “ “	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ ne go “ “	3	“ “ wau “ “
		4	“ “ ne “ “

NEGATIVE DOUBTFUL VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Wau be ë go ze wau na nun.	If they do not chance to cause me to see.	1	Wau be ë go ze waun ga nun.......	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ wun göa “	Us; In.
2	“ “ wu “	Thee.	2	“ “ wa “ “	You.
3	“ “ göa “	Him.	3	“ “ wau “ “	Them.
4	“ “ ne göa “	His.	4	“ “ ne “ “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau be ë go ze waum bau na nun.	1	Wau be ë go ze waun ge bu na nun.
2	“ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ wun go “
3	“ “ go “ “	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ ne go bu “	3	“ “ wau “ “
		4	“ “ ne “ “

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau be ë go sau nen..........	If they cause me to see poorly.	1	Wau be ë go saun gen................	Us; Ex.
			1	“ sun gon..................	Us; In.
2	“ su “	Thee.	2	“ sa “	You.
3	“ se jen............	Him.	3	“ se wau jen..............	Them.
4	“ se ne jen.........	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

	Singular.		*Plural.*
1	Wau be ë go saum bau neen.	1	Wau be ë go saun ge bu neen.
2	“ sum bu “	1	“ sun go “
3	“ se “ “	2	“ sa “ “
4	“ “ ne bu “	3	“ se wau “
		4	“ “ ne “

Doubtful Plaintive Voices.

Present Tense.

1	Wau be ë go se wau na nun.	If they chance to cause me to see poorly or unworthily.	1	Wau be ë go se waun ga nun	Us; Ex.
			1	“ “ wun göa “	Us; In.
			2	“ “ wa “ “	You.
2	“ “ wu “	Thee.	3	“ “ wau “ “	Them.
3	“ “ göa nun.	Him.	4	“ “ ne “ “	Theirs.
4	“ “ ne göa nun.	His.			

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau be ë go se waum bau na nun.	1	Wau be ë go se waun ge bu na nun.
2	“ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ wun go “
3	“ “ go “ “	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ ne go “ “	3	“ “ wau “ “
		4	“ “ ne “ “

Indicative Mood.—*Simple Conjugation.*

Present Tense.

1	Ne waub	I see; I have sight.	1	Ne wau be men	We; Ex.
2	Ge “	Thou.	1	Ge “ “	We; In.
3	Wau be	He.	2	“ “ bem	You.
4	“ wau	His.	3	O “ be wug	They.
			4	“ “ “ wun	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Ne wau be nau bun.	1	Ne wau be me nau bun.
2	Ge “ “	1	Ge “ “ “
3	O “ bun.	2	“ “ bem wau bun.
4	“ “ bu neen.	3	O “ be bu neeg.
		4	“ “ “ neen

Negative Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau be zee	I do not see.	1	Ne wau be zee men	We; Ex.
2	Ge “ “	Thou.	1	Ge “ “	We; In.
3	O “ “	He.	2	“ “ zeem	You.
4	“ “ “ wun	His.	3	O “ zee wug	They.
			4	“ “ “ wun	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
1 Ne wau be zee nau bun.	1 Ne wau be zee me nau bun.
2 Ge " " "	1 Ge " " "
3 O " " bun.	2 " " zeem wau bun
4 " " " bu neen.	3 O " zee bu neeg.
	4 " " " neen.

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau be me dög	Perhaps I see.	1 Ne wau be me nau dög	We; Ex.
2 Ge " " "	Thou.	1 Ge " " "	We; In.
3 O " we[1] "	He.	2 " " bem wau dög	You.
4 " " " do ga nun..	His.	3 O " be do ga nug	They.
		4 " " " " nun	Theirs.

NEGATIVE DOUBTFUL VOICES.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau be zee dög	Perhaps I do not see.	1 Ne wau be zee me nau dög	We; Ex.
		1 Ge " " "	We; In.
2 Ge " " "	Thou.	2 " " zeem wau dög	You.
3 O " " "	He.	3 O " zee do ga nug	They.
4 " " " do ga nun.	His.	4 " " " " nun	Theirs.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bes	I see poorly, unworthily.	1 Ne wau be se men	We; Ex.
		1 Ge " "	We; In.
2 Ge " "	Thou.	2 " " sem	You.
3 O " be se	He.	3 O " se wug	They.
4 " " " wun	His.	4 " " " wun	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau be se nau bun.	1 Ne wau be se me nau bun
2 Ge " " "	1 Ge " " "
3 O " " bun	2 " " sem wau bun.
4 " " " bu neen.	3 O " se bu neeg.
	4 " " " neen.

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[1] This particle is used by the Indians for the sake of euphony. It is not found in all words of this conjugation.

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE VOICES.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Ne wau be se me dög......	Perhaps I see poorly, unworthily.	1	Ne wau be se me nau dög..........	We; Ex.
			1	Ge “ “ “	We; In.
2	Ge “ “ “ “	Thou.	2	“ “ sem wau dog............	You.
3	O “ “ dög...........	He.	3	O “ se do ga nug............	They.
4	“ “ “ do ga nun...	His.	4	“ “ “ “ nun	Theirs.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.—*Simple Conjugation.*

Present Tense.

1	Wau be eaun...................	If I see.	1	Wau be eaung.........................	We; Ex.
2	“ “ ean....................	Thou.	1	“ eung...........................	We; In.
3	“ bed......................	He.	2	“ eag.............................	You.
4	“ be ned....................	His.	3	“ oaud	They.
			4	“ ned.............................	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau be eaum baun.	1	Wau be eaun ge bun.
2	“ eum bun.	1	“ eun go “
3	“ bun.	2	“ ea “ “
4	“ ne bun.	3	“ wau bun.
		4	“ ne “

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau be ze waun.............	If I do not see.	1	Wau be ze waung......................	We; Ex.
2	“ “ wun..............	Thou.	1	“ “ wung....................	We; In.
3	“ zeg...................	He.	2	“ “ wag......................	You.
4	“ ze neg................	His.	3	“ “ göau	They.
			4	“ “ neg......................	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau be ze waun baun.	1	Wau be ze waun ge bun.
2	“ “ wum bun.	1	“ “ wun go “
3	“ “ bun.	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ ne ge bun.	3	“ “ goau bun.
		4	“ “ ne ge “

Plaintive Voice.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau be saun	If I see poorly, unworthily.	1	Wau be saung	We; Ex.
			1	" sung	We; In.
2	" sun	Thou.	2	" sag	You.
3	" sed	He.	3	" se waud	They.
4	" se ned	His.	4	" ned	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau be saum baun.	1	Wau be saun ge bun.
2	" sum bun.	1	" sun go "
3	" se "	2	" sa " "
4	" " ne bun.	3	" se wau "
		4	" " ne "

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Wau be wau nan	If I chance to see.	1	Wau be waun gan	We; Ex.
2	" wu "	Thou.	1	" wun göan	We; In.
3	" göan	He.	2	" wa "	You.
4	" ne göan	His.	3	" wau "	They.
			4	" ne "	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau be waum bau nan.	1	Wau be waun ge bu nan.
2	" wum bu "	1	" wun go "
3	" go " "	2	" wa " "
4	" ne go bu nan.	3	" wau " "
		4	" ne " "

Zee after *be*, is indicative of the negative.

Repeating Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Wau be eau nen	At the times I see.	1	Wau be eaun gen	We; Ex.
2	" eu "	Thou.	1	" eun gon	We; In.
3	" jen	He.	2	" ea "	You.
4	" ne jen	His.	3	" wau jen	They.
			4	" ne "	Theirs.

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE VOICES.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau be se wau ŋan	If I chance to see poorly, unworthily.	1	Wau be se waun gan	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ wun göan	We; In.
2	“ ou “	Thou.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
3	“ göan	He.	3	“ “ wau “	They.
4	“ ne göan	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau be eaum bau neen.	1	Wau be eaun ge bu neen.
2	“ eum bu “	1	“ eun go “
3	“ go “ “	2	“ ea “ “
4	“ ne go bu neen.	3	“ wau “ “
		4	“ ne “ ‘

NEGATIVE REPEATING VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Wau be ze wau nen	At the times I do not see.	1	Wau be ze waun gen	We; Ex.
			1	“ wun gon	We; In.
2	“ wu “	Thou.	2	“ wa “	You.
3	“ gon	He.	3	“ goau nen	They.
4	“ ne gon	His.	4	“ ne gon	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau be ze waum bau neen	1	Wau be ze waun ge bu neen.
2	“ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ wun go “
3	“ “ go “ “	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ ne go bu neen.	3	“ “ wau “ “
		4	“ “ ne “ “

PLAINTIVE REPEATING VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau be sau nen	At the times I see poorly, unworthily.	1	Wau be saun gen	We; Ex.
			1	“ sun gon	We; In.
2	“ su “	Thou.	2	“ sa “	You.
3	“ se jen	He.	3	“ se wau jen	They.
4	“ ne jen	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau be saum bau neen.	1	Wau be saun ge bu neen.
2	“ sum bu “	1	“ sun go “
3	“ se go bu neen.	2	“ sa “ “
4	“ “ ne go bu neen.	3	“ se wau go bu neen.
		4	“ “ ne “ “

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Imperfect Tense.

	Singular.		*Plural.*
1	Wau be se waum bau nan.	1	Wau be se waun ge bu nan.
2	“ “ wum bu “	1	“ wun go “
3	“ “ go “ “	2	“ wa “ “
4	“ “ ne go bu nan.	3	“ wau “ “
		4	“ ne “ “

N. B. The sign of the future tense in the intransitive voices, is not *gu*, in the third and fourth persons, the same as it is in the transitive, but *du*, e. g.:

Nen gu waub.................	I will see.	Ge du wau be	He will see.
Ge gu waub....................	You “	“ “ “ wun	His “

The Potential Mood is conjugated thus:

Nen dau waub	I may or can see.	Ge dau wau be	He may or can see.
“	Thou.	“ “ “ wun......	His.

INDICATIVE MOOD in *goo*.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me goo..........	I am seen.	1	Ne wau bu me goo men.............	We; Ex.
2	Ge “ “	Thou.	1	Ge “ “ “	We. In.
3	O “ mau.............	He.	2	“ “ me goom.................	You.
4	“ “ me maun.......	His.	3	O “ mau wug.................	They.
			4	“ “ me maun.................	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me goo nau bun.	1	Ne wau bu me goo me nau bun.
2	Ge “ “ “	1	Ge “ “ “ “
3	O “ mau bun.	2	“ “ me goom wau bun.
4	“ “ me mau ne bun.	3	O “ mau bu neeg.
		4	“ “ me mau ne bun.

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me goo zee......	I am not seen.	1	Ne wau bu me goo zee men.........	We; Ex.
2	Ge “ “ “......	Thou.	1	Ge “ “ “	We; In.
3	O “ mau zee.........	He.	2	“ “ “ zeem	You.
4	“ “ me “ wun...	His.	3	O “ mau zee wug............	They.
			4	“ “ me mau zee wun	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

Singular.

1 Ne wau bu me goo zee nau bun.
2 Ge “ “ “ “
3 O “ mau zee bun.
4 “ “ me mau zee ne bun.

Plural.

1 Ne wau bu me goo zee me nau bun.
1 Ge “ “ “ “
2 “ “ “ zeem wau bun.
3 O “ mau zee bu neeg.
4 “ “ me mau zee ne bun.

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me goo me dög...	Perhaps I am seen.
2	Ge “ “ “ ...	Thou.
3	O “ mau dög..........	He.
4	“ “ me mau do ga nun	His.

1	Ne wau bu me goo me nau dög.....	We; Ex.
1	Ge “ “ “ “ ...	We; In.
2	“ “ me goo wau dög.........	You.
3	O “ mau do ga nug..........	They.
4	“ “ me mau do ga nun......	Theirs.

NEGATIVE DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me goo zee dög......	Perhaps I am not seen.
2	Ge “ “ “	Thou.
3	O “ mau zee dög.......	He.
4	“ “ me “ do ga nun	His.

1	Ne wau bu me goo zee me nau dög.	We; Ex.
1	Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
2	“ “ “ zeem wau dög...	You.
3	O “ mau zee do ga nug.....	They.
4	“ “ “ me nau “	Theirs.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me goos............	I am seen with pity, unworthily.
2	Ge “ “	Thou.
3	O “ mau se..........	He.
4	“ “ me mau se nun.	His.

1	Ne wau bu me goo se men...........	We; Ex.
1	Ge “ “ “	We; In.
2	“ “ “ sem................	You.
3	O “ mau se wug...............	They.
4	“ “ me mau se nun...........	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bu me goo se nau bun.
2 Ge “ “ “ “
3 O “ mau se bun.
4 “ “ me mau se ne bun.

1 Ne wau bu me goo se me nau bun.
1 Ge “ “ “ “
2 “ “ “ sem wau bun.
3 O “ mau se bu neeg.
4 “ “ me mau se ne bun.

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE VOICES

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Ne wau bu me goo se me dög…….	Perhaps I am seen with pity, unworthily.	1	Ne wau bu me goo se me nau dög…	We; Ex.
			1	Ge " " " " …	We; In.
			2	" " " sem wau dög…..	You.
2	Ge " " " " …	Thou.	3	O " mau se do ga nug……..	Them.
3	O " mau se dög……………	He.	4	" " me mau se do ga nun…	Theirs.
4	" " me mau se do ga nun…	His.			

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD in *goo*

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me goo eaun…………	If I am seen.	1	Wau bu me goo eaung……………	We; Ex.
2	" " eung…………	Thou.	1	" " eung………………	We; In.
3	" mend…………………	He.	2	" " eag………………	You.
4	" me mend………………	His.	3	" men döau…………………	They.
			4	" me mend…………………	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me goo eaum baun.	1	Wau bu me goo eaun ge bun.
2	" " eum bun.	1	" " eun go "
3	" men de bun.	2	" " ea " "
4	" me men de bun.	3	" men döau bun.
		4	" me men de "

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me goo ze waun……..	If I am not seen.	1	Wau bu me goo ze waung……….	We; Ex.
2	" " " wun………	Thou.	1	" " " wung…………	We; In.
3	" mau ze wend…………	He.	2	" " " wag………….	You.
4	" me mau ze wend…….	His.	3	" muu ze wen döau………	They.
			4	" me muu ze wend……….	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me goo ze waum baun.	1	Wau bu me goo ze waun ge bun.
2	" " " wum bun.	1	" " " wun go "
3	' mau ze wen de "	2	" " " wa " "
4	" me mau ze wen de bun.	3	" mau ze wen döau "
		4	" me mau ze wen de bun.

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

	Singular,			*Plural.*	
1	Wau bu me goo wau nan...	If peradventure I am seen.	1	Wau bu me goo waun gan...........	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ wun göan..........	We; In.
2	“ “ wu “	Thou.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
3	“ mau wen dan......	He.	3	“ mau wen döau wan........	They.
4	“ me mau wen dan.	His.	4	“ me mau wen dan..........	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me goo waum bau nan.	1	Wau bu me goo waun ge bu nan.
2	“ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ wun go “
3	“ mau wen de “ “	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ me mau wen de bu nan.	3	“ mau wen döau “
		4	“ me mau wen de “

Ze after *goo*, in the first and second persons, and after *mau*, in the third and fourth, stands for the negative.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me goo saun.......	If I am seen with pity, unworthily.	1	Wau bu me goo saung...............	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ sun...................	We; In.
2	“ “ sun........	Thou.	2	“ “ sag.................	You.
3	“ mau send...........	He.	3	“ mau sen döau	They.
4	“ me mau se mend.	His.	4	“ me mau se wend	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me goo saum baun.	1	Wau bu me goo saun ge bun.
2	“ “ sum bun.	1	“ “ sun go “
3	“ mau sen de bun.	2	“ “ sa “ “
4	“ me mau se men de bun.	3	“ mau sen döau “
		4	“ me mau se men de bun.

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me goo se wau nan..	If peradventure I am seen with pity, unworthily	1	Wau bu me goo se waun gan.......	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ wun göan.......	We; In.
			2	“ “ wa “	You.
2	“ “ wu “	Thou.	3	“ mau se wen döau wan.....	They.
3	“ mau se wen dan....	He.	4	“ me mau se wen dun.......	Theirs.
4	“ me muu se oen dan..	His.			

Imperfect Tense.

	Singular.		*Plural.*
1	Wau bu me goo se waum bau nan.	1	Wau bu me goo se waun ge bu nan.
2	“ “ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ “ wun go “
3	“ mau se wen de bu nan.	2	“ “ “ wa “ “
4	“ me mau se wen de bu nan.	3	“ mau se wen döau “
		4	“ me mau se wen de ‘

REPEATING VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me goo eau nen....	At the times I am seen.	1	Wau bu me goo eaun gen..........	We; Ex.
2	“ “ eu “ ...	Thou.	1	“ “ eun gon...........	We; In.
3	“ men jen..............	He.	2	“ “ ea “	You.
4	“ me men jen.........	His.	3	“ men döau nen...............	They.
			4	“ me men jen.................	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me goo waum bau neen.	1	Wau bu me goo eaun ge bu neen.
2	“ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ eun go “
3	“ men de bu neen.	2	“ “ ea “ “
4	“ me men de bu neen.	3	“ men döau bu neen.
		4	“ me men de “

NEGATIVE REPEATING VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me goo ze wau nen.	At the times I am not seen.	1	Wau bu me goo ze waun gen......	We; Ex.
2	“ “ “ wu “	Thou.	1	“ “ “ wun gon........	We; In.
3	“ mau ze wen jen....	He.	2	“ “ “ wa “	You.
4	“ me mau ze wen jen.	His.	3	“ mau ze wen döau nen....	They.
			4	“ me mau ze wen jen.......	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me goo ze waum bau neen.	1	Wau bu me goo ze waun ge bu neen.
2	“ “ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ “ wun go “
3	“ mau ze wen de bu neen.	2	“ “ “ wa “ “
4	“ me mau ze wen de bu neen.	3	“ mau ze wen de bu neen.
		4	“ me mau ze wen de du neen.

PLAINTIVE REPEATING VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me goo sau nen ...	At the times I am seen with pity, unworthily.	1	Wau bu me goo saun gen............	We; Ex.
2	“ “ su “ ...	Thou.	1	“ “ sun gon............	We; In.
3	“ mau se wen jen....	He.	2	“ “ sa “	You.
4	“ me mau se wen jen.	His.	3	“ mau se wen döau nen......	They.
			4	“ me mau se wen jen........,	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

Singular	*Plural.*
1 Wau bu me goo saum bau neen.	1 Wau bu me goo saun ge bu neen.
2 “ “ sum bu “	1 “ “ sun go “
3 “ mau se wen de bu “	2 “ “ sa “ “
4 “ me mau se wen de bu neen.	3 “ mau se wen döau “
	4 “ me mau se wen de “

INDICATIVE MOOD in *goz*.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bu me goz[1]	I am seen willingly, by my own procuring.	1 Ne wau bu me go ze men	We; Ex.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thou.	1 Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
3 O “ “ go ze	He.	2 “ “ “ zem	You.
4 “ “ “ “ wun.	His.	3 O “ “ ze wug	They.
		4 “ “ “ “ wun	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bu me go ze nau bun	1 Ne wau bu me go ze me nau bun.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ “ bun.	2 “ “ “ zem wau bun.
4 “ “ “ “ bu neen.	3 O “ “ ze bu neeg.
	4 “ “ “ “ neen.

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense

1 Ne wau bu me go ze zee	I am not seen, &c.	1 Ne wau bu me go ze zee men	We; Ex.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thou.	1 Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
3 O “ “ “	He.	2 “ “ “ “ zeem	You.
4 “ “ “ “ wun.	His.	3 O “ “ “ zee wug	They.
		4 “ “ “ “ “ wun	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bu me go ze zee nau bun.	1 Ne wau bu me go ze zee me nau bun.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ “ bun.	2 “ “ “ ze zeem wau bun.
4 “ “ “ “ bu neen.	3 O “ “ zee bu neeg.
	4 “ “ “ “ neen.

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[1] This form is seldom used as it stands here; it generally requires the addition of one of the particles to make the sense complete; *wee* most frequently, as

Wee wau bu me go ze . . . . He wishes to show himself.

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Ne wau bu me go ze me dög.	Perhaps I am seen.	1	Ne wau bu me go ze me nau dög...	We; Ex.
2	Ge “ “ “ “	Thou.	1	Ge “ “ “ “ ...	We; In.
3	O “ “ ze “	He.	2	“ “ “ zem wau dög....	You.
4	“ “ “ “ do ga nun..	His.	3	O “ “ ze do ga nug....	They.
			4	“ “ “ “ nun....	Theirs.

Negative Doubtful Voices.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me go ze zee dög...	Perhaps I am not seen.	1	Ne wau bu me go ze zee me nau dög.	We; Ex.
			1	Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
2	Ge “ “ “ “ ...	Thou.	2	“ “ “ zeem wau dög..	You.
3	O “ “ “ “ ...	He.	3	O “ “ zee do ga nug..	They.
4	“ “ “ “ do ga nun..	His.	4	“ “ “ “ nun..	Theirs.

Plaintive Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me go zes........	I am seen with pity unworthily, or am desirous of being seen with pity.	1	Ne wau bu me go ze se men........	We; Ex.
			1	Ge “ “ “	We; In.
			2	“ “ “ sem............	You.
			3	O “ “ se wug...	Them.
2	Ge “ “ “	Thou.	4	“ “ “ “ wun.........	Theirs.
3	O “ “ ze se......	He.			
4	“ “ “ “ wun.	His.			

Imperfect Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me go ze se nau bun.	1	Ne wau bu me go ze se me nau bun.
2	Ge “ “ “ “	1	Ge “ “ “ “ “
3	O “ “ “ bun.	2	“ “ “ ze sem wau “
4	“ “ “ “ bu neen.	3	O “ “ “ se bu neeg.
		4	“ “ “ “ “ neen.

Doubtful Plaintive Voices.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me go ze se me dög.....	Perhaps I am seen with pity, &c.	1	Ne wau bu me go ze se me nau dög.	We; Ex.
			1	Ge “ “ “ “ “	We; In.
			2	“ “ “ ze sem wau “	You.
2	Ge “ “ “ “ ...	Thou.	3	O “ “ “ se do ga nug..	They.
3	O “ “ “ dög.........	He.	4	“ “ “ “ “ nun..	Theirs.
4	“ “ “ “ do ga nun..	His.			

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD in *goz*.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau bu me go ze eaun....	If I am seen, or desirous of being seen.	1	Wau bu me go ze eaung............	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ eung..............	We; In.
2	“ “ “ eun......	Thou.	2	“ “ eag................	You.
3	“ “ zed.........	He.	3	“ “ waud..............	They.
4	“ “ ze ned......	His.	4	“ “ ned...............	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me go ze eaum buun.	1	Wau bu me go ze eaun ge bun.
		1	“ “ eun go “
2	“ “ eum bun	2	“ “ ea “ “
3	“ “ bun.	3	“ “ wau bun.
4	“ “ ne bun.	4	“ “ ne “

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me go ze ze waun...	If am not seen.	1	Wau bu me go ze ze waung.........	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ “ wung..........	We; In.
2	“ “ wun....	Thou.	2	“ “ “ wag.......	You.
3	“ “ zeg.........	He.	3	“ “ “ göau...........	They.
4	“ “ ze neg......	His.	4	“ “ “ neg	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me go ze ze waum baun.	1	Wau bu me go ze ze waun ge bun.
		1	“ “ wun go “
2	“ “ wum bun.	2	“ “ wa “ “
3	“ “ bun.	3	“ “ göau “
4	“ “ ne ge bun.	4	“ “ ne ge “

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me go ze wau nah.	If I chance to be seen, or desirous of being seen.	1	Wau bu me go ze waun gan	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ wun göan.........	We; In.
			2	“ “ wa “	You.
2	“ “ wu “	Thou.	3	“ “ wau “	They.
3	“ “ göan......	He.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.
4	“ “ ne göan..	His.			

Imperfect Tense.

	Singular.		*Plural.*
1	Wau bu me go ze waum bau nan.	1	Wau bu me go ze waun ge bu nan.
2	“ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ wun go “
3	“ “ go “ “	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ ne go bu “	3	“ “ wau “ “
		4	“ “ ne “ “

Zee after *ze*, stands for the negative in these voices.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me go ze saun.....	If I am seen with pity, unworthily.	1	Wau bu me go ze saung.............	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ sung...............	We; In.
2	“ “ sun......	Thou.	2	“ “ sag.................	You.
3	“ “ sed.......	He.	3	“ “ se waud..........	They.
4	“ “ se ned...	His.	4	“ “ ned...............	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me go ze saum baun.	1	Wau bu me go ze saun ge bun.
2	“ “ sum bun.	1	“ “ sun go “
3	“ “ se “	2	“ “ sa “ “
4	“ “ se ne bun.	3	“ “ se wau “
		4	“ “ “ ne “

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bu me go ze se wau nan.	If peradventure I am seen with pity, &c.	1	Wau bu me go ze se waun gan......	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ wun göan......	We; In.
			2	“ “ wa “	You.
2	“ “ wu “	Thou	3	“ “ wau “	They.
3	“ “ göan.....	He.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.
4	“ “ ne göan..	His.			

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau pu me go ze se waum bau nan.	1	Wau bu me go ze se waun ge bu nan.
2	“ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ wun go “
3	“ “ go “ “	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ ne go “ “	3	“ “ wau “ “
		4	“ “ ne “ “

REPEATING VOICE.

Present Tense.

Singular.		*Plural*	
1 Wau bu me go ze eau nen.	At the times I am seen, or am desirous of being seen.	1 Wau bu me go ze eun gen...........	We; Ex.
		1 “ “ eun gon..........	We; In.
		2 “ “ ea “	You.
2 “ “ eu “	Thou.	3 “ “ wau jen..........	They.
3 “ “ jen.......	He.	4 “ “ ne “	Theirs.
4 “ “ ne jen...	His.		

Imperfect Tense.

1 Wau bu me go ze eaum bun neen.	1 Wau bu me go ze eaun ge bu neen.
2 “ “ eum bu “	1 “ “ eun go “
3 “ “ go “ “	2 “ “ ea “ “
4 “ “ ne go bu neen.	3 “ “ wau “ “
	4 “ “ ne “ “

NEGATIVE REPEATING VOICES

Present Tense.

1 Wau bu me go ze ze wau nen..	At the times I am not seen.	1 Wau bu me go ze ze waun gen.....	We; Ex.
		1 “ “ wun gon......	We; In.
2 “ “ wu “	Thou.	2 “ “ wa “	You.
3 “ “ gon.......	He.	3 “ “ göau nen.....	They.
4 “ “ ne gon...	His	4 “ “ ne gon........	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Wau bu me go ze ze waum bau neen.	1 Wau bu me go ze ze waun ge bu neen.
2 “ “ wum bu neen.	1 “ “ wun go “
3 “ “ go “	2 “ “ wa “ “
4 “ “ ne go “	3 “ “ wau “ “
	4 “ “ ne “ “

PLAINTIVE REPEATING VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Wau bu me go ze au nen....	At the times I am seen with pity, unworthily.	1 Wau bu me go ze saun gen.........	We; Ex.
		1 “ “ sun gon..........	We; In.
		2 “ “ sa “	You.
2 “ “ su “ ...	Thou.	3 “ “ se wau jen.......	They.
3 “ “ se jen.....	He.	4 “ “ “ ne “	Theirs.
4 “ “ “ ne jen.	His.		

Imperfect Tense.

	Singular.		*Plural.*
1	Wau bu me go ze saum bau neen.	1	Wau bu me go ze saun ge bu neen.
2	“ “ sum bu neen.	1	“ “ sun go “
3	“ “ se go “	2	‘ “ sa “ “
4	“ “ “ ne go bu neen.	3	“ “ se wau go bu neen.
		4	“ “ “ ne “

INDICATIVE MOOD in *ga*.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bun je ga..........	I see—look on—I am a spectator.	1	Ne wau bun je ga men.............	We; Ex.
			1	Ge “ “ “	We; In.
2	Ge “ “	Thou.	2	“ “ “ gam..................	You.
3	O “ “	He.	3	O “ “ ga wug..............	They.
4	“ “ “ wun......	His.	4	“ “ “ “ wun..............	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Ne wau bun je ga nau bun.	1	Ne wau bun je ga me nau bun.
2	Ge “ “ “	1	Ge “ “ “ “
3	O “ “ bun.	2	“ “ “ gam wau bun.
4	“ “ “ bu neen.	3	O “ “ ga bu neeg.
		4	“ “ “ “ neen.

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bun je ga zee......	I do not see—I am not a spectator.	1	Ne wau bun je ga zee men.........	We; Ex.
			1	Ge “ “ “	We; In.
2	Ge “ “ “	Thou.	2	“ “ “ zeem.............	You.
3	O “ “ “	He.	3	O “ “ zee wug.........	They.
4	“ “ “ “ wun.	His.	4	“ “ “ “ wun.........	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Ne wau bun je ga zee nau bun.	1	Ne wau bu je ga zee me nau bun.
2	Ge “ “ “ “	1	Ge “ “ “ “ “
3	O “ “ “ bun.	2	“ “ “ zeem wau bun.
4	“ “ “ “ bu neen.	3	O “ “ zee bu neeg.
		4	“ “ “ neen.

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bun je ga me dög.	Perhaps I see, or look on.	1	Ne wau bun je ga me nau dög.....	We; Ex
			1	Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
2	Ge “ “ “ “	Thou.	2	“ “ “ gam wau dög.........	You.
3	O “ “ “ dög...	He.	3	O “ “ ga do ga nug.........	They.
4	“ “ “ do ga nun..	His.	4	“ “ “ “ “ nun.........	Theirs.

NEGATIVE DOUBTFUL VOICES.

Present Tense.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
1 Ne wau bun je ga zee dög....	Perhaps I do not see.	1 Ne wau bun je ga zee me nau dög.	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “ “ ...	Thou.	2 “ “ “ zeem wau dög..	You.
3 O “ “ “ “ ...	He.	3 O “ “ zee do ga nug..	They.
4 “ “ “ “ do ga nun.	His.	4 “ “ “ “ “ nun..	Theirs.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bun je gas............	I see poorly — I am an unworthy spectator.	1 Ne wau bun je ga se men...........	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “	We; In.
		2 “ “ “ sem	You.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thou.	3 O “ “ se wug...........	They.
3 O “ “ ga se...........	He.	4 “ “ “ “ wun............	Theirs.
4 “ “ “ “ wun......	His.		

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bun je ga se nau bun.	1 Ne wau bun je ga se me nau bun.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ “ bun.	2 “ “ “ sem wau bun.
4 “ “ “ “ bu neen.	3 O “ “ se bu neeg.
	4 “ “ “ neen.

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE VOICES.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bun je ga se me dög......	Perhaps I see poorly, or am an unworthy spectator.	1 Ne wau bun je ga se me nau dög..	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
		2 “ “ “ sem wau dög	You.
		3 O “ “ se do ga nug.....	They.
2 Ge “ “ “ “ ...	Thou.	4 “ “ “ “ “ nun	Theirs.
3 O “ “ “ dög........	He.		
4 “ “ “ “ do ga nun.	His.		

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD in *ga*.

Present Tense.

1 Wau bun je ga eaun.........	If I see, or am a spectator.	1 Wau bun je ga eaung.........	We; Ex.
		1 “ “ eung.................	We; In.
2 “ “ “ eun	Thou.	2 “ “ eag.................	You.
3 “ “ gad............	He.	3 “ “ oaud.......	They.
4 “ “ ga ned	His.	4 “ “ ned.................	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

	Singular.		*Plural.*
1	Wau bun je ga eaum baun.	1	Wau bun je ga eaun ge bun.
2	“ “ eun bun.	1	“ “ eun go “
3	“ “ bun.	2	“ “ ea “ “
4	“ “ ne bun.	3	“ “ wau bun.
		4	“ “ ne “

Negative Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun je ga ze waun...	If I do not see.—If I am not a spectator.	1	Wau bun je ga ze waung............	We; Ex.
2	“ “ “ wun.....	Thou.	1	“ “ “ wung.............	We; In.
3	“ “ zeg...........	He.	2	“ “ “ wag................	You.
4	“ ze neg...............	His.	3	“ “ “ göau...............	They.
			4	“ “ “ neg................	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun je ga ze waum buun.	1	Wau bun je ga ze waun ge bun.
2	“ “ wum bun.	1	“ “ wun go “
3	“ “ bun.	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ ne ge bun.	3	“ “ göau “
		4	“ “ ne ge “

Plaintive Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun je ga saun......	If I see poorly, unworthily, or am an unworthy spectator.	1	Wau bun je ga saung................	We; Ex.
2	“ “ sun......	Thou.	1	“ “ sung.................	We; In.
3	“ “ sed......	He.	2	“ “ sag..................	You.
4	“ “ se ned...	His.	3	“ “ se waud............	They.
			4	“ “ “ ned...............	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun je ga saum baun.	1	Wau bun je ga saun ge bun.
2	“ “ sum bun.	1	“ “ sun go “
3	“ “ se “	2	“ “ sa “ “
4	“ “ “ ne bun.	3	“ “ se ouu “
		4	“ “ “ ne “

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun je ga wau nan....	If I chance to see, or be a spectator.	1	Wau bun je ga waun gan...........	We; Ex.
2	“ “ wu “ ...	Thou.	1	“ “ wun göan...........	We; In.
3	“ “ göan........	He.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
4	“ “ ne göan.....	His.	3	“ “ wau “	They.
			4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
1 Wau bun je ga waum bau nan.	1 Wau bun je ga waun ge bu nan.
2 “ “ wum bu “	1 “ “ wun go “
3 “ “ go “ “	2 “ “ wa “ “
4 “ “ ne go bu “	3 “ “ wau go “
	4 “ “ ne “ “

Zee after *ga*, is for the negative; and *se* after *ga*, for the doubtful plaintive voices.

REPEATING VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Wau bun je ga eau nen......	At the times I see, or am a looker-on.	1 Wau bun je ga eaun gen............	We; Ex.
		1 “ “ eun gon..............	We; In.
2 “ “ eu “	Thou.	2 “ “ ea “	You.
3 “ “ je..............	He.	3 “ “ wau jen.............	They.
4 “ “ ne jen........	His.	4 “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Wau bun je ga eaum bau neen.	1 Wau bun je ga eaun ge bu neen.
2 “ “ eum bu “	1 “ “ eun go “
3 “ “ go “ “	2 “ “ ea “ “
4 “ “ ne go bu “	3 “ “ wau “ “
	4 “ “ ne “ “

NEGATIVE REPEATING VOICES.

Present Tense.

1 Wau bun je ga ze wau nen.	At the times I do not see.	1 Wau bun je ga ze waun gen.........	We; Ex.
		1 “ “ wun gon..........	We; In.
2 “ “ wu “	Thou.	2 “ “ wa “	You.
3 “ “ gon......	He.	3 “ “ göau nen.........	They.
4 “ “ ne gon...	His.	4 “ “ ne gon............	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Wau bun je ga ze waum bau neen.	1 Wau bun je ga ze waun ge bu neen.
2 “ “ wum bu “	1 “ “ wun go “
3 “ “ go “ “	2 “ “ wa “ “
4 “ “ ne go bu “	3 “ “ wau “ “
	4 “ “ ne “ “

PLAINTIVE REPEATING VOICES.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau bun je ga sau nen	At the times I see poorly, or am an unworthy spectator.	1	Wau bun je ga saun gen	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ sun gon	We; In.
			2	“ “ sa “	You.
2	“ “ su “	Thou.	3	“ “ se wau jen	They.
3	“ “ se jen	He.	4	“ “ “ ne “	Theirs.
4	“ “ “ ne jen..	His.			

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun je ga saum bau neen.	1	Wau bun je ga saun ge bu neen.
2	“ “ sum bu neen.	1	“ “ sun go “
3	“ “ se go “	2	“ “ sa “ “
4	“ “ “ ne go bu neen.	3	“ “ se wau go bu neen.
		4	“ “ “ ne “

INDICATIVE MOOD in *dez.*—REFLECTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bun dez	I see myself. L	1	Ne wau bun de zoo men	We; Ex.
2	Ge “ “	Thou.	1	Ge “ “ “	We. In.
3	O “ de zoo	He.	2	“ “ “ zoom	You.
4	“ “ “ wun	His.	3	O “ “ zoo wug	They.
			4	“ “ “ “ wun	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Ne wau bun de zoo nau bun.	1	Ne wau bun de zoo me nau bun.
2	Ge “ “ “	1	Ge “ “ “ “
3	O “ “ bun.	2	“ “ “ zoom wau bun.
4	“ “ “ bu neen.	3	O “ “ zoo bu neeg
		4	“ “ “ “ neen.

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bun de zoo zee	I do not see myself.	1	Ne wau bun de zoo zee men	We; Ex.
2	Ge “ “ “	Thou.	1	Ge “ “ “	We; In.
3	O “ “ “	He.	2	“ “ “ zeem	You.
4	“ “ “ “ wun.	His.	3	O “ “ zee wug	They.
			4	“ “ “ “ wun	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
1 Ne wau bun de zoo zee nau bun.	1 Ne wau bun de zoo zee me nau bun.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ “ bun.	2 “ “ “ zeem wau bun.
4 “ “ “ “ bu neen.	3 O “ “ zee bu neeg.
	4 “ “ “ “ ‘

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bun de zoo me dög.	Perhaps I see myself.	1 Ne wau bun de zoo me nau dög...	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “ ...	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	Thou.	2 “ “ “ zoom wau dög:.....	You.
3 O “ “ we “	He.	3 O “ “ zoo do ga nug......	They.
4 “ “ “ do ga nun.	His.	4 “ “ “ “ “ nun.......	Theirs.

Negative Doubtful Voices

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bun de zoo zee dög......	Perhaps I do not see myself.	1 Ne wau bun de zoo zee me nau dög.	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	Thou.	2 “ “ “ zeem wau dög ...	You.
3 O “ “ “ “	He.	3 O “ “ zee do ga nug...	They.
4 “ “ “ “ do ga nun.	His	4 “ “ “ “ “ nun...	Theirs.

Plaintive Voice.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bun de zoos.........	I see myself with pity.	1 Ne wau bun de zoo se men..........	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thou	2 “ “ “ sem.............	You.
3 O “ “ zoo se......	He.	3 O “ “ se wug.........	They.
4 “ “ “ “ wun.	His.	4 “ “ “ “ wun.........	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bun de zoo se nau bun.	1 Ne wau bun de zoo se me nau bun.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ “ bun.	2 “ “ “ sem wau bun.
4 “ “ “ “ bu neen.	3 O “ “ se bu neeg.
	4 “ “ “ “ neen.

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE VOICES.

Present Tense.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
1 Ne wau bun de zoo se me dög	Perhaps I see myself with pity.	1 Ne wau bun de zoo se me nau dög	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
		2 “ “ “ sem wau dög	You.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	Thou.	3 O “ “ se do ga nug	They.
3 O “ “ “ dög	He.	4 “ “ “ “ “ nun	Theirs.
4 “ “ “ “ do ga nun	His.		

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD in *dez.*

Present Tense.

1 Wau bun de zo eaun	If I see myself.	1 Wau bun de zo eaung	We; Ex.
2 “ “ “ eun	Thou.	1 “ “ eung	We; In.
3 “ “ zod	He.	2 “ “ eag	You.
4 “ “ zo ned	His.	3 “ “ waud	They.
		4 “ “ ned	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Wau bun de zo eaum baun.	1 Wau bun de zo eaun ge bun.
2 “ “ eum bun.	1 “ “ eun go “
3 “ “ bun.	2 “ “ ea “ “
4 “ “ ne bun.	3 “ “ wau bun.
	4 “ “ ne “

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Wau bun de zo ze waun	If I do not see myself.	1 Wau bun de zo ze waung	We; Ex.
		1 “ “ “ wung	We; In.
2 “ “ “ wun	Thou.	2 “ “ “ wag	You.
3 “ “ zeg	He.	3 “ “ “ göau	They.
4 “ “ ze neg	His.	4 “ “ “ neg	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Wau bun de zo ze waum baun.	1 Wau bun de zo ze waun ge bun.
2 “ “ wum bun.	1 “ “ wun go “
3 “ “ bun.	2 “ “ wa “ “
4 “ “ ne ge bun.	3 “ “ göau “
	4 “ “ ne ge “

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau bun de zo wau nan	If I chance to see myself.	1	Wau bun de zo waun gan	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ wun göan	We; In.
2	“ “ wu “	Thou.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
3	“ “ göan	He.	3	“ “ wau “	They.
4	“ “ ne göan	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun de zo waum bau nan.	1	Wau bun de zo waun ge bu nan.
2	“ “ wum bu “	1	“ “ wun go “
3	“ “ go “ “	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ ne go bu “	3	“ “ wau “ “
		4	“ “ ne “ “

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun de zo saun	If I see myself with pity.	1	Wau bun de zo saung	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ sung	We; In.
2	“ “ sun	Thou.	2	“ “ sag	You.
3	“ “ sed	He.	3	“ “ se waud	They.
4	“ “ se ned	His.	4	“ “ “ ned	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun de zo saum baun.	1	Wau bun de zo saun ge bun.
2	“ “ sum bun.	1	“ “ sun go “
3	“ “ se “	2	“ “ sa “ “
4	“ “ “ ne bun.	3	“ “ se wau “
		4	“ “ “ ne “

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun de zo se wau nan	If I chance to see myself with pity.	1	Wau bun de zo se waun gan	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ wun göan	We; In.
2	“ “ wu “	Thou	2	“ “ wa “	You.
3	“ “ göan	He.	3	“ “ wau “	They.
4	“ “ ne göan	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun de zo se waum bau nan.	If I, &c., Ex.	1	Wau bun de zo se waun ge bu nan.	If we, &c. Ex.
2	“ “ wum bu “	“ In.	1	‘ “ wun go “	“ In.
3	“ “ go “	“ “	2	“ “ wa “	“ “
4	“ “ ne go bu “	“	3	“ “ wau “	“ “
			4	“ “ ne “	“ “

Repeating Voice.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau bun de zo eau nen....	At the times I see myself.	1	Wau bun de zo eaun gen............	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ eun gon............	We; In.
2	“ “ eu “ ...	Thou.	2	“ “ ea “	You.
3	“ “ jen..........	He.	3	“ “ wau jen.............	They.
4	“ “ ne jen......	His.	4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun de zo eaum bau neen.....	I; Ex.	1	Wau bun de zo eaun ge bu neen...	We; Ex.
2	“ “ eum bu “	I; In.	1	“ “ eun go “	We; In.
3	“ “ go “ “		2	“ “ ea “ “	
4	“ “ ne go bu “		3	“ “ wau “ “	
			4	“ “ ne “ “	

Negative Repeating Voices.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun de zo ze wau nen....	At the times I do not see myself.	1	Wau bun de zo ze waun gen........	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ wun gon.........	We; In.
2	“ “ wu “ ...	Thou.	2	“ “ wa “	You.
3	“ “ gon.........	He.	3	“ “ göau nen........	They.
4	“ “ ne gon......	His	4	“ “ ne gon...........	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense

1	Wau bun de zo ze waum bau neen.	1	Wau bun de zo ze waun ge bu neen.
2	“ “ wum bu neen.	1	“ “ wun go “
3	“ “ go “	2	“ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ ne go “	3	“ “ wau “ “
		4	“ “ ne “ “

Plaintive Repeating Voices.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun de zo sau nen	At the times I see myself with pity.	1	Wau bun de zo saun gen............	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ sun gon............	We; In.
2	“ “ su “	Thou.	2	“ “ sa “	You.
3	“ “ se jen........	He.	3	“ “ se wau jen..........	They.
4	“ “ “ ne jen....	His.	4	“ “ “ ne “	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
1 Wau bun de zo saum buu neen.	1 Wau bun de zo saun go bu neen.
2 “ “ sum bu “	1 “ “ sun go “ “
3 “ “ se go “ “	2 “ “ sa “ “ “
4 “ “ “ ne go bu neen.	3 “ “ se wau go bu neen.
	4 “ “ “ ne “

INDICATIVE MOOD in *du mau*.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bun du mau[1]	I see.	1 Ne wau bun du mau men	We; Ex.
2 Ge “ “	Thou.	1 Ge “ “	We; In.
3 O “ “	He.	2 “ “ maum	You.
4 “ “ “ wun.	His.	3 O “ mau wug	They.
		4 “ “ “ wun	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bun du mau nau bun.	1 Ne wau bun du mau me nau bun.
2 Ge “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “
3 O “ “ bun.	2 “ “ maum wau bun.
4 “ “ “ bu neen.	3 O “ mau bu neeg.
	4 “ “ “ neen.

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense

1 Ne wau bun du mau zee	I do not see.	1 Ne wau bun du mau zee men	We; Ex.
2 Ge “ “	Thou.	1 Ge “ “ “	We; In.
3 O “ “	He.	2 “ “ “ zeem	You.
4 “ “ “ oun.	His.	3 O “ “ zee wug	They.
		4 “ “ “ “ wun	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bun du mau zee nau bun.	1 Ne wau bun du mau zee me nau bun.
2 Ge “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ “ bun.	2 “ “ “ zeem wau bun.
4 “ “ “ “ bu neen.	3 O “ “ zee bu neeg.
	4 “ “ “ “ neen.

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[1] There is a difference between this form and *Ne waub*. *Ne wau bun du mau* signifies the exercise of sight, as: I can see; it is not dark; there is no obstruction to my seeing. *Ne waub* is: I have sight; I am not blind.

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
1 Ne wau bün du mau me dög......	Perhaps I see.	1 Ne wau bun du mau me nau dög...	We; Ex.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thou.	1 Ge “ “ “ “ ...	We; In.
3 O “ “ dög............	He.	2 “ “ “ maum wau dög ...	You.
4 “ “ “ do ga nun	His.	3 O “ “ mau do ga nug...	They.
		4 “ “ “ “ “ nun...	Theirs.

Negative Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bun du mau zee dög....	Perhaps I do not see.	1 Ne wau bun du mau zee me nau dög.	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “ “ ...	Thou.	2 “ “ “ zeem wau dög..	You.
3 O “ “ “ “ ...	He.	3 O “ “ zee do ga nug...	They.
4 “ “ “ “ do ga nun	His.	4 “ “ “ “ “ nun..	Theirs.

Plaintive Voice.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bün du maus..........	I see poorly, unworthily.	1 Ne wau bun du mau se men.........	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “	Thou.	2 “ “ “ sem............	You.
3 O “ “ mau se.........	He.	3 O “ “ se wug.........	They.
4 “ “ “ “ wun....	His.	4 “ “ “ “ wun.........	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bun du mau se nau bun.	1 Ne wau bun du mau se me nau bun.
2 Ge “ “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ “ bun.	2 “ “ “ sem wau bun.
4 “ “ “ “ bu neen.	3 O “ “ se bu neeg.
	4 “ “ “ “ neen.

Doubtful Plaintive Voices.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bun du mau se me dög	Perhaps I see poorly, unworthily.	1 Ne wau bun du mau se me nau dög.	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
		2 “ “ “ sem wau dög....	You.
2 Ge “ “ “ “ ...	Thou.	3 O “ “ se do ga nug....	They.
3 O “ “ “ dög..........	He.	4 “ “ “ “ “ nun....	Theirs.
4 “ “ “ “ do ga nun..	His.		

Subjunctive Mood in *du mau*.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau bun du mau eaun	If I see.	1	Wau bun du mau eaung	We; Ex.
2	“ “ “ eun	Thou.	1	“ “ eung	We; In.
3	“ “ maud	He.	2	“ “ eag	You.
4	“ “ mau ned	His.	3	“ “ waud	They.
			4	“ “ ned	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun du mau eaum baun.	1	Wau bun du mau eaun ge bun.
2	“ “ eum bun.	1	“ “ eun go “
3	“ “ bun.	2	“ “ ea “ “
4	“ “ ne bun.	3	“ “ wau bun.
		4	“ “ ne “

Negative Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun du mau ze waun.	If I do not see.	1	Wau bun du mau ze waung	We; Ex.
2	“ “ “ wun	Thou.	1	“ “ “ wung	We; In.
3	“ “ zeg	He.	2	“ “ “ wag	You.
4	“ “ ze neg	His.	3	“ “ “ göau	They.
			4	“ “ “ neg	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun du mau ze waum baun.	1	Wau bun du mau ze waun ge bun.
2	“ “ “ wum bun.	1	“ “ “ wun go “
3	“ “ “ bun.	2	“ “ “ wa “ “
4	“ “ “ ne ge bun.	3	“ “ “ güau bua.
		4	“ “ “ ne ge bun.

Plaintive Voice.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun du mau saun	If I see poorly, unworthily.	1	Wau bun du mau saung	We; Ex.
2	“ “ sun	Thou.	1	“ “ sung	We; In.
3	“ “ sed	He.	2	“ “ sag	You.
4	“ “ se ned	His.	3	“ “ se waud	They.
			4	“ “ “ ned	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun du mau saum baun.	1	Wau bun du mau saun ge bun.
2	“ “ sum bun.	1	“ “ sun go “
3	“ “ se “	2	“ “ sa “ “
4	“ “ ne bun.	3	“ “ se wau “
		4	“ “ “ ne “

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau bun du mau wau nan.	If I chance to see.	1	Wau bun du mau waun gan.........	We; Ex.
2	" " wu "	Thou.	1	" " wun göan.........	We; In.
3	" " göan.....	He.	2	" " wa "	You.
4	" " ne göan.	His.	3	" " wau "	They.
			4	" " ne "	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun du mau waum bau nan.	1	Wau bun du mau waun ge bu nan.
2	" " wum bu "	1	" " wun go "
3	" " go " "	2	" " wa " "
4	" " ne go bu nan.	3	" " wau " "
		4	" " ne " "

Ze after *mau*, stands for the negative; and *se* after *mau*, establishes the plaintive doubtful voices.

REPEATING VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun du mau eau nen..	At the times I see.	1	Wau bun du mau eaun gen.........	We; Ex.
2	" " eu "	Thou.	1	" " eun gon..........	We; In.
3	" " jen.........	He.	2	" " ea "	You.
4	" " ne jen.....	His.	3	" " wau "	They.
			4	" " ne "	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bun du mau eaum bau neen.	1	Wau bun du mau eaun ge bu neen.
2	" " eum bu "	1	" " eun go "
3	" " go " "	2	" " ea " "
4	" " ne go bu "	3	" " wau " "
		4	" " ne " "

NEGATIVE REPEATING VOICES.

Present Tense.

1	Wau bun du mau ze wau nen.	At the times I do not see.	1	Wau bun du mau ze waun gen......	We; Ex.
2	" " wu "	Thou.	1	" " wun gon.......	We; In.
3	" " gon......	He.	2	" " wa "	You.
4	" " ne gon...	His.	3	" " göau nen......	They.
			4	" " ne gon.........	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
1 Wau bun du mau ze waum buu neen.	1 Wau bun du mau ze waun ge bu neen.
2 " " wum bu "	1 " " wun go "
3 " " go " "	2 " " wa " "
4 " " ne go bu neen.	3 " " wau " "
	4 " " ne " "

PLAINTIVE REPEATING VOICES.

Present Tense.

1 Wau bun du mau sau nen...	At the times I see poorly, unworthily.	1 Wau bun du mau saun gen..........	We; Ex.
		1 " " sun gon...........	We; In.
2 " " su " ...	Thou.	2 " " sa "	You.
3 " " se jen....	He.	3 " " se wau jen........	They.
4 " " " ne jen	His.	4 " " " ne "	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Wau bun du mau saum bau neen.	1 Wau bun du mau saun ge bu neen.
2 " " sum bu neen.	1 " " sun go "
3 " " se go "	2 " " sa " "
4 " " " ne go bu neen.	3 " " se wau go bu neen.
	4 " " " ne "

The following words are conjugated in the same manner as the preceding voices, from page 340, the particle *goo* excepted. All intransitive verbs are conjugated in the same manner, the third and fourth persons of the voice in *goo* being the only exception.

Ne wau besg...... I am a seer. } The termination *esg* is used only in a bad sense, as
Ge ge de m*esg*...... You are lazy.
Ge ge moo d*esg*..... You are a thief.

Ne wau be gau zosg...............	I am a pretended seer.
" " guuz....................	I pretend to see, or I imitate a seer.
" bu ma wez.................	I am seen, in consequence of my sacrifice.
" " me go wez............	I am seen by the Deity.
" bun du mau zon..........	I see it for myself.

Some few words have a termination expressive of thanks for favors received; as

Ne mau moo cu wa ü *mauz.*
Ne moo je gu ü mauz.

Words with *wan*, *nan*, *gan*, *man*, *ean*, &c., express that the action is in the mind; as

Nen ge de mau gez..........................	I am poor.
Nen ge de mau *gan* dum....................	I am poor in my mind; I am sorry.
Ne mau nau dez..............................	I am deformed.
Ne mau *nan* dum............................	I am deformed in my mind.
Nem bu nau dez..............................	I am destroyed.
Nem bu nau *dan* dum.......................	I am destroyed in my mind; my feelings are hurt.

INDICATIVE MOOD in *maun*.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Ne wau bu me maun[1]......	I see his, or theirs.	1	Ne wau bu me mau nau nen........	We; Ex.
2	Ge “ “	Thou.	1	Ge “ “ “	We; In.
3	O “ “	He.	2	“ “ “ waun..........	You.
4	“ “ me mau ne....	His.	3	O “ “ “	They.
			4	“ “ “ ne..............	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me mau bun.	1	Ne wau bu me mau me nau bun.
2	Ge “ “ “	1	Ge “ “ “
3	O “ “ bu neen.	2	“ “ “ wau bun.
4	“ “ “ ne bu neen.	3	O “ “ “ bu neen.
		4	“ “ “ ne “

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me mau zeen...	I do not see his, or theirs.	1	Ne wau bu me mau zee nau nen....	We; Ex.
			1	Ge “ “ “ ...	We; In.
2	Ge “ “ “ ...	Thou.	2	“ “ “ waun.......	You.
3	O “ “ “ ...	He.	3	O “ “ “	They.
4	“ “ “ zee ne.	His.	4	“ “ “ ne.........	Theirs

Imperfect Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me mau zee bun.	1	Ne wau bu me mau zee me nau bun.
2	Ge “ “ “	1	Ge “ “ “
3	O “ “ bu neen.	2	“ “ “ wau bun.
4	“ “ “ ne bu neen.	3	O “ “ “ bu neen.
		4	“ “ “ ne “

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bu me mau do ga nun..	Perhaps I see his, or theirs.	1	Ne wau bu me mau me nau do ga nun.	We; Ex.
			1	Ge “ “ “ “	We; In.
2	Ge “ “ “	Thou.	2	“ “ “ wau do ga nun...	You.
3	O “ “ “	He.	3	O “ “ “ “ ...	They.
4	“ “ “ ne “	His.	4	“ “ “ ne do “ ...	Theirs.

Zee after *mau*, in this voice, makes the negative.

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[1] This form is transitive, having the fourth person for the objective case, as: Ne wau bu me maun; O nee jau ne zun — I see his children; not Ne o wa bu maug O nee jau ne zun. This form includes only persons, or animate objects, not inanimate ones.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
1 Ne wau bu me mau se nun...	I see his, or theirs, with pity.	1 Ne wau bu me mau se nau nen.....	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ ...	We; In.
2 Ge “ “ “ ...	Thou.	2 “ “ “ waun.	You.
3 O “ “ “ ...	He.	3 O “ “ “	They.
4 “ “ “ “ ne...	His.	4 “ “ “ ne............	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Ne wau bu me mau se nau bun.	1 Ne wau bu me mau se me nau bun.
2 Ge “ “ “ “ “	1 Ge “ “ “ “ “
3 O “ “ “ “ bu neen.	2 “ “ “ “ wau bun.
4 “ “ “ “ ne bu neen.	3 O “ “ “ “ bu neen.
	4 “ “ “ “ ne “

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE VOICES.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bu me mau se do ga nan...	Perhaps I see his or theirs with pity.	1 Ne wau bu me mau se me nau do ga nun	We; Ex.
		1 Ge “ “ “ “ “ “	We; In.
		2 “ “ “ “ wau do ga nun..	You.
2 Ge “ “ “ “ “ ...	Thou.	3 O “ “ “ “ “ “	They.
3 O “ “ “ “ “ ...	He.	4 “ “ “ “ ne “ “	Theirs.
4 “ “ “ “ ne do ga nun	His.		

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD in *maun.*

Present Tense.

1 Wau bu me mug.............	If I see his or theirs.	1 Wau bu me man ged...............	We; Ex.
		1 “ “ mang....................	We; In.
2 “ “ mud............	Thou.	2 “ “ mag....................	You.
3 “ “ maud...........	He.	3 “ “ mau waud	They.
4 “ “ mau ned.......	His.	4 “ “ “ ned	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1 Wau bu me mu ge bun.	1 Wau bu me man ge de bun.
2 “ “ de “	1 “ “ “ go bun.
3 “ “ mau bun.	2 “ “ ma “ “
4 “ “ “ ne bun.	3 “ “ mau wau bun.
	4 “ “ “ ne “

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1	Wau bu me mau ze wug...	If I do not see his or theirs	1	Wau bu me mau ze wun ged........	We; Ex.
			1	“ “ “ wang............	We; In.
2	“ “ “ wud...	Thou.	2	“ “ “ wag.............	You.
3	“ “ zeg........	He.	3	“ “ “ göau............	They.
4	“ “ ze neg.....	His.	4	“ “ “ neg	Theirs.

Imperfect Tense.

1	Wau bu me mau ze wu ge bun.	1	Wau bu me mau ze wun ge de bun.
2	“ “ “ “ de “	1	“ “ “ “ go bun.
3	“ “ “ go bun.	2	“ “ “ wa “
4	“ “ “ ne go bun.	3	“ “ “ wau bun.
		4	“ “ “ ne go “

The subjunctive mood of this conjugation is formed in the same manner as that under *mau*, ; the only difference being *me* inserted after *bu*

INDICATIVE MOOD in *de men.*—*Reciprocal Conjugation.*

Plural.

	Present Tense.			*Imperfect Tense.*
1	Ne wau bun de men...	We see each other; Ex.	1	Ne wau bun de me nau bun.
1	Ge “ “ ...	We; In.	1	Ge “ “ “
2	“ “ dem......	You.	2	“ “ dem wau bun.
3	O “ de wug...	They.	3	O “ de bu neeg.
4	“ “ “ wun...	Theirs.	4	“ “ “ neen.

NEGATIVE VOICE.

	Present Tense.			*Imperfect Tense.*
1	Ne wau bun de zee men...	We do not see each other; Ex.	1	Ne wau bun de zee me nau bun.
1	Ge “ “ “ ...	We; In.	1	Ge “ “ “ “
2	“ “ “ zeem.......	You.	2	“ “ “ zeem wau bun.
3	O “ “ zee wug...	They.	3	O “ “ zee bu neeg.
4	“ “ “ “ wun...	Theirs.	4	“ “ “ “ neen.

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

1	Ne wau bun de me nau dög..................	Perhaps we see each other; Ex.
1	Ge “ “ “	“ We; In.
2	“ “ dem wau dög..................	“ You.
3	O “ de do ga nug..................	“ They.
4	“ “ “ “ nun..................	“ Theirs.

NEGATIVE DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.

Plural.

1 Ne wau bun de zee me nau dög	Perhaps we do not see each other; Ex.
1 Ge “ “ “	We; In.
2 “ “ “ zeem wau dög	You.
3 O “ “ zee do ga nug	They.
4 “ “ “ “ nun	Theirs.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.		*Imperfect Tense.*
1 Ne wau bun de se men	We see each other with pity; Ex.	1 Ne wau bun de se me nau bun.
1 Ge “ “	We; In.	1 Ge “ “ “
2 “ “ sem	You.	2 “ “ sem wau bun.
3 O “ se wug	They.	3 O “ se bu neeg.
4 “ “ “ wun	Theirs.	4 “ “ “ neen.

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.

1 Ne wau bun de se me nau dög	Perhaps we see each other with pity; Ex.
1 Ge “ “ “	We; In.
2 “ “ sem wau dög	You.
3 O “ se do ga nug	They.
4 “ “ “ “ nun	Theirs.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD in *de men.*

Present Tense.		*Imperfect Tense.*
1 Wau bun de eaung.	If we see each other; Ex.	1 Wau bun de eaun ge bun.
1 “ eung	We; In.	1 “ eun go “
2 “ eag	You.	2 “ ea “ “
3 “ wuud	They.	3 “ wau “
4 “ ned	Theirs.	4 “ ne “

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.		*Imperfect Tense.*
1 Wau bun de ze waung.	If we do not see each other; Ex.	1 Wau bun de ze waun ge bun.
1 “ “ wung	We; In.	1 “ “ wun go “
2 “ “ wag	You.	2 “ “ wa “ “
3 “ “ göau	They.	3 “ “ göau “
4 “ “ neg	Theirs.	4 “ “ ne ge “

Doubtful Voice.

Plural.

	Present Tense.			*Imperfect Tense.*
1	Wau bun de waun gan...	If we chance to see each other; Ex.	1	Wau bun de waun ge bu nan.
1	" wun göan...	We; In.	1	" wun go "
2	" wa "	You.	2	" wa " "
3	" wau "	They.	3	" wau " "
4	" ne "	Theirs.	4	" ne " "

Negative Doubtful Voice.

	Present Tense.			*Imperfect Tense.*
1	Wau bun de zee waun gan.	If we do not chance to see each other; Ex.	1	Wau bun de zee waun ge bu nan.
1	" " wun göan.	We.	1	" " wun go "
2	" " wa "	You.	2	" " wa " "
3	" " wau "	They.	3	" " wau " "
4	" " ne "	Theirs.	4	" " ne " "

Plaintive Voice.

	Present Tense.			*Imperfect Tense.*
1	Wau bun de saung....	If we see each other with pity; Ex.	1	Wau bun de saun ge bun.
1	" sung......	We; In.	1	" sun go "
2	" sag........	You.	2	" sa " "
3	" se waud..	They.	3	" se wau "
4	" " ned ...	Theirs.	4	" " ne "

Doubtful Plaintive Voice.

	Present Tense.			*Imperfect Tense.*
1	Wau bun de se waun gan.	If we chance to see each other with pity; Ex.	1	Wau bun de se waun ge bu nan.
1	" " wun goan.	We; In.	1	" " wun go "
2	" " wa "	You.	2	" " wa " "
3	" " wau "	They.	3	" " wau " "
4	" " ne "	Theirs.	4	" " ne " "

Repeating Voice.

	Present Tense.			*Imperfect Tense.*
1	Wau bun de eaun gen.	At the times we see each other; Ex.	1	Wau bun de eaun ge bu neen.
1	" eun gon...	We; In.	1	" eun go "
2	" ea "	You.	2	" ea " "
3	" wau jen...	They.	3	" wau " "
4	" ne "	Theirs.	4	" ne " "

NEGATIVE REPEATING VOICE.

Plural

	Present Tense.			*Imperfect Tense.*
1	Wau bun de ze waun gen.	At the times we see each other with pity; Ex.	1	Wau bun de ze waun ge bu neen.
1	“ “ wun gon...	We; In.	1	“ “ wun go “
2	“ “ wa “	You.	2	“ “ wa “ “
3	“ “ göau nen..	They.	3	“ “ wau “ “
4	“ “ “ gon..	Theirs.	4	“ “ ne “ “

PLAINTIVE REPEATING VOICE.

	Present Tense.			*Imperfect Tense.*
1	Wau bun de saun gen...	At the times we see each other with pity; Ex.	1	Wau bun de saun ge bu neen.
1	“ sun gon.....	We; In.	1	“ sun go “
2	“ sa “ ...	You.	2	“ sa “ “
3	“ se wau jen.	They.	3	“ se wau go bu neen.
4	“ “ ne “	Theirs.	4	“ “ ne “ “

INDICATIVE MOOD in *men*.

Transitions between First and Second Persons.

Present Tense. Ge wau bu men........................ I see thee.
Imperfect “ “ me ne nau bun.

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense. Ge wau bu me ze noon.................... I do not see thee.
Imperfect “ “ “ noo nau bun.

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense. Ge wau bu me ne nau dög............... Perhaps I see thee.

NEGATIVE DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense. Ge wau bu me ze noo nau dög.......... Perhaps I do not see thee.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present Tense. Wau bu me naun........................... If I see thee.
Imperfect “ “ naum baun.

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense. Wau bu me ze no waun.................... If I do not see thee.
Imperfect “ “ “ waum baun.

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me no wau nan	If I chance to see thee.
Imperfect “	“ “ waum bau nan.	

Negative Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me ze no wau nan	If I do not chance to see thee.
Imperfect “	“ “ waum bau nan.	

Repeating Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me nau nen	At the times I see thee.
Imperfect “	“ naum bau neen.	

Negative Repeating Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me ze no wau nen	At the times I do not see thee.
Imperfect “	“ “ waum bu neen.	

Indicative Mood in *nem*.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me nem	I see you.
Imperfect “	“ “ “ wau bun.	

Negative Voice.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me ze noo nem	I do not see you.
Imperfect “	“ “ “ “ wau bun.	

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me nem wau dög	Perhaps I see you.

Negative Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me ze noo nem wau dög	Perhaps I do not see you.

Subjunctive Mood.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me nu gög	If I see you.
Imperfect “	“ “ goo go bun	

Negative Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me ze noo nu gög	If I do not see you.
Imperfect “	“ “ “ goo go bun.	

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me nu goo göan	If I chance to see you.
Imperfect “	“ “ “ go bu nan.	

Negative Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me ze noo nu goo göan	If I do not chance to see you.
Imperfect “	“ “ “ “ go bu nan.	

Repeating Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me nu goo gen	At the times I see you.
Imperfect “	“ “ “ go bu neen.	

Negative Repeating Voices.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me ze noo nu goo gen	At the times I do not see you.
Imperfect “	“ “ “ “ go bu neen.	

Indicative Mood in *me goo.*

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me goo	We see thee.
Imperfect “	“ “ “ nau bun.	

Negative Voice.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me goo zee	We do not see thee.
Imperfect “	“ “ “ nau bun.	

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me goo mee dög	Perhaps we see thee.

Negative Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me goo zee me dög	Perhaps we do not see thee.

Subjunctive Mood.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me goo eun	If we see thee.
Imperfect “	“ “ eum bun.	

Negative Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me goo zee wun	If we do not see thee.
Imperfect “	“ “ “ wum.	

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me goo wu nan	If we chance to see thee.
Imperfect “	“ “ wum bu nan.	

Negative Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me goo zee wu nan	If we do not chance to see thee.
Imperfect “	“ “ “ wum bu nan.	

Repeating Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me goo-eu nen	At the times we see thee still.
Imperfect “	“ “ eum bu neen.	

Negative Repeating Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me goo zee wu nen	At the times we do not see thee.
Imperfect “	“ “ “ wum bu neen.	

INDICATIVE MOOD in *goom*.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me goom	We see you.
Imperfect "	" " " wau bun.	

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me goo zeem	We do not see you.
Imperfect "	" " " wau bun.	

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me goom wau dög	Perhaps we see you.

NEGATIVE DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me goo zeem oun dög	Perhaps we do not see you.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me goo eag	If we see you.
Imperfect "	" " ea go bun.	

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me goo ze wag	If we do not see you.
Imperfect "	" " " wa go bun.	

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me goo wa göan	If we chance to see you.
Imperfect "	" " " go bu nan.	

NEGATIVE DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me goo zee wa göan	If we do not chance to see you.
Imperfect "	" " " go bu nan.	

REPEATING VOICE.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me goo ea gon	At the times we see you.
Imperfect "	" " " go bu neen.	

NEGATIVE REPEATING VOICE.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me goo ze wa gon	At the times we do not see you.
Imperfect "	" " " go bu neen.	

In the transitions from first to second persons, there is no plaintive voice.

INDICATIVE MOOD in *bum*.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bum	Thou seest me.
Imperfect "	" bu me nau bun.	

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me zee...........................	Thou dost not see me.
Imperfect “	“ “ “ nau bun.	

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me me dög..............	Perhaps thou seest me.

NEGATIVE DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me zee me dög	Perhaps thou dost not see me.

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu mes...............................	Thou seest me with pity.
Imperfect “	“ “ me se nau bun.	

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me se me dög................	Perhaps thou seest me with pity.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD in *bum*.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me eun.................................	If thou see me.
Imperfect “	“ eum bun.	

NEGATIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me ze wun...........................	If thou dost not see me.
Imperfect “	“ “ wum bun.	

DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me wu nan.........................	If thou chance to see me.
Imperfect “	“ wum bu nan.	

NEGATIVE DOUBTFUL VOICE.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me zee wu nan..................	If thou dost not chance to see me.
Imperfect “	“ “ wum bu nan.	

PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me sun..............................	If thou seest me with pity
Imperfect “	“ sum bun.	

DOUBTFUL PLAINTIVE VOICE.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me se wu nan.....................	If thou chancest to see me with pity.
Imperfect “	“ “ wum bu nan.	

REPEATING VOICE.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me eu nen..........................	At the times thou seest me.
Imperfect “	“ eun bu neen.	

Negative Repeating Voices.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me ze wu nen	At the times thou dost not see me.
Imperfect "	" " wum bu neen.	

Plaintive Repeating Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me su nen	At the times thou seest me with pity.
Imperfect "	" sum bu neen.	

Indicative Mood in *mem.*

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me nem	You see me.
Imperfect "	" " wuu bun.	

Negative Voice.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me zeem	You do not see me.
Imperfect "	" " wau bun.	

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu men wau dög	Perhaps you see me.

Negative Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me zeem wau dög	Perhaps you do not see me.

Plaintive Voice.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me sem	You see me with pity.
Imperfect "	" " wau bun.	

Doubtful Plaintive Voice.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me sem wau dög	Perhaps you see me with pity.

Subjunctive Mood in *mem.*

Present Tense.	Wau bu me eag	If you see me.
Imperfect "	" ea go bun.	

Negative Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me ze wag	If you do not see me.
Imperfect "	" " wa go bun.	

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me wa göan	If you chance to see me.
Imperfect "	" " go bu nan.	

Negative Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me zee wa göan	If you do not chance to see me.
Imperfect "	" " go bu nan.'	

Plaintive Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me sag	If you see me with pity.
Imperfect “	“ sa go bun.	

Doubtful Plaintive Voices.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me se wa göan	If you chance to see me with pity.
Imperfect “	“ “ go bu nan.	

Repeating Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me ea gon	At the times you see me.
Imperfect “	“ “ go bu neen.	

Negative Repeating Voices.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me ze wa gon	At the times you do not see me.
Imperfect “	“ “ go bu neen.	

Plaintive Repeating Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me sa gon	At the times you see me with pity.
Imperfect “	“ “ go bu neen.	

Indicative Mood in *me men,* or *me mem.*

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me men	You see us; or, thou seest us.
Imperfect “	“ “ me nau bun.	

Negative Voice.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me zee men	You do not see us; or, thou, &c.
Imperfect “	“ “ me nau bun.	

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me me nau dög	Perhaps you see us.

Negative Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me zee me nau dög	Perhaps you do not see me.

Plaintive Voice.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me se men	You see me with pity.
Imperfect “	“ “ me nau bun.	

Doubtful Plaintive Voice.

Present Tense.	Ge wau bu me se me nau dög	Perhaps you see us with pity.

Subjunctive Mood in *me men.*

Present Tense.	Wau bu me eaung	If you see us.
Imperfect “	“ “ eaun ge bun.	

Negative Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me ze waung	If you do not see us.
Imperfect "	" " waun ge bun.	

Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me waun gan	If you chance to see us.
Imperfect "	" " ge bu nan.	

Negative Doubtful Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me zee waun gan	If you do not chance to see us.
Imperfect "	" " waun ge bu nan.	

Plaintive Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me saung	If you see us with pity.
Imperfect "	" " saun ge bun.	

Doubtful Plaintive Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me saun gan	If you chance to see us with pity.
Imperfect "	" " ge bu nan.	

Repeating Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me eaun gen	At the times you see us.
Imperfect "	" " ge bu neen.	

Negative Repeating Voices.

Present Tense.	Wau bu me zee waun gen	At the times you do not see us.
Imperfect "	" " " ge bu neen.	

Plaintive Repeating Voice

Present Tense.	Wau bu me saun gen	At the times you see us with pity
Imperfect "	" " ge bu neen.	

Imperative Voice.

Present Tense.	Wau bum	See thou him or them.
Future "	" bu mau gun	See thou him or them, in future.
Ga goo.	" " gan	Do not see him or them.

Present Tense.	Wau bu meg	See ye him or them.
Future "	" mau gäg	See ye him or them, in future.
Ga goo.	" " ga gon	See ye not him or them. (This is not an interrogation)

Present Tense.	Wau bun dun	See thou it or them; things.
Future "	" du moo gun	See thou it or them, in future.
Ga goo.	" eun gan	See thou it or them not.

Present Tense.	Wau bun du moog	See ye it or them.
Future “	“ “ moo gäg	“ “ “ in future.
Ga goo.	“ dun ga gon	“ “ “ not.
Present Tense.	Wau bun de eog	See ye each other.
Future “	“ “ gäg	“ “ “ in future.
Ga goo.	“ “ go gon	Do not see or look at each other.
Present Tense.	Wau bu me sen	See thou me.
Future “	“ see gun	“ “ in future, at some particular time.
Ga goo.	“ “ gan	Don't see me; don't look at me.
Present Tense.	Wau bu me seg	See ye me.
Future “	“ “ see gäg	“ “ in future.
Ga goo.	“ “ “ ga gon	Don't see me; don't look at me.—Plural.
Present Tense.	Wau bu me se naum	See ye or thou us.
Future “	“ “ gaung	“ “ “ in future.
Ga goo.	“ “ gaun gan	Don't see us; don't look at us.—Plural.
Present Tense.	Wau ben	See thou; have thou sight.
Future “	“ be gun	“ “ “ in future.
Ga goo.	“ “ gan	Do not see; do not have sight.
Present Tense.	Wau be eog	See ye; have ye sight.
Future “	“ gäg	“ “ “ in future.
Ga goo.	“ ga gön	Do not see.—Plural.
Present Tense.	Wau bun je gan	See thou; be thou a spectator.
Future “	“ “ ga gun	“ “ “ “ in future.
Ga goo.	“ “ “ gan	Do not see; do not look on.
Present Tense.	Wau bun je ga eog	See ye, &c.
Future “	“ “ gag	“ in future.
Ga goo.	“ “ ga gon	Do not see, &c.—Plural.
Present Tense.	Wau bun du maun	See thou; look.
Future “	“ “ mau gun	“ “ in future.
Ga goo.	“ “ “ gan	Do not see; look.
Present Tense.	Wau bun du mau eog	See ye; look ye.
Future “	“ “ gäg	“ “ in future.
Ga goo.	“ “ ga gon	Do not see; look.—Plural.
Present Tense.	Wau bun de zon	See thyself.
Future “	“ “ zo gun	“ in future.
Ga goo.	“ “ “ gan	Do not see thyself.
Present Tense.	Wau bun de zo eog	See yourselves.
Future “	“ “ gäg	“ “ in future.
Ga goo.	“ “ ga gon	Do not see yourselves.

Present Tense.	Wau bê	Cause thou him or them to see.
Future “	“ be au gun	“ “ “ “ in future.
Ga goo.	“ “ gan	Do thou not cause him or them to see.
Present Tense.	Wau bë eg	Cause ye him or them to see.
Future “	“ au gäg	“ “ “ “ in future.
Ga goo.	“ “ ga gon	Do not ye cause him or thou to see.
Present Tense.	Wau bun dû	Cause thou him or them to see it; show it to him.
Future “	“ du au gun	Show it to him, in future.
Ga goo.	“ “ gan	Do not show it to him; do not thou cause him or them to see it.
Present Tense.	Wau bun dü eg	Cause ye him or them to see it.
Future “	“ du au gäg	“ “ “ “ “ in future.
Ga goo.	“ “ ga gon	Do n't you show it to him or them.
	Wau bu mau dau	Let us see him.
Ga goo.	“ “ zee dau	“ not see him.
“	“ “ dau neg	“ see them.
“	“ “ zee dau neg	“ not see them.
	Wau bun du dau	Let us see it.
Ga goo.	“ “ zee dau	“ not see it.
“	“ “ dau nen	“ see them; things.
“	“ “ zee dau nen	“ not see them; things.
	Wau be dau	Let us see; have sight.
Ga goo.	“ zee dau	“ not see; “
	Wau bun je ga dau	Let us see; look on.
Ga goo.	“ “ zee dau	“ not see; look on.
	Wau bun de dau	Let us see each other.
Ga goo.	“ “ zee dau	“ not see each other.
“	“ “ gung	“ see each other, in future.
“	“ “ zee gung	Do n't let us see each other, in future.
	Wau bun de zoo dau	Let us see ourselves.
	Wau be dau	Let us see; have sight.
	Wau bun du mau dau	Let us see; perceive.
	Wau be ë de dau	Let us cause each other to see.
	Wau bun du ë de dau	Let us cause each other to see it.
	“ “ mau de dau	Let us see it for each other.

The imperative voice of all words is not formed in the same way, thus:

Ge gan du *moo see* sen	Cause thou me to know it.
Wau bun du *e* sen	“ “ see it.

These are a few of the forms of the Imperative Mood.

Voices not embraced in any of the Conjugations.

Wau bu mau jeg	Those who see him.
“ “ ze gög	“ do not see him.
“ “ goa nug	“ chance to see him.
“ “ zee göa nug	“ do not chance to see him.
“ “ bu neeg	“ saw him.
“ “ zee bu neeg	“ did not see him.
“ “ go bu na nug	“ chanced to see him.
“ “ zee go bu nug	“ did not chance to see him.

Wau bu me go jeg	Those whom he sees, or those who are seen by him.
“ “ ze gög	“ “ does not see.
“ “ bu neeg	“ “ saw.
“ “ zee bu neeg	“ “ did not see.
“ “ göa nug	“ “ chances to see.
“ “ zee göa nug	“ “ does not chance to see.
“ “ go bu na nug	“ “ chanced to see.
“ “ zee go bu na nug	“ “ did not chance to see.

Third Person.

Wau be jeg	Those who see, or have sight.
“ ze gög	“ do not see.
“ goau bun	“ saw.
“ ze göau bun	“ did not see.
“ goä nug	“ chance to see.
“ zee göa nug	“ do not chance to see.
“ go bu na nug	“ chanced to see.
“ zee go bu na nug	“ did not chance to see.

Fourth Person.

Wau be ne jen	Those who see, or have sight.
“ “ ze ne gon	“ do not see.
“ “ “ “	“ saw.
“ “ “ “	“ did not see.
“ “ göa nun	“ chance to see.
“ “ zee göa nun	“ do not chance to see.
“ “ go bu na nun	“ chanced to see.
“ “ zee go bu nun	“ did not chance to see.

Third Person.

Wau bu men jeg	Those who are seen.
“ mau ze wen jeg	“ “ not seen.
“ men de bu neeg	“ were seen.
“ mau ze wen de bu neeg	“ “ not seen.
“ “ wen da nug	“ chance to be seen.
“ “ zee wen da nug	“ do not chance to be seen.
“ “ wen de bu na nug	“ chanced to be seen.
“ “ zee wen de bu na nug	“ did not chance to be seen.

Fourth Person.

Wau bu me men jen	Those who are seen.
“ “ mau ze wen jen	“ “ not seen.
“ “ men de bu neen	“ were seen.
“ “ mau ze wen de bu neen	“ “ not seen.
“ “ “ wen da nun	“ chance to be seen.
“ “ “ zee wen da nun	“ do not chance to be seen.
“ “ “ wen de bu na nun	“ chanced to be seen.
“ “ “ zee wen de bu na nun.	“ did not chance to be seen.

Third Person.

Wau bun je ga jeg	Those who see; spectators.
“ “ ze gög	“ do not see.
“ “ goau bun	“ saw; were spectators.
“ “ ze goau bun	“ did not see.
“ “ göa nug	“ chance to see; be spectators.
“ “ zee göa nug	“ do not chance to see.
“ “ go bu na nug	“ chanced to see.
“ “ zee go bu na nug	“ did not chance to see.

Fourth Person.

Wau bun je ga me jen	Those who see.
“ “ ze ne gon	“ do not see.
“ “ “ “	“ saw.
“ “ “ “	“ did not see.
“ “ göa nun	“ chance to see.
“ “ zee göa nun	“ do not chance to see.
“ “ go bu na nun	“ chanced to see.
“ “ zeo go bu na nun	“ did not chance to see.

Third Person.

Wau bun de zo jeg	Those who see themselves.
" " ze gög	" do not see themselves.
" " zo goau bun	" saw themselves.
" " ze göau "	" did not see themselves.
" " göa nug	" chance to see themselves.
" " zee göa nug	" peradventure do not see themselves.
" " go bu na nug	" " saw themselves.
" " zee go bu na nug	" " did not see themselves.

Fourth Person.

Wau bun de zo ne jen	Those who see themselves.
" " ze ne gon	" do not see themselves.
" " "	" saw themselves.
" " "	" did not see themselves.
" " göa nun	" peradventure see themselves.
" " zee göa nun	" " do not see themselves.
" " go bu na nun	" " saw themselves.
" " zee go bu na nun	" " did not see themselves.

And so of all the other intransitive forms, excepting that in *goo;* as —

Third Person.	Wau bun de jeg	Those who see each other.
Fourth "	" " ne jen	" " "
Third "	" du mau jeg	" " or perceive.
Fourth "	" " ne jen	" " "
Third "	Wau be ë de jeg	" cause each other to see.
Fourth "	" " ne jen	" " "
Third "	Wau bun du ë de jeg	" " " it.
Fourth "	" " ne jen	" " "
Third "	" du mau de jeg	" see it for each other.
Fourth "	" " ne jen.	" " "

And so on, of the thousand other forms.

PARTICIPIALS.

Wau beng	Seeing.	
" be zeeng	Not seeing.	
" " ween gan	Perhaps seeing.	*Present.*
" " zee ween gan	" not seeing.	
" " ween ge bu nan	" seeing.	*Past.*
" " zee we[illegible]e bu nan	" not seeing.	
" ben gen	Like seeing.	
" be zeen gen	" not seeing.	
" ben ge bun.		
" be zeen ge bun.		

Wau be ë de zong.[1]
“ “ zo zeeng.
“ “ “ ween gan.
“ “ “ zee ween gan.
“ “ “ ween ge bu nan.
Wau be ë de zo zee ween ge bu nan.
“ zon gen.
“ zo zeen gen.
“ zon ge bun.
“ zo zeen ge bun.

The participles of all the intransitive voices are formed the same as the above.

Wau bun du meng	Seeing it.
“ “ zeeng	Not seeing it.
“ mo ween gan	Perhaps seeing it.
“ zee “	“ not seeing it.
“ mo ween ge bu nan	“ having seen it.
“ zee “ “	“ not having seen it.
“ men gen	Like seeing it.
“ zeen “	“ not seeing it.
“ men ge bun.	
“ zeen “	

Wau bun daum	Seen.
Wau bun du zeem	Not seen.

Nouns.

Nouns are sometimes formed from the verbs, by dropping the pronominal prefix, and adding *win* at the termination; as—

Nen ne boau gau	I am wise.
“ “	Wisdom. (See Vol. II., p. 382).
Nem be mau diz	I live.
“ de ze win	Life.
Nen ne bau	I sleep.
“ win	Sleep.
Nen du no gee	I work.
“ u “ win	Work.

Demonsrative Pronouns.

Egew	Those persons.
Enew	“ things.
Enew	“ persons, or that person.

When *enew* is used to express persons, it is always in the fourth person, but may be either singular or plural.

Gee noon du mooaud *egew* ge nee jau ne zug	When they had heard, they, your children.
“ me ned *enew* onee ju ne zun	“ “ “ his children; or, When he had heard, he, his child.

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[1] This voice cannot easily be put into English. It is from Ne wau be ë dez; I cause myself to see. The voice is both causative and reflective.

The following generalizations will contribute to the analysis of these conjugations of the verb:

HEADS OF VOICES OR CONJUGATIONS.

In *mau.*

Ne wau bu mau	I see him.
“ be au	I cause him to see.
“ bun du au	I cause him to see it.
“ “ mo wau	I see it with him.

In *maug.*

Ne wau bu maug	I see them.
“ be aug	I cause them to see.
“ bun du aug	I cause them to see it.
“ “ mo waug	I see it with them.

In *meg.*

Ne wau bu meg	He sees me.
“ be eg	He causes me to see.
“ bun du eg	He causes me to see it.
“ “ maug	He sees it with me.

In *goog.*

Ne wau bu me goog	They see me.
“ be ë goog	They cause me to see.
“ bun du ë goog	They cause me to see it.
“ “ mau goög	They see it with me.

Ne wau bun daun	I see it.
“ dau nun	I see them.

Ne wau be e gon	It causes me to see.
“ go nun	They cause me to see.

In *goo.*

Ne wau bu me goo	I am seen.
“ be ë goo	I am caused to see.
“ bun du ë goo	I am caused to see it.
“ “ mau goo	I am seen with it.

In *goz.*

Ne wau bu me goz	I am seen, willingly.
“ be ë goz	I am caused to see.
“ bun du ë goz	I am caused to see it.
“ “ mau goz	I am seen with it, or it is seen with me.

In *ga.*

Ne wau bun je ga	I see; I am a spectator.
“ be ë wa	I cause to see; to have sight.
“ bun du ë wa	I cause to be seen.
“ “ mau ga	I see for.

In *dez.*

Ne wau bun dez	I see myself.
“ be ë dez	I cause myself to see.
“ bun du ë dez	I cause myself to see it.
“ “ mau dez	I see it for, or with myself.

In *de men.*

Ne wau bun de men	We see each other.
“ be ë de men	We cause each other to see.
“ bun du ë de men	We cause each other to see it.
“ “ mau de men	We see it with, or for each other.

In *men.*

Ge wau bu men	I see thee.
“ be en	I cause thee to see.
“ bun du en	I cause thee to see it.
“ “ moon	I see it with, or for thee.

---

[1] There is a difference here in some forms; as

Ne noon daug	He hears me.
Ne wau bu meg	He sees me.
Ne wee doo gaug	He helps me.
Neu zau ge eg	He loves me.

In *nem*.

Ge wau bu me nem	I see you.
“ be e nem	I cause you to see.
“ bun du e nem	I cause you to see it.
“ “ moo ne nem	I see it with, or for you.

In *goom*.

Ge wau bu me goom	We see you.
“ be ë goom	We cause you to see.
“ bun du ë goom	We cause you to see it.
“ “ mau goom.	We see it with, or for you.

In *mem*.

Ge wau bu mem	You see me.
“ be em	You cause me to see.
“ bun du em	Yon cause me to see it.
“ “ maoo wem	You see it with, or for me.

In *me goo*.

Ge wau bu me goo	We see thee.
“ be ë goo	We cause thee to see.
“ bun du ë goo	We cause thee to see it.
“ “ mau goo	We see it with, or for thee.

In *bum*.

Ge wau bum[1]	Thou seest me.
“ bê	Thou causest me to see.
“ bun dû	Thou causest me to see it.
“ “ du maoo.	Thou seest it with, or for me.

In *me men*.

Ge wau bu men	You see us; or, thou seest us.
“ be ë men	You cause us to see.
“ bun du ë men	You cause us to see it.
“ “ maoo we men	You see it with, or for us.

SIMPLE CONJUGATION.

Ne waub	I see.

In *du mau*.

Ne wau bun du mau	I see; I perceive.

In *maun*.

Ne wau bu me maun	I see his, &c.

It results that the root of this verb is not *wau*, but *waub*, as stated — a verb which appears to be formed from *aub*, an eye-ball, or circle of light. The noun itself appears to have been originally formed from *wau bun*, a place of light, which is the term for the east.

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[1] There is much diversity in verbs of this conjugation; as—

Ge mees	Thou givest it me.
Ge gös	Thou art afraid of me.
Ge go ga nem	Thou knowest me.

This voice appears to depend on the terminating syllable of the verb itself.

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X. INDIAN ART. D.

[4th Paper, Title X.]

TITLE X.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, STATE OF INDIAN ART.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE X.

TITLE X., LET A., VOL. II. [1st Paper.]

- 1. Modern Art.
  - A. Existing Handicraft Skill. (9 Plates.)
    - 1. Pipe-Sculpture.
    - 2. Ornamented Pipe-Stems.
    - 3. Canoes of Bark.
    - 4. War-clubs and Hatchets.
    - 5. Cradles.
    - 6. Musical Instruments.
    - 7. Domestic Arts.
    - 8. Apecun, or Head-Strap.
    - 9. Muskrat Spear.
    - 10. Dressing Skins.
    - 11. Forest Embroidery.
    - 12. Modern Implements.

TITLE X., LET. B., VOL. III. [2d Paper.]

- A. Modern Art.
  - 1. Handicraft Skill in Arts of first Necessity. (3 Plates.)
    - 1. Making Fire by Percussion. Plate, p. 228.
    - 2. Trituration of Maize. Plate, p. 228.
    - 3. Preparation of Arrow-Heads, &c., from Flints or other Silicious Materials.
    - 4. Handicrafts of Oregon Indians.

TITLE X., LET. C., VOL. IV. [3d Paper.]

- A. Modern Art. (With Plates.)
  - 1. Earthenware of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.
  - 2. Domestic Handicrafts of the Moqui and Navajo Tribes.
  - 3. Making Blankets.
  - 4. Spinning and Weaving of the Navajoes.
- B. Antique Indian Art.
  - 1. Its Generic Type of Architecture.
  - 2. Arts at the Era of the Discovery of America.
    - 1. Ancient American Bronze-cutting Instruments.
    - 2. Spinning.
    - 3. Basket Hydraulic Press of the Topiti.
    - 4. Gold and Silversmiths.
    - 5. Aboriginal Arts and Artizans.

TITLE X., LET. D., VOL. V. [4th Paper.]

Synoptical Sketch of Indian Art.

STATE OF INDIAN ART.

SYNOPTICAL SKETCH OF INDIAN ART.

Art had evinced itself at an early period, in the semi-civilized tribes of the southern division of this continent, in peculiar and remarkable forms. These forms, as they existed in the aboriginal stocks of Peru and Mexico, have been the topic of frequent description. There has been, perhaps, a tendency from the beginning, to over-estimate what was certainly surprising in the attainments made by these tribes. The chief question with respect to them has been, whether these conditions of art are to be regarded as natural developments of the aboriginal mind here, or as having had their impulsive elements of mechanical skill or knowledge from antique foreign sources. It has been no object in these investigations, either to repeat what has already been well said on this subject, or to offer criticisms, by way of abatement, on what are esteemed to be over-colorings. The only point in which the subject has assumed importance in this inquiry, has been in making these forms of Indian art standards of comparison, as they appear to be prototypes for the archæological remains and vestiges of art, found among the northern tribes. If some facts have been added to the general record of the antique state of art of the aborigines of the sou[illegible] (Plate 39, Vol. IV., p. 438, Plate 10, Vol. V.,) they have been incidentally brought forward, having resulted, in part, from the visits of gentlemen connected with the astronomical inquiries directed to be made, by the National Observatory, in the cloudless Peruvian latitudes.

So far as relates to the Indian tribes of the United States, the types of the southern forms of structural art are recognized. They are perceived in the large religico-civic mounds, or teocalli, and in the earth-works, fortifications of village sites; the escarpment of hills, and the eccentric circumvallations on river banks, and alluvial tracts, in the Mississippi Valley. The great respect and veneration shown by the southern tribes for their dead, by the erection of graves, barrows and tumuli, is equally a trait characteristic of the Vesperic tribes. Throughout the Floridian regions, and the Mississippi Valley, extending to the great lakes, and even to the area of New England, the public labors of the Indians were concentrated on this object; the principal difference being, that both the personal and village tumuli were smaller in the area of the United

States east of the Alleghany Mountains, as if the decrease in size were in proportion to the distance from the primitive seats of the parent mound-building tribes. (Vol. I., Plate 5, &c.) Nor were there wanting, in these northern structures, occasional instances of the partial employment of unhewn stone, derived both from the horizontal and boulder drift strata, limited, however, to cases where the material was contiguous. But, as a general fact, the architectural skill of the northern tribes was so greatly inferior, and rude, or undeveloped, as to have misled opinion on the general character, and homogeneousness of the type of art. Without searching for this inferior state of art in remote causes, it is believed to be sufficiently accounted for in the northern tribes, though possessing greater personal activity and love of freedom, in the fact that they were nomadic in their habits. They roved, periodically, over vast tracts in quest of game, and were fascinated at once by the charm of the wild independence of the chase, and the pursuit of the distinction and savage glory of war.

By adopting agriculture, the Peruvian and Mexican tribes became stationary. The time before devoted to the wasting, but alluring pursuits of hunting, was given to the care of fields, and the peaceful labors of raising grain. Large bodies of Indians could thus support themselves in small areas of fertile territory. It became practicable to form populous towns, which being under the government of hereditary chiefs, or caciques, who exercised absolute control, public works could be made; roads and aqueducts could be constructed at the will of the rulers; temples and teocalli could be erected; and thus, in the passage of centuries, the state of these semi-civilized governments rose to that pitch of rude magnificence and barbaric attainment in which Europe found them, at the close of the fifteenth century. At any rate, these were supposable causes for the differences in the state of art of a generic race, who were clearly ONE in everything else.

Where there was no personal liberty and no remuneration for services, there was no limit to the erection of public works. Barbarism here, as it had in Asia, from the earliest periods of the Euphrates and Nile, took its first strides to power in this absorption of individual rights, and it only seemed to require some foreign element of skill or combination, in aboriginal America, to raise such structures as the Temple of the Sun at Cuzco—the Pyramid of Cholula, and the shapely, yet picturesque edifices of Palenque, and Chichen Itza. In the meantime, while the Peruvians and Toltecs went on in their development, the tribes of the north were busied in the pursuits of hunting and war. Each ambitious chief was the lord of a dominion. He roved over hills and valleys, to which no one had a right to dispute his ownership, but he who had a keener arrow, a longer spear, or a heavier club. Brave men, eloquent speakers, and skilful sorcerers or jugglers, attracted the suffrages of their followers. The hereditary and patriarchal system, attributing supreme power and respect to age, was still remembered and applauded; but whenever it did not produce bravery, talents, or necromantic skill, partizan leaders had the rule. A hundred little Indian sovereignties thus sprang up on the present area of the United States. Some of their leading tribes held greater sway than others. Some carried their traditions and claims to nationality higher than others. But most of the tribes utterly failed in the power of combination. They lived at war with others, and it was a war carried on with nearly the same principles as their war against the animal creation. The potent difference to savages was this, that whenever they killed a bear, they had a carcass to furnish provisions; when they killed a man, they had a scalp to shake in the air in proud defiance. They deceived each other in their wars in all possible ways. Disunion among themselves led to anarchy, and anarchy to discord, depopulation, tribal degradation, and misery. This tale is told by scrutinizing the vestiges, and what are called, perhaps with some imprecision, the "monuments" of their history.

Such objects of construction, and implements of art, as have been visited or examined on this wide field of barbaric conflicts, extending from the Rio Grande del Norte to the Falls of St. Anthony, and to Lake Superior, embracing the whole Atlantic coast, from the capes of Florida to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, have been described and illustrated in the prior volumes.

For descriptions of their various implements and handicrafts, see Vol. I., Plates 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33.—Vol. II., Plates 5, 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 16, 23, 27, 28, 29, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78.—Vol. III., Plates 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 28, 33, 34, 35, 45.—Vol. IV., Plates 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 37, 38, 39.—Vol. V. (herewith), Plates 7, 10, 11, 13, 24, 26, 28, 31, 32. In the survey of this extensive field of the scattered remains of Indian art,[1] it is remarkable to perceive how little there is to denote that the *Indian man* has, at any period, come up to the great duties of the dignity of human life in society. With the vague, general notion, that God exists in the clouds, the elements, and the wind, he has worshipped him, as it were, with the wind. The symbolic clouds of the nicotiana, have been the sacred incense offered by him; if the sacrifice of life has also been offered by him, it has, according to general observation, been the life of the dog. He has offered this incense and sacrifice through the mediations of the dark spirits of the woods, skies, and waters, who constitute the almost innumerable hosts of his mythology and dæmonology. In one or two traits only, so far as respects the subject of pantheism, is he superior to the dark and sanguinary systems of his brethren of Cuzco, and of Anahuac. He has offered no human sacrifice. He has erected no temples to exhibit idolatrous worship. The idolatry of the Vesperic Indians has been almost exclusively *that* of the mind, unlike his southern brethren.

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[1] One-and-thirty years had been passed by the author in this large area, before these observations were commenced, in 1847. Years have since been devoted to the study of his materials and the objects of art collected, with the aid of active correspondents in the field. The Appendix embraces some of the data collected between Nova Scotia and Hudson's Bay, by the route across the Rocky Mountains to New Calodonia in British America; and also by the way of Texas, New Mexico, California, and Oregon, to Olympia on Puget's Sound, Washington Territory.

No Peruvian High Priest of the Sun has waved his offering at the altar — no Aztec flamen has lifted the reeking heart of his victim as an offering to the Moloch of his creed. If the northern Indian has waded in blood and fire while on the war-path, it has not been blood and fire sacrilegiously offered at the altar. They have been the fruits of vengeance. They have been false means of human glory, but not instrumentalities of worship.

In comparing the two grades of art, of the tropical and torrid, and the temperate latitudes of the American continent, it is demonstrated that their constructive and mechanical powers were much unlike. It was so with respect to the idea of the pyramid,—the incipient arts of sculpture and painting, and picture-writing; this generic similarity has evinced itself with all the tribes who have, more or less, adopted agriculture and adhered to forms of aristocratic government. Yet the mind of the Indian, in the simple amphyctionic, or deliberative forms of the north, shows itself as entertaining the same ideas of architectural art, clustering itself around a public square. (Vide Creeks, Sect. VII.) There is a characteristic phasis of mind in both groups of tribes in the erection of tumuli, and repositories for the dead, and of terraced structures for the residences of the chiefs, who here also[1] united the political and religious power. In both hemispheres, the sun appears to have been originally the great object of worship. Sacrifices were alike offered, either on the tops of artificial cones of earth, or the elevated parts of hills, overlooking extensive plains or valleys. So far as regarded art, in the resistance of military force, the effort was chiefly directed in both regions to segregate commanding natural peninsulas, forming often a military tailus, and to encircle the brows of eminences or abrupt defiles with pickets. The opinion has indeed been advanced, from their rude and general coincidence of structure, that the northern vestiges of Indian art are the true prototypes of its southern forms in Mexico.

In Plate 4, Vol. I., are depicted the various forms of the Tlascalan gateway, adopted by the United States Indians. The use of this principle of construction is further shown in the description of the Teton fortification of the Missouri, herewith, Plate 14.

The subject, in all its bearings, has been discussed in the preceding volumes, under the head of antiquities, and a body of new and interesting information of an authentic character brought forward, to which attention is invited.

Indian art in the United States, in addition to the general purposes of worship and defence adverted to, has busied itself on objects essential to the forest wants. No objects of art have more exercised their ingenuity than their canoes, wigwams, and dwelling-places of various kinds. In the annexed Plate (30), the two extremes of this art are exhibited; namely, the Chippewa lodge, as it exists in the Lake region; and the Creek house in its best state of native improvement in 1790. The canoe of the southern latitudes, differs little from the monoxyla of the ancients. It was merely

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[1] The efforts of Tecumseh would have been utterly powerless without this union.

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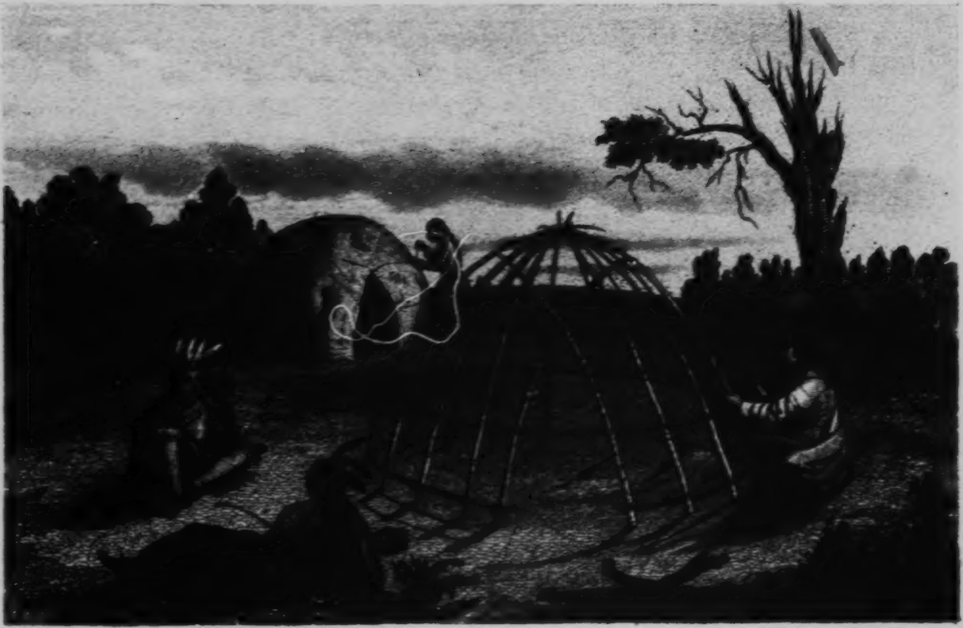
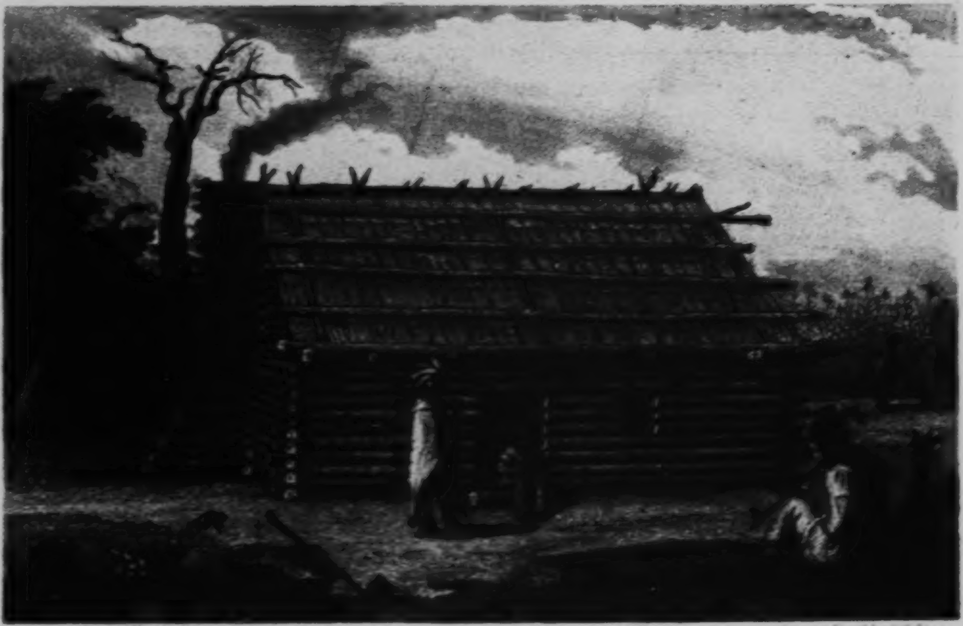
Plate 30.



CHIPPEWA LODGE.



Drawn by J. C. Tidball U.S.A.

Eng'd by [illegible]

CREEK HOUSE IN 1791.

PUBLISHED BY J.B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. PHILADELPHIA

the trunk of a tree, excavated. But the light and shapely vessel constructed from the rind of the betula papyracea, exhibits a degree of art and ingenuity which has been universally admired. Both the Chippewa and Ottowa tribes are noted for their skill in making, and their boldness in navigating, the lakes in these frail vessels of bark. It is rather in the latter respect that the Ottowas claim pre-eminence. In one of these frail barks (figured in Plate 13), with a short mast and blanket sail, they sweep, as on the "wings of the wind," out of the straits of Michilimakinac, and have no hesitancy in crossing the wide expanse of Lake Huron. That this feat may be contrasted with the ancient balza of the South Pacific tribes, the figure of that ingenious structure is, at the same time, presented. Two species of their handicraft contrivances have chiefly arrested the Indian mind—namely, instruments for killing their enemies, and for capturing beasts and fishes. In the first department, the arrows of different forms, the stone lunett or skull-piercer, the spear of jasper or hornstone, and the stone club or ballista (large or small), have claims to antiquity before the iron tomahawk, or any kind of axe of that metal, knife or metallic jacula or dart. Implements of bone and of the solid part of sea-shells, have the same claims to priority of antiquity. It is the same of pipes and other sculptures of serpentine steatite; silicious pestles of grauwakke, the primary forest cooking-pot, and other rude forms of pottery. The tips of the horns of the deer, elk, and moose, tied to a wooden handle, were employed at the earliest periods, for piercing orifices through the ice, in the lakes and rivers of northern latitudes, and this instrument is the prototype of the modern ice-cutter of iron, which in the Algonquin retains its old name of *aishkun*. Ornaments were fabricated from folia of mica—from small and shining univalves, and from fossil red aluminous and mixed minerals. Knives were formed from pieces of obsidian, chert, hornstone, or even the hard joints of the common cane of the Mississippi Valley. Chisels and axes of native copper were in common use throughout America, and are believed to have constituted one of the commonest articles of native exchanges of the era. Some of these chisels, or blades of copper, were tied to firm handles, constituting an agricultural implement answering the purpose of a garden spade, with which the land was cultivated. Such articles have been recently found in the Miami valley, Ohio. (Vide Appendix.)

The uses of native copper by the ancient tribes, appears to have been extensive. This metal was found by the natives, in the metallic state, in lumps and masses of various forms, through extensive districts of the west and north-west, where it was collected and subjected to mechanical labor by the tribes. This metal sometimes exhibits itself on the surface, in the form of regular veins, in formations of the trap rock. Recent discoveries in the basin of Lake Superior, denote that these veins have been pursued by miners in ancient times, in their natural courses, with more skill and energy than belongs to the Indian race. Vestiges of ancient mines have been discovered of so important a character, in this basin, that modern miners have paused in astonishment to behold them. The subject appears destined to shed more light, indeed, on the aboriginal history, than even the mounds of the west; for it denotes the application of a peculiar system of labor, which was never, in known periods, a characteristic of savage tribes, and in which, at the best, they could only have been employed as auxiliaries.

True it is, that this ancient mode of mining was altogether simple, and evinced a bestowal of incipient art in the department, such as is conformable to the earliest suggestions of ingenuity in regard to the subject. After the external masses had been removed, the metallic leads appear to have been pursued by building fires upon, or against the walls of the trap rock. After this calcining process had been continued to the desired point, water was poured on the heated rock, to render it friable. Mauls of hard stone were then applied to beat off the calcined rock. These mauls are abundantly found in the re-opened works. They are generally of quartz rock, or the silicious parts of granite, or Azoic rocks. Stone and copper wedges are also found. When a deep trench or gallery had been opened, which required a ladder to ascend and descend, a small tree or sapling was denuded of the outer part of its limbs, to answer the purpose of steps. The proof of this process of ancient mining as described by engineers, at present engaged in the re-opening of these old works, is depicted in the accompanying sketch, Plate 16, p. 116.

The opinion is general that these labors of mining are of a very ancient date, if not, indeed, the result of the occupation of the continent by an ancient people prior to the aborigines. If so, the works must have been prosecuted under the direction of European or Asiatic skill. Labors of so extensive a character could not have been carried on without considerable gangs of hands—to support whom it was essential that there should have been a cotemporaneous agriculture. No evidences of this appear to exist in the immediate neighborhood of these mining vestiges. But there have been found some enigmatical ancient garden or field-beds, in the fertile prairie regions of Michigan and Illinois, which have excited much interest. Drawings and descriptions of these antique evidences of an ancient agriculture, which is evidently not due to the Indian tribes, are given in Vol. I., Plates 5 and 6, p. 54. Nor can such assumptions of the existence of agricultural and mining labors be deemed unworthy of belief, when it is considered that if we be not disposed, indeed, to regard as probable, the maritime enterprises of the Mediterranean nations in this direction, as Lord Kingsborough asserts, or those of Libya, as indicated by Jomard; still we have, on the basis of more recent and better vouched authorities, the respective traditions of the ancient Irish and British Celts, and that of the Scandinavians, the latter of which, rests on a body of literary data, which commends itself to men of letters and science. (Vide Archi. Amer.) A strong proof of this hypothesis may be drawn from the fact of such antique labors, and abandonment at an unknown period of history, is, that the Indian does not acknowledge them, and has no traditions respecting them. The entire class of facts

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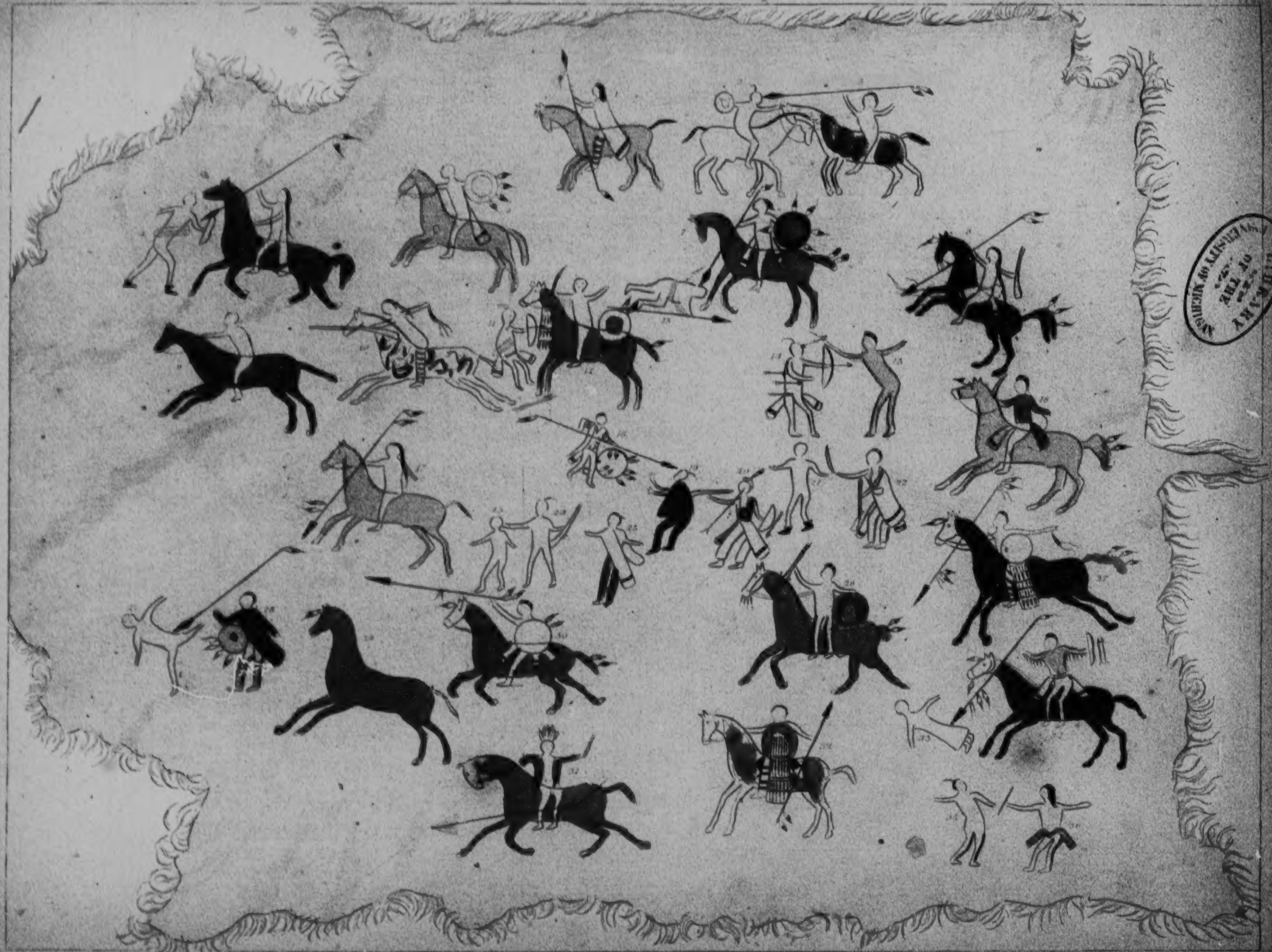

PICTORIAL INSCRIPTION ON A BUFFALO ROBE, FROM NEW-MEXICO.

disclosed, is, on the contrary, in the state of remote antiquities. The ancient trenches and galleries have been filled up with clay, and soils, upon which there is a new forest growth. The tree-ladders, levers, and stone tools employed, are found buried beneath this formation. The very masses of rock used as mauls are found in these antique galleries. The work throughout this portion of the country, so productive at this time in metallic copper, appears to have been suddenly dropped, as if by the prevalence of some political change, or revolution in Indian history, by which more barbarous tribes of men had prevailed.

One of the peculiar objects of art of the Indians, which have attracted notice at various periods, is their system of idiographic devices, or pictographic drawings, by means of which they aim to preserve the memory of names, events, and ideas. This was one of the earliest inscriptive arts of man in the other hemisphere, and is inseparable from the ancient rise of idolatry. The figures of the sun and moon were originally symbols of Deity. Baal was drawn with the head of a man, and the horns and ears of an ox. It was one of the earliest ideas of the oriental nations, that the spirit of divinity concealed itself in the form of some object of animated nature, or even in vegetable life. Hence the Nilotic nations placed the incarnation in an ibis, a crocodile, a cat, or calf, and even a leek, and the form was not long, with these tribes, in taking the place in their estimates of the substance, as figures of the turtle, bear, and wolf do here. That the Indian tribes should have covered the land from Massachusetts Bay to Oregon with similar gods, under similar ideas and similar deceptions, is not strange, and the fact becomes less an object of surprise, when it is perceived from their languages and cosmogony, that in these traits they possess the characteristics of very old nations. The exploits of warriors are often depicted in their representative symbols, on dressed buffalo skins, which are worn as state dresses. Plate 31.

While the tribes, by this symbol-worship, soon lost the true knowledge of the Deity, they applied the system of symbols as marks of notation, to convey to each other several kinds of forest information. By this species of note-craft, the hunter who had killed a deer, a bear, or a moose, denoted that fact by drawing the figure of the animal on a tree, a tabular piece of wood, or scroll of the betula-papyracea. He placed beside this device the figure of his forest arms, and crowned the inscription by drawing over it his *Totem*, or the device of his clan, or family name. His meda, or magician, informed him that he could disclose an art, by means of which the hunter might always rely on killing deer, bears, or moose. It was no other secret than to apply the art of magic to these figures, whereby he would possess the power of controlling the motions of these animals, and of bringing them into his path. Thus hunting was pursued by the art of necromancy; and the meda, or magician, increased his power and importance by the revelation of secret knowledge. The teacher of this art taught his pupils a song, which he was cautioned to sing with due tone, chorus, and genefluxions, while the arts of the incantation were being communicated or practised.

The Indian jossakeed, or prophet, taught him a higher step in pictograpny, by means of which, under his influence, the mystery of the spiritual world could be opened—future events foretold, and even the great arcanum of the book of fate opened. Other classes of knowledge, or facts, in Indian life, were recorded by the system of idiographic pictographs. It is true, that there was no art whatever of preserving *sounds* by these symbols. It merely recalled, by the juxtaposition of figures, a succession of concrete ideas. These symbols became appeals, through the eye, to the memory. In this manner, the Indian proficient in the art of the *Kekewin*, reads off his figures, and chants them in due sequence, with tone and emphasis. This system, for the different forms of which the Indian has different names, and the arts of which he often acquires by the devotion of much time, many payments, and great perseverance, is exhibited in its several phases, in the prior volumes—Vol. I., Plates 36, 37, 38, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 70, 71, 72, 73, and by comparison with similar arts in the Tartaric and other nations, in Plates 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69. The topic is resumed in Vol. II., in Plates 40, 41, 55, 57. In Vol. III., in Plates 36, 37, 38, 39, and 42; and Vol. IV., in Plates 14, 17, 18, 22, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 40, and 41. In the present volume (V.), further illustrations are given in Plates 16, 17, 18, and 19.

Observers should not be querulous, if the aboriginal man of America has applied his glimmerings of art to his superstitions and wild beliefs in dæmonology and necromancy. We are not called on, by the spirit of enlarged inquiry into his condition, to decline the discussion of a topic, because it is founded in ignorance and superstition; or because it gainsays all science and knowledge. The object being to show the man as he is, not as he *ought to be*—this is, on the contrary, the very course that should, it is thought, be pursued, to bring out his true condition, mental and moral. Nor could the subject be examined with less elaborateness, to do it justice. Research in this line should be judged by the difficulties to be encountered and the paucity of the means at command. The topic is certainly illustrative of the Indian mind. By picking up and preserving to future time, his wild pictographic jottings and notations, the inquirer is put in possession of the means of judging of the wild, dark, and incoherent images that pass through the Indian mind. It could hardly otherwise be judged how vague, and utterly distracted in its mental and moral garniture, is the grade of his thoughts, theories and opinions.

XI. RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY. C.

[3D PAPER, TITLE XI.]

TITLE XI.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE XI.

TITLE VII., LET. A., VOL. I.—[MEDAISM, OR INDIAN PRIESTCRAFT.]

1. System of Indian Sorcery and Incantations, called Jesukawin; and its pictorial symbols, p. 358 to 366, with Plates of the Hieratic Songs.
2. Rites and Songs of the Indian Wabenoes, with Plates and Explanations, p. 366 to 381.
3. Sacred Character of the Prophetic Art, with Plates, p. 388 to 401.

TITLE XVII., LET. D., VOL. IV. [1ST (ELEMENTARY) PAPER.]

1. Aboriginal Idea of Religion.
2. Power and Influence of Dacota Medicine-men.

TITLE XI., LET. C., VOL. V. [3D PAPER.]

(*a.*) The Indian Elysium.

(*b.*) The Mythology of the Vesperic Tribes, and its influences on their Social State.

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY.

(a.) THE INDIAN ELYSIUM.

When an Indian is asked to state his religious belief, or his notions of the Divine government, he becomes profoundly thoughtful. If he comprehends the question at all, the reply is usually made in some indirect or general manner, such as that he believes in the Great Spirit, or that he is but ill-instructed in the traditions or wisdom of his tribe; or that such and such persons are better able to answer the inquiry than himself. There is an evident avoidance of the subject; it is manifestly trenching on a secret reserved topic; and the care, modesty, or conversational art, with which he treats the inquiry, are such, that while it is pretty conclusively shown, that the Indians deem themselves to be the object of an exclusive creative and peculiar care, at the same time they denote the respondent's fear of making any revelations on a sacred topic. If his own views and opinions are, on the contrary, well fixed, he appears equally careful to keep them, as entirely as possible, within his own breast. In fact, a good Indian, in the native acceptation of the term, would be restrained from discoursing freely on the subject, by the secrecy which his religion imposes; and a bad Indian, that is to say, one who had given but little heed to the Medas and prophets of his tribe, would know but little worth revealing.

These are the difficulties in approaching the subject. There is another. As the inquiry must usually be made through the medium of an interpreter, there is always some cause to apprehend mistakes, either in putting the questions, or returning the native replies. Most of the individuals on the frontiers who occupy this delicate and responsible position, are unlettered men, who have spent their lives in the forest, and are but ill-fitted to carry on an inquiry which is so much out of the ordinary routine of their thoughts or business. By far the larger part of all oral translations is done by the class of metifs, or persons of amalgamated descent, who aspire after the manners, customs, and opinions of the European or Anglo-American side of the house, and look down upon the simple beliefs and traditionary rites of the Indians, as something of which they may, without discredit, know little. Hence they are generally found to be more completely ignorant of the Indian theology, than the Indians themselves. It would be well too, in any enlarged view of the translations and recorded traditions of this class, if we could, at all times, completely satisfy ourselves that they had not mingled up some of the religious opinions of both stocks of men. Such is manifestly the case with some of the recorded traditions of the era of the conquest, as well as of later periods.

The pursuits of commerce have brought another class of interpreters into the Indian territories—namely, local factors, or persons who are charged with the details of the Indian trade and exchange, and who, during the frequency of their visits, or the length of their actual residence, have acquired an elementary knowledge of the Indian language, in its concrete verbal forms—a class of men who are versed in the facts upon which a successful, or unsuccessful traffic, or adventure depends—on the species of animals whose skins or furs are sought, and the general casualties and commercial bearings of the trade; but who have regarded the Indian in scarcely any other light than as furnishing the medium of this trade. Inquiries into so abstruse a matter as the religion and mythology of the tribe, and their peculiar opinions on life, death, and immortality—opinions and theories on which their views are often but ill-formed and nascent at best, are thus hedged up on all sides; and it is necessary to the value of results of inquiries on this head, to pursue a system of questioning and cross-questioning of no little labor. Finally, the relations given at one time and by one band, should be compared with those given at another time by another band of the same tribe, or by other nations, before the actual current beliefs can be really obtained. And to this end, it is almost essential that years elapse, to enable the observer to test the value of his own observations.

The fundamental points of religious belief of the Algonquin tribes, are much the same, and resemble those of the cognate tribes of other stocks and lineage. They believe that the world was created by a Supreme Spirit, whom they call MONEDO, and OZHEAUD, the Maker, and who is specifically addressed under the prefix of Gézha, the Benevolent or Merciful, and Gitchi, the Great. To Monedo they assign some of the leading attributes of God, believing that He is everlasting, all-powerful and all-wise, and of immaculate and unchanging goodness and mercy. In this they agree. Of his ubiquity and invisibility there is some discrepance. A spirit, and dwelling in the upper atmosphere—or *Ishpiming;* yet, whenever the arcanum of their belief is reached, they locate him in the SUN, or Moon, or indefinite skies, or as the presiding spirit of the Indian Elysium.

In their pictorial scrolls they paint the sun as a man's head, surrounded with rays, and appear to confound the symbol with the substance. They attribute life and light, vitality and intelligence, the world over, alike to Monedo, and to Gézis, the Sun. Iösco, who visited the sun, as their legends say, found it to be a man, and walked a day's journey with him, around the exterior line or rim of the globe, through the periphery of which they could look down, at the sun's noon-place, upon the inhabitants of the earth. Again, the Great Spirit is said to be invisible in form, and to possess ubiquity in the guise of symbols, as he is recognized in the pleasing or frowning shapes and colors assumed by the revolving clouds, the moaning tempests, the vivid lightnings, and the appalling thunder. In these shapes he is clearly represented, not in a human shape, but by symbols. They apply to him also the terms Upholder of the World, the MASTER OF LIFE; and as the original author of life, the FATHER. These terms are in common use, and they afford the most considerable grounds, perhaps, for the supposition that, while they wrap the Great Spirit in the clouds, and veil him in the sun, they had, at an early epoch of their unknown history, a knowledge of the true God.

ISHPIMING, the term employed by all the missionary translators of the Lord's prayer for "heaven," means simply *above*, or in the high illimitable space. It is a local phrase for abiding on high;[1] but Ishpiming is not the fancied Indian paradise so often referred to in their traditions, where the good are to be rewarded with hunting-grounds, and the bad are to sink in a retributive black stream. Whatever else can be said of the Land of the Blest, or the country of souls, which are identical, its locality is not in the sky. We are presented rather, in the lively imagery with which it is painted, with a new earth, or terrene abode, which is to be replete with the affluence of animal life, disporting its varied creations amid beautiful groves, or along the banks of smooth streams and lakes, where there are no tempests, no pinching and chilling vicissitudes of weather, and no broken formations of rough mountains, cataracts, or volcanoes; but where the avocations of life are so sweet and varied, and so completely exempted from the power of the Spirit of Evil, that their happiness is complete. Death, it is fancied, opens the door to this sweet land, and death is therefore viewed with complacency. When this Indian paradise is, however, closely scanned, it turns out to be a gorgeous and soft region of shades and shadows. Streams flow softly—groves wave their branches in gentle airs—birds warble sweetly—herds of noble and stately animals browse on the level plains; but these are all the shadows of the elements of the earth: it is, in fact, the earth itself, restored to its pristine beauty, with all its classes of creation in a state of shadowy metamorphosis. The Great Monedo is, indeed, heard of there; but he is not a god of judgment, or of punishment—his voice is exclusively that of a Father, welcoming home his wandering children from a land of sufferings, trials and death.

It is under this view of his philosophical indifference to life, and repose of character in death, that it is said in "The Man of Bronze,"—

> "Time comes unsighed for—unregretted flies,
> Pleased that he lives, but happy that he dies."

Of justice and holiness, as being attributes of the supreme Indian Monedo, the narrations are silent, unless they be recognised in the typical form of the stream to be crossed prior to the soul's entry into the realms of the Blest. The code to be observed, in order to escape this fate, appears to be, as drawn from their funeral addresses, fidelity and success as a hunter in providing for his family, and bravery as a warrior in defending the rights and honor of his tribe. There is no moral code regulating the duties and reciprocal intercourse between man and man, nor any evidences, further than are above shadowed forth, perhaps, that the tribe is descended from a nation who have ever been the recipients of revealed truth.

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[1] It is not, perhaps, a term very different in meaning from the Hebrew "heshamaim," though not, like this, in the plural.

Such views as these would leave the Indian theology comparatively mild, were they not united with a general theory of the moral government of the world, which leaves the whole practical system of life and death, dark, wild, and visionary indeed. In the sense in which the Indian God has been exhibited, he is little more than a sublime abstraction—depicting an image of transcendental power and glory, vast, undefined, and unfixed. He is believed to be the necessary and uncreated principle of benevolence and goodness. It is, therefore, not necessary to propitiate his wrath. He must needs be good. He is not made responsible for the right government of the world which he has created and upholds. He is no lawgiver and no judge. To lie, to steal, to murder, are not offences against *him*—they may be offences against man, but must be answered to man. To be good, wise, benevolent as the Great Monedo is, appears to be a duty of the aboriginal man, viewing man as the friend of man. But, in the state he actually occupies, he regards man as the enemy of man. He does wrong—he retaliates. He is wronged, and is the just object of retaliation. Every tie in a good and just society is broken by the sons of the forest. Who is to be appealed to? Is the Monedo to arbitrate the cause in another state of existence? Does he hold out a reward as an inducement to do good, or a punishment to dissuade from doing evil? Neither! He stands indeed on the high grounds of a Supreme Governor of the World, but shrinks from his supreme independent duties, and while he wraps around him the awful robes of might and majesty, evincing his presence in the glory of the sun—lifting up his voice in thunder, and riding, like Israel's God, on "the wings of the wind," he commits his practical government to demi-gods and sub-creations, of every possible hue, malignant and benign, who fill the air, the earth, and the water, and convert the globe into a vast moral chaos. The class of evil spirits range themselves under the power of the Great Spirit of Evil, who is called Mudje Monido, that is, a bad spirit. The good spirits, of every class, are believed to be under the chief spirit of good, but as these are bound by the principles of their creation eternally, to *be* good, and *do* good, and cannot be evil, or do evil; and as the Indian God does not prescribe their mission, nor even overrule them to "bring good out of evil," but has left all these spirits in a state of jarring collision, the consequence is, that judged by his sentiments, the unrestrained evil spirits have the mastery, and bear rule in the world. To this class, therefore, the chief offerings are made. The Indian, who is instructed in the lore of his tribe, is prone to recognize these malignant spirits on every hand, and is kept in constant mental fear of their power. He recognizes them not only in his dreams, and in numberless signs and omens among birds and beasts; he not only *typifies*, if he does not *identify* them in the whole animal tribes, but he hears them talk in tempests, he sees them in dark clouds, they beset him in almost every possible angry sound which the jarring elements can make, and they crawl in the very insects of curious shape that creep out of the earth. He attributes sickness and death to the power of these malignant but subordinate gods, and there is no temporal evil which they are not supposed to bring. Fear is thus on every hand; and the forest, in his migrations through it, is little else but a visible scene of audible but admonitory sounds and threatening signs.

There are three classes of men in the Indian nations, who affect to be exponents of the will of the Great Spirit, and of the Evil Spirit. They are, in the order of estimation in which they are held—1. Jossakeeds; 2. Medas; 3. Wabenos. Each of these constitute a class, or society of themselves. It is not known that one may not be a member of either or all, if duly initiated. They are generally, however, distinct in their powers and functions.

The Jossakeed is a prophet. He affects sanctity and a contempt of riches—goes poorly clad, retires to secret places to commune with the Great Spirit, and builds a high conical lodge, formed by stout poles wound about with skins, in order to utter his responses. He holds the relative situation of the ancient oracle. Unknown events, lost articles, the fate of friends, the location of animals sought in the chase, the coming of an enemy, and such like topics, are put into the shape of questions asked of him, after he has entered his prophetic lodge and announced his readiness to give answers. If he be a man of shrewdness of observation, and a good knowledge of his people, the resources of the country, and the character and causes of migration of its animals at each season, he always shapes his replies with due scope of oracular indefiniteness, to secure respect and confidence, and become a person of leading influence in the tribe. This office is subject to be degraded into mere tricks and jugglery, in the hands of weak and bad men.

The Meda is a magician. He is a professor of the arts of the Grand Medicine Dance. He exhibits various articles which are supposed to have the power of curing the sick. He exhibits magical bones, stuffed birds, skins of animals, and other articles of superstitious awe, which are carefully kept in medicine sacks. He is, however, professedly a magician. The power imparted to his medicines and charms, is ascribed to necromancy. He sings while he operates. He is, in fine, the medical mountebank and juggler of the tribe.

(b.) MYTHOLOGY OF THE VESPERIC TRIBES,[1] AND ITS INFLUENCES UPON THEIR SOCIAL STATE.

Deity, in the conception of the ancient Persians, resided in the sacred element of fire. Zoroaster erected his theory on this basis, and the magii were installed as the peculiar priesthood, to teach and enforce this doctrine on the popular mind. As the sun was the visible source of this element, the doctrine spread, east and west, north and south, and it became the object of oriental worship, completely filling the minds of the early nations.

In its prevalence over Hindostan, this doctrine of the deistic character of fire, was perverted from its first meaning, and enlarged to take in other elements, as the objects of worship. It is to the nations of Hindostan, from the Indus, along the Indian Ocean, quite to China, that we must look for the wide-spread adoption of element-worship. The nations were not content, however, with multiplying the deity, in this manner, as parts of the great diurgus; it is here also, that we must look for that yet wider deviation into polytheism, the deification of principles. Brahma, Vishna, and Siva, became the triune gods of creation, sustenance, and re-production. The number of deities proceeding from the new stem of deification is innumerable. Mr. H. W. Wilson, the oriental professor of Oxford, states them at three hundred millions.

The deification of spirits of ancestors is a very ancient human error. It was among the false objects of worship of the Shemitic tribes, and the Hebrews are distinctly censured for it, in the prophetic writings. Feasts to the dead were considered an abomination. But it may be considered as peculiarly a belief of the Mongolic race, in their transit over, or settlement in the interior of Asia. It is pre-eminently the religion of China.

Man, it has been observed, was originally created with strong desires to worship; and when he had forgotten his true origin and dependence, there is still a perpetual desire, and often an ingenuity witnessed, to place his dependence on some created form in the visible universe. If the sun or planets—if the "Gods of the hills or valleys," or other geographical deities, the true Baalism of antiquity, do not supply this want—it is found in the apotheosis of principles, as in India. Where these are not adopted, the spirits of ancestors are taken. Still more strikingly is this search for a deity found in the incarnation of an imaginary supreme spirit in the body of some quadruped, or bird, as the calf, the crocodile, the ibis or the cat, or even in harmless vegetable life, as the onion—the well-known objects of Egyptian worship.

The Greeks, when they arose to build up a literature, which has arrested the admiration of the world, reconstructed the old world's mythology, and from its rubbish gave it a form which is unequalled for its imagination and beauty. In it are recognized as a fundamental point, the construction of order out of chaos—the lingering tradition of the creation—a deluge, the astrological influence of the planets, each of which is subject to a local god; the revelation of fate by the examination of the entrails of animals—men exalted to the rank of gods, oracles appointed to declare the purposes of Providence, an eternal fire worshipped—an elysium and a pandemonium. Jove is installed as the supreme deity over all, as its governing and controlling power. The passions and principles are not only deified, but every art and science has its tutelar deity. History and poetry never received such aids as were furnished by its beautiful nomenclature and apposite mythological theory; and there is accordingly no nation on the earth whose history and poetry is at all comparable to hers. Christianity itself has found it hard to battle with her mythology—we must teach it in schools.

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[1] This term is exactly commensurate with the United States. Its origin is denoted on page 287.

In seeking for the philosophy of a deity in the Indian race of America, we are presented as a basis with a form of SABÆNISM—one of the earliest and simplest forms of idolatry. Element-worship, in which the sun, moon, and planets, are conspicuous objects, was common to Persia, to Mesopotamia, Arabia, and other surrounding countries. Persia signalized herself, particularly, by the worship of the sun—and this object has been one of the most conspicuous symbols of adoration among the American tribes, from the extreme south to the latitudes of Canada and the Arctic Ocean.

The United States Indians preserved the oriental idea of adoration to this planet as a symbol of deity, with greater simplicity than any of the other American tribes. They regarded it as the symbol of life, light, power and intelligence, and deemed it the impersonation of the Great Spirit. They sang hymns to the sun, and made genuflections to it. The tribes on the elevated table lands of Mexico and Peru, built upon these original Asiatic ideas, a ponderous and a horrid system, in which human sacrifice was offered. But there was nothing of this kind among the forest tribes of the north. They sacrificed prisoners taken in war to the spirit of military glory or revenge. Even the Natchez offered no human victims on the altar of the sun. If their ruler regarded himself as the representative of the sun, he kept himself this side of miracles. When De Soto announced himself as the veritable son of the Sun—"Then dry up the Mississippi," was the answer, "and I will believe you."

Upon this fundamental belief, the Indians of our latitudes engrafted a scarcely less ancient idea—a plurality of gods—a primary god of goodness, and a god of evil.

This was the great dualistic system—the re-appearance in the West, of the Ormuzd and Ahriman of antiquity. Two classes of lesser benign, or malign gods, or spiritual existences, are consequently installed. And as these are necessarily antagonistical to each other, the door of hope and fear, as they follow one or the other class, are pretty widely set open before the Indian heart.

The Indians roamed through interminable forests, where the trees, in twilight or darkness, put on a spectral aspect. Cliffs, cataracts, and defiles often inspire the hunter with profound awe; and hence arose the idea of dæmons, or spirits of good or evil omen. These dæmons, however, generally bear the character of evil. They are the local genii of the woods, the waters, the rocks, and the air. Tempests, thunders, and lightnings, are often the medium of the exhibition of these spirits. Most of this class of beings may be called geographical spirits, from their location at particular spots. And it is in these creations of a superstitious, vivid, or fearful imagination, that we trace the rise and existence of a mythology, which casts its influence through the wilderness. The wood dæmon or Indian dryad, or naiad, is ever recalled to his memory or belief, in walking through their ancient forests, or beholding their forest-cradled lakes and waters.

Sometimes the Indian imagines, as night approaches, that he sees small spirits like fairies, skip before him over the plain, and suddenly vanish; at others, they are fancied to be seen dancing in the moonlight, on the tops of cliffs. One class of these aboriginal fairies, or little vanishing men [Puk-wud-jin-inie], are of the land, another of the water.

The most formidable and dreaded of the class of dæmoniacal terrorists, are the Windegoes, a kind of giants, or ogres, who are always cannibals, and destroy whole families. But, however frequent these several objects of imagination are in Indian lore, by far the most numerous part of his creations of fancy are the tutelary or guardian spirits of individuals. These are often encountered, and made palpable to the senses, in the shape of quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, or other organic forms. The Indian dwelling or wigwam, is constantly among these wild animals of hoof and wing, whether enchanted or unenchanted, spirits or real animals, he knows not. He chases them by day, and dreams of them by night. He subsists on their flesh. He sells their skins for European fabrics. He wears the feathers of the falcon genus on his head; he trims his buckskin hunting-shirt with the rattling shreds of the deer's hoof. The claws of the grizzly bear adorn his neck. Shakspeare, in the thickest of his imaginary revels in "Midsummer Night's Dream," could not feel invested with more of the poetic machinery of magic power. A dream or a fact is alike potent in the Indian mind. He is intimate with the habits, motions and character of all animals. He feels himself peculiarly connected, at all times, with the animal creation. By the Totemic system he identifies his personal and tribal history and existence with theirs, and he feels himself to be the peculiar favorite of the Great Spirit, wherever they exist in abundance on his hunting-grounds. And when he dies, the figure of the quadruped, bird, or reptile, which has guarded him through life, is put in hieroglyphics upon his grave-post. His medical system is largely connected with magic. As a belief in this, he wields the influence which the spirits of animals exercise over human health and disease; for he not only regards all animals, whether in a state of metamorphosis or not, as possessing souls, and reasoning faculties, like man, expecting to meet them in a future state, in the Indian elysium; but they are believed to possess a necromantic influence over this life. This mythology abounds in apposite allusions to the transformations of the animal creation, which swell his nomenclature.

The origin of man is variously related. By the Iroquois traditions, Atahensic, the mother of mankind, was cast out of heaven, and received on the ocean of chaos, on the back of a turtle, where she was delivered of twin sons. Areasko is the Iroquois God of war. In Algonquin mythology, the mother of Manabozho fell through the moon into a lake. He became the killer of monsters, and survived a deluge. His brother, Chebiàbo, is the keeper of the land of the dead. Pauguk is a skeleton, who hunts men with a bow and arrows. Weeng is the spirit of somnolency. He has myriads of tiny invisible aids, resembling gnomes, who, armed with war-clubs, creep up to the foreheads of men, and by their blows compel sleep. Iägoo represents the class of Munchausen story-tellers. Each of the cardinal points is presided over by a mythological personage. Kabaun governs the West; Waban, the East; Shawano, the South, &c. Many of the planets are transformed adventurers. An animal of the mustela family in the north, sprang from a high mountain into heaven, and let out the genial summer atmosphere. The Thunderers are a reverend body of warriors, armed with long spears, arrows, and shields. Winter, Spring, Summer, and Autumn, are personified. Transformations are the poetic machinery of the wigwam stories. Ovid is hardly more prolific, in his changes of men into animals, plants, and transformations of one class of objects into another. It is by these creations, spiritualities, personifications, symbols, and allegories, that the language becomes capable of expressing conceptions of fictitious creations, which cover the whole panorama of hills, plains, and mountains, and fill the wide forests with imaginary beings.

The reason why the Indian character has not generally subserved the purposes of poetry and novel-writing, is apprehended to be, that it has been often misapprehended or caricatured. It has been either misstated or overstated. The Indian has been often regarded as a statuesque being, without feelings or affections. Writers have not failed to depict him as a fiend, thirsting for human blood. This is not generally so. He is athirst for revenge and mastery, or glory in war; but is a very different man in peace. As well, ay, and better might Alexander, Cæsar, and Bonaparte, be called blood-thirsty, because they slaughtered millions without compunction. They did not slaughter millions in a spirit of murder, but in a thirst for conquest. Far more truthful would it be to call Lord Clive, Sir Warren Hastings, or the modern heroes of British India, blood-thirsty, because they put whole villages to the sword. Is the Indian only blood-thirsty because he kills in war? Is he only revengeful because he remembers his enemies? Is he not peaceful and humane in peace? Is he not true to his friendship? Is he not eminently hospitable and kind? Did he not in 1600 receive the sons of Europe with an open hand, bidding the new-comers welcome, granting them food, and assigning them lands to cultivate? Is it not a long series of encroachments and injustice, that has made him suspicious of wrong?

If just and truthful pictures of Indian life were drawn, in connection with the civilized population of America, they could not fail to excite a deep interest in his fate. What is wanted is to show that the Indian has a heart. That, in a state of repose from wars, his bosom beats with affection, and hope, and fear, precisely like other varieties of the human race. That he is adhesive and reliable in his friendships. That he is true to his promises — simple in his reliances and beliefs. That he is affectionate to his kindred, while they live, and mourns their loss in death with an undying sorrow. True he is a mythologist but no sculptor. He is not a worker in marble, but the sepulchral mound is his enduring cenotaph. The adjedatig is his gravestone. As war captains, few aboriginal nations have exceeded the North American tribes. From the days of the Vinland sachems, who repelled the Scandinavians from their shores, they have evinced much bravery, and a spirit of independence. If we view the race four or five hundred years later, on the Florida and Carolina coasts, the same warlike qualities appear. De Leon, Vasquez D'Allyon, and Narvaez, were successively defeated in their attempts to found settlements in Florida. Did De Soto in fact fare better? Let the spirits of Hirrihagua, Vittochucco, and Tuscaloosa, answer. He was, in fact, substantially defeated at Mauvila, by the loss of all his baggage and stores; however, the matter is glossed over by his historians.

Under any view, we cannot deny him a mythology. The difficulty, in imaginative writers, is to describe the Indian as he is. He will not bear, in a literary point of view, to be caricatured. He is not always ferocious — always cold and imperturbable, or, on the contrary, always bland, stately, and complying. Circumstances change him, as they change the Celt and Saxon. If the reader perceives that he is amenable to the same laws of feeling and actions as we are — that he loves those who love him, and hates those who hate him, he is in a measure prepared to take a settled interest in his thoughts, acts, and feelings. The poet, the painter, and the novelist, must bear this in view. The Indian, however depressed in his estate and position, is still a man. He must not be perpetually exalted, by the use of figurative language, into the clouds where no sympathies can follow him. Or debased at other times to a stock, or stoic, which nothing can soften or affect. He must eat, sleep, drink, and talk, like other men. His wants must be common wants — his desires common desires. Cooper's greatest failure was in this. His Hardheart has no prototype in nature. He has, however, shown by the interest thrown around Uncas, what can be done with this type of the man. Indians do not perpetually talk in figures. They resort to them occasionally, to eke out a barren vocabulary, but ordinarily they talk like ordinary men. When Logan would depict his sorrows and the injustice of white men, he employed no hyperbole. Shenandoah takes the figure of an aged and tempest-stricken tree to depict his age, decaying powers and high moral position; but the simile is supported by plain, natural language. Pontiac teaches his countrymen, and enlists their sympathies by relating an allegorical tale of a visit of an Indian to the Great

Spirit, such as the natives can readily comprehend; when he chose a figure, it was simple. "I stand in the path!" was his heroic declaration to the British government, who sent troops to take possession of the West, after the fall of Canada. Red Jacket is always direct, plain, pungent. Let us learn simplicity from the sons of the forest. Authors must imitate this good and severe taste and judgment of the native orators. The writers of Yamayden actually make some of their propria persona feast on a soup of human viands. This is horrific. There can be no sympathy with cannibals. Campbell, in his Gertrude of Wyoming, has eminently succeeded. He describes the cruelty of the Indians under the justifying excitement of war, and in the most plain and easy way that the English language can be applied. He uses no tropes. Chateaubriand has also shown what strong sympathies can be awakened by the Indian character. The Indian character cannot be put on stilts. There are descriptive touches in the small poems by Bryant, Halleck, and Whittier, that show the man as he is. The old British lines of "Alknomok," of unknown authorship, are well conceived accurately to express the high heroic traits they embody. The Indian becomes a hero and a martyr in the hands of his enemies. He is made a stoic by high endurance. This is the crowning phasis of the warrior character.

In his lodge—in a state of peace and calmness—the Indian is mild, docile, reasonable — affectionate to his family, respectful to visitors, benevolent in his feelings. Above all, he never forgets a kindness — never denies a friend. Surely this is fine material in the plastic hands of an author, but he must not make it the kindness of an ogre or fiend. We hate fiends in any phase. It is seen, by the researches of modern days, that he is contemplative of the past, and that during the intervals of war and the chase, he amuses his family circle and friends by the recitals of imaginative tales, exploits and allegories, which evince a reflective and ingenious mind. [Vide my Algic Researches.] His military ardor, and thirst for glory on the war-path, often breaks forth in unmeasured strains of high impulse. The recitals at funerals frequently assume an elegiac character, and there are certain hymns to the sun and to the Great Spirit, which evince enlarged and elevated powers of thought. Some of the Indians who have been educated, have left respectable evidences of a love for literature and poetry. The Indian legends and tales, allegoric and mythologic, to which reference has been made, display the true state of the aboriginal mind — its hopes, beliefs and fears. They reveal at once his theory of life and death. These oral traditionary fruits of a wild and dark imagination show the man in his most attractive light. They display a mind capable of rising above the circumstances which surround him. They evince a full acquaintance with the varied phenomena of nature. They attempt to reason on, and explain the origin of things, and cast views into a state of futurity, of the most interesting and instructive nature. They display, indeed, in a manner which could not otherwise be obtained, the red man's notions on time, eternity, and immortality. Above all, they depict from the stores of their own mind the true state of Indian society, as it exists in the forests, uninfluenced by European opinions.

XII. DÆMONOLOGY, MAGIC, AND WITCHCRAFT. C.

[4TH PAPER, TITLE XII.]

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Remarks on the Practices of Sorcery and Medical Magic by the Indian Priesthood, denoting the true causes which have obstructed the introduction of Christianity among the Indian Tribes.

DÆMONOLOGY, MAGIC, AND WITCHCRAFT.

REMARKS ON THE PRACTICE OF SORCERY AND MEDICAL MAGIC BY THE INDIAN PRIESTHOOD.

The Indian character can never be properly understood without revealing his arts of sorcery and divination. This topic constitutes by far the darkest and gloomiest picture of Indian life. In other phases of his character there is always something to cast light upon the picture, or to palliate the delusion. But here there is nothing, unless we advert to his lineage and descent from early nations of other parts of the globe, who were plunged in idolatrous practices, and had had their mental faculties bound down, as it were, for generations, with the subtle cords of sorcery, magic, and dæmonology. It needs not that we should refer to authorities on this head, either historical or inspired. The human race were found in this condition at the epoch when history begins to lift up the veil of knowledge. The lex talioni—"an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," was found to be in full operation among the oriental nations, when the kingdom of Assyria was founded, and even after the call and separation of the divinely-honored patriarch from the benighted hordes of Mesopotamia, Ishmael, the *uncovenanted* descendant of his own line, became a wild man and a robber—"his hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him." Many of those cruelties and barbarisms which have been thought peculiar to the Indian tribes, have their parallels, or prototypes of tribal idiosyncracy among the ancient nations. The sanguinary practice of tearing off the human scalp—the most savage trait of retaliation;—the stealthy night approach on a slumbering town—the subtilty of the ambuscade, and the sacrifice, or enslaving of prisoners captured in war, are one and all traceable, in the pages of history, to that ancient source. And the most dark and gloomy rites and perversion of manners, which we now proceed to consider, have their origin there, and these rites and opinions of the Oriental tribe, laid at the foundation, and were the very causes of their ancient superstitions and monstrosities, as they here are of the aboriginal manners. For if the Indian cannot trace a high ancestry in any thing else, he may safely appeal to a very high origin for his teachings in dæmoniacal rites and the mysteries of sorcery. Were we altogether wanting in historical testimonies on the antiquity of these rites, the discoveries which have been made in our days, of ancient inscriptions in the arrow-headed character, inscribed on the vestiges of statuary and architecture, in the buried sites of Nineveh and Babylon, would abundantly establish that fact. Brief references to these discoveries have been made in a prior volume. [Vol. IV., p. 492.]

To comprehend the scope and influence of these institutions among the Indian tribes, as they are taught by the prophets and medas, in periodical public assemblages in the villages throughout the forest latitudes, it is necessary to have a clear idea of two things, namely: first, the Indian doctrine of monedos or spirits; and second, the prophetical ceremonies of divination, and the mysteries of the Medäwin, as practised by the medas and magical doctors of the grand national society devoted to mystical arts. The relations existing between the essential and mysterious, between the spiritual and material world, it has required all the teachings of divine revelation to make Christian Europe understand. To the Indian tribes — who have no knowledge of these truths, and who live in an atmosphere of moral darkness, yet believe themselves to be the special favorites of the Great Spirit, whom they recognize in the elementary phenomena—the whole creation, visible and invisible, groans with an accumulation of spirits, who are understood to be antagonistical to each other. Whatever the Indian cannot explain — whatever appears to him inexplicable — whatever is eliminated for nourishment, for health, for curing — contributes to his sensual pleasures and to his preservation — is in his eyes a thing of mysterious *power*, a spirit — in his language, a monedo. The monedos relieve the Indian from the necessity of induction, reflection; of comparing and of judging; and his life consists in trying to do what the monedos do, to imitate them, to equal them; and when the prophet believes himself to have arrived at this point, he calls himself monedo, and becomes a teacher.

If one desires to introduce the word God, in the Chippewa language, it is necessary, for euphony, to decline it after the following manner:

My God	Ningâdim.	The very great God	Kitshi mindidood God.
His God	Kiadem.		
Thy God	Ôgâdimon.	The kind or good God	Kizhi God.
Our God	Ningadiminau.	The strong God	Moshkawizid God.
Your God	Kigadimiwâ.	The powerful God	Moshkawendagoozid God.
Their God	Ôgâdimiwâu		
Great God	Kitshi God.	The very powerful, or all powerful God	Kitshi moshkawendagoozid God.
Big God	Mindidood God.		

The sun is the monedo which gives light to the earth, to man, and to animals. They do not consider the sun as a cause of the fecundity of nature; they say the trees grow of themselves. The sun sees all things, since he gives light to all things; this is their argument. They do not invoke him for good weather, but invoke the sky.

They ask only light of the sun, which they express by saying *kizhigooke*, create the day, the light; and then *kishigooke kanawabamishinâw*, be bright, burn, look at us; or, shine thou, and look at us.

The moon is the wife of the sun, and as such she has not as much power as he; because they say women have not as much power as men. Indians never travel at night, they rest themselves. It is only in war that they march at night, to get near the enemy, form ambuscades, and be ready to give a blow by daylight. For these purposes, they require darkness, so as not to be discovered; and it is this obscurity which they desire of the moon. They say to her, Do not shine. They say that the moon travels as well as the sun, in reference to diurnal motion; but they have no idea of the annual motion of the sun, or of the monthly motion of the moon. It does not do to tell them it turns round upon itself in twenty-four hours, nor that it travels round the sun in twelve months. It would be too serious a joke for them!

TRADITION.

Once upon a time, there was an old woman who lived alone with her grand-daughter, Ozhis-shenyon, the most beautiful girl that had ever been seen in that country. When the young girl became of age, considering it rather extraordinary that there were only herself and her grand-mother in the world, and that she never saw any one, she inquired of her grand-mother the reason of this. The old woman told her that there had once been great numbers of men and women, and that an evil spirit had destroyed them; but she, having great power, had managed to save herself and her grand-daughter from this general ruin. The grand-daughter then said to her, "If there have been so many people formerly, there are perhaps some of them still in being somewhere;" under which impression she left her grand-mother, to examine the earth in order to discover them. She travelled for ten days, and each morning she left a pair of moccasins at the place where she had remained over night, to go back and report.

On the tenth day, in the morning, she arrived at a lodge where there was no one, but where there were ten distinct places, indicating that the inhabitants of the lodge were only temporarily absent on a hunt. She passed the day in the lodge, but did not dare to put herself in any one of the ten places, which were apparently awaiting their occupants. She sat down inside of the lodge, near the door. Towards evening, the hunters returned; they entered in the order constantly observed by Indians — the oldest first, the youngest last, whether on coming in or going out. There were eleven brothers. The first nine took their places without taking any notice of the young stranger; the tenth, before entering, said, "It appears there is a stranger among us." He then entered, looked at the girl, took her by the hand, and led her to his place.

Then he said, "I have become tired of mending my moccasins; now I have some one to do it for me." They lived together, and had a son, who soon died. The grief of the father produced his death. The widow married the youngest of the nine remaining brothers, who died without a child. She married the next, who also died without leaving a child; and thus in regular order to the eleventh brother, who was aged, and whom it became necessary that she should also marry. But as love declined in proportion as the age of her successive husbands augmented, she did not love the last. She became sorrowful, which added to the grief for the loss of her first husbands, and for the only child she had had, which last grief never dies with Indians. She determined to fly from her misery. The lodge was ornamented and built after the manner of the Chippewas, and of Indians generally in reference to medicine-lodges, the door of entrance being at the east, that of departure being at the west. The woman fled, towards night, by the western door, from which she tore up one of the stakes planted there to hold the skin which forms the door. Entering in the hole which the stake had occupied, she disappeared under the earth with her little dog. As soon as she had departed, the door-stake of itself resumed its place, and thus hid all traces of the fugitive. The woman descends into the earth, passing through it, and going to the end of the earth (Akkigishkag, where the earth is cut), which is at the east. There she encounters an old man seated, and fishing in the sea, *tshihitshigōmi*. This person was *Nenabozhoo,*[1] he who made the earth. The woman says to him, "My grand-father (Nimishomis), the spirit torments me" (manido nimamidawig). She repeats these words three times. Nenabozhoo at last answers *wâhe,*—"You disturb me, you annoy me." (Wâhe, they say, is of the old language; the word now in use is *tiwê*, as a slight abjuration. It is now only a few old Chippewas who say wâhe, when one disturbs them, similar to our expression, you annoy me.) Then he adds, "There is no other spirit on the earth than myself; go! pass this way." He makes a sign to her to pass into the air above his head, towards the west. The woman having come near Nenabozhoo, it being yet night, when day arrives she passes into the air.

The husband, who had passed the night alone, goes in search of his wife in all directions, without thinking to search the lodge. He cannot find the route she has taken, Seeing no sign of her in the air or on the earth, he returns to his lodge, removes everything, tears the lodge-stakes, and on coming to the stake of the western door, he discovers, after having pulled it up, that she had fled by the hole of that stake. He pursues her, passes through the earth, and arrives at the east, where the earth is cut, at the home of Nenabozhoo, who was yet fishing. He asks for his wife three times, without the old man bestowing on him the least attention.

"*Nenabozhoo,*" he says, "Nimindimosimishinâ, oma gipimizha?"

(Nenabozhoo, my wife, has she passed this way?) The old man does not answer him. "*Awonyish,*" says the man, "speak! say!" "Wâhe," answers the old man. The traveller, becoming impatient, uses coarse words. Nenabozhoo says, "You have no wife. A woman passed here, I do not know if she be your wife. She passed that way," pointing in the air towards the west. The man immediately starts on a run, in the same direction, without one word of courtesy to Nenabozhoo, who, becoming irritated at this impoliteness, cries out, "Go, go, you will run after your wife as long as the earth lasts without ever overtaking her, and the nations who will be one day on the earth will call thee Gizhigooke, he who makes the day;" from which is derived Gizis, sun.

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[1] The Eastern Chippewas used the sound of *m*, instead of *n*, in this word.

The moon, finding herself in advance of the sun, arrives at the home of Nenabozhoo a second time, she thanks him for having escaped the pursuit of Gizhigooke, and the more to exhibit her gratitude, she says to him, "I have left my grandmother, take her for your wife, she shall be called Mayigihwewish." The marriage took place, and from that union sprung all the nations of the earth. She fled, and he said to her, "You will give light to the earth during night, and the nations will call you Tibikgizis," the sun of the night.

The Indians count only eleven moons, which represent the eleven brothers, dying one after another. They are not aware of any relation between the moons and what we call the year. With them winter is winter, the time of snow; spring is spring, &c. That which we call a year, is with them the interval from one winter to another; from one spring to another, &c. And they do not trouble themselves with the reflection whether there be in this interval, eleven, twelve, or thirteen moons. There are but eleven moons; because there were but eleven brothers. And one cannot endeavor to make them understand that twelve and sometimes thirteen moons occur, between one winter and another, without involving them in ideas of duration which are only ours, and which have never struck their attention. It is then in vain that we endeavor to diffuse among them notions, lost or yet existing, of any effort to observe nature in order to become acquainted with her laws.

It is hardly necessary to say that the grandmother, granddaughter, and Menabozhoo, who figure in this tradition as personages, are, in the eyes of the Indians, spirits, manidos, with different degrees of power.

The following is their course of reasoning, or of thought. Mankind existed — bad spirits destroyed them. Some escaped as spirits. Menabozhoo is the great spirit who repeopled the earth, remade the sun and the moon, and all other spirits who preserve their nature of a spirit, having power. The same course of thought is entertained for all objects of the universe which fall under their observation. Each kind has its tradition of how it was created. They have no idea that the sun governs the seasons, and regard its influence over the earth only as a source of light. The signification of the words Gizhigooke, Menabozhoo, Mayikwewish, is lost with them, and it will not now do to seek to explain them by etymological discussions, without exposing oneself to being removed from true primitive ideas. The earth, covered with spirits, is also a spirit. They call it the big plate where all the spirits eat. They think it enlarges in size, in proportion to the vegetation and men who cover it. They say, *to hi animaji komigâg*, as long as the earth will be available to man. They think it will have an end, but they do not call this *the end of the world*—they say, *khi ani iskkwâ akki iwaug*, but when it will be near the end of the world; from ishway, the last, the end. It is difficult to enter into their ideas with our languages: one cannot analyze these kinds of words.

The owl creates the north wind; a butterfly that of the south. Menabozhoo sends the wind from the east, where he always lives; and *Animiki* (thunder), that which comes from the west.

It is always birds who make the wind, except that of the east. The spreading and agitation of their wings hide the sun, and in that way make wind and clouds.

Lightning, wâwapômog.

Animihi wâwapômog, thunder and lightning.

Large birds make the water-spouts.

They do not explain rain, or have nothing to say of it worthy of note.

The bear, the buffalo, and the beaver, are manidos which furnish food.

The bear is formidable, and good to eat. They render ceremonies to him, begging him to allow himself to be eaten, although they know he has no fancy for it. We kill you, but you are not annihilated. His paws and his head are objects of homage—these are the last parts eaten. They clean them, ornament them, give them the pipe, and offer them food. Women do not eat these parts.

Other animals are treated similarly from similar reasons. They have a tradition showing how it is that the bear does not die; but I cannot induce myself to write it out. They are the metamorphoses of Ovid, rendered into Indian.

Many of the animal manidos, not being dangerous, are often treated with contempt—the terrapin, the weasel, polecat, &c.

The manido animals which are disappearing from the country, as the buffalo, the beaver, &c., being no longer adored, are now only rare spectacles among them. The gods of these animals have also left the Indian country. Missabé is the great spirit of the hunter. He is a man, a demigod who seems to have belonged to the heroic period of Indian mythology. Tradition represents him as living among the mountains, precipitous rocks, isolated rocks, always on the lookout—sometimes under one appearance, sometimes under another. It is he whom the hunters invoke. It is he to whom they offer the tobacco, sugar, &c. which is found sometimes in the clefts of rocks, and of isolated boulders of the prairies.

In the society of the Medawin, the object is to teach the higher doctrines of spiritual existence, their nature and mode of existence, and the influence they exercise among men. It is an association of men who profess the highest knowledge known to the tribes. *Meda* is one of those primitive forms of words of which the meaning can only be inferred from its application. It is rendered a noun of multitude by the inflection *win.* The Meda is to be distinguished from the Indian doctor or physician. The only use he makes of medicines is one wholly connected with the doctrine of magic. He is a seer or soothsayer, a fortune-teller, a diviner, and prophet.

The term specifically applied to the acts of the last-named office, is to Jesukă, or divine. This word becomes a substantive in Jesukäd; while the ceremony is Jesukau, and the lodge itself Jesukaun. The accompanying plate XXXIV. exhibits the form of the oracular lodge, with some of its mysterious surroundings.

A. The lodge formed with eight stakes, or only four; the stakes are two or three inches thick, by twelve, fifteen, or twenty feet high, according to the feats of strength of which the juggler thinks himself capable. The eighth stake is terminated by its natural foliage; its summit has several small branches, upon which are suspended the offerings to the spirits.

B. The three singers, with the drum, the Shissigwân at the Oshkanzhiwâg, to assist in preparing the lodge; they place themselves at the north of the lodge.

C. The people, who must not go on the side of the singers.

D. The juggler or Jossakeed. The singers bind him hands and feet, and push him in the lodge, under the skins which cover it; being introduced, he demands of his attendants, the pipe, and says to him who presents it, *sāgāswêiwen, invite to smoke,* whereupon the attendant calls the spirits of the four cardinal points:—

To the north he cries—hoho koko koko kisāgāsweigo, owl, thou art invited to smoke. The people reply for the spirit of the north, ho!—yes.

To the east—Menabazh, Menabazh, kisagāsweigo. The people reply, ho!—yes.

The south—Menengwâ, butterfly, kisāgasweigo. The people reply, ho!—yes.

The west—Animiki, the thunder, kisagāsweigo, &c.

After this invitation silence reigns among the people, they look in the air to see the spirits come. The jugglers sing, the chanters join them; the lodge shakes; a noise and an extraordinary confusion manifest themselves; it is the spirits who are coming from the four corners of the horizon—there are eight, a sacred number. The turtle arrives first, and retires last. She is the babbler, the interpreting spirit, the secretary, the speaker of the Assembly of manidos. It is through her that the spirits and the jugglers speak to the people, and she must be addressed to learn something of the juggler and of the spirits. Each time that a manido arrives, a heavy blow is heard upon the ground, like the fall of something heavy on the earth, and the lodge is rudely shaken by it. At the first sound of this kind, the people say, "Is it thou, the turtle, great gossip?" Kinnâ Mishiken? (Mikinak, turtle in general; Mishiken, the turtle which keeps with the spirits.) When the spirits are assembled, the council begins; speaking is heard in the lodge; there is much order in the discussion, the spirits speaking only one after the other, but each with a different voice.

At this moment the people sit gazing at the phenomena before them in silent awe, and fixed and breathless expectation. The oracular lodge is believed to be filled with spirits of omnipotent power, who have come at the bidding of the chief prophet, on the atmosphere, from the remotest part of the earth. Shakspeare, in the convocation of the witches in Macbeth, could not have conceived more truly of the organization and proposed power of the dark spirits assembled in the lodge, had he been on the spot and studied the whole Indian institutions. The scene and the concomitants of the lodge, its inmates and its auditors, are exhibited in Plate XXXIV. When the Jossakeed has assembled all the spirits, over whom he claims jurisdiction, he is ready to make responses. The theory is, that he can send these agents to the uttermost parts of the continent, in a few seconds, to bring an answer. It is necessary to premise that there are three divisions of the precincts devoted to the ceremonies—A. The oracular lodge.—B. The place of the sacred musicians.—C. The spectators and persons assembled to put questions, the latter of whom are not allowed to approach the musicians.

There is no limitation to the power of the diviner. The range of his skill relates to the whole realm of the distant, unknown, past, present, and future. To give examples: it is inquired by one questioner, to know the precise spot on the bottom or shores of Lake Superior, of a person who has been drowned. By another, to know why the tribe has been deprived of the range of animals in the chase, and where these animals are now to be found in the forest—east, west, north, or south. By another, it is inquired whether the enemy approaches their territory. By another, what the great Ruler of the white men is *now* thinking about. By another, whether the keeper of the mysterious land of the dead has allowed such a person to enter his premises. By another, where a lost article is to be found. In short, there is no limit to their wishes, wants, or desires. But this may be remarked of the responses, that they are usually couched in generalities or equivocal terms.

Mr. Nicollet, who witnessed one of these ceremonies at Leech Lake, in 1836, describes the case of a sick child which was brought forward by one of the people to inquire of the officiating priest the cause of its disease, and the remedy. This was an instance in which the knowledge of miraculous sight into the physical organization or constitution was appealed to.

The suppliant addresses himself to the turtle, which is deaf to his salutation. "Speak then, old gossip," he exclaims. The turtle, as yet, does not reply. Then the Jossakeed is asked why the turtle will not reply. The Jossakeed observes that every thing necessary has not been done; whereupon the questioner adds, "Well, gossip, I will give you some tobacco and some blue cloth, to make metasses speak, then." The turtle says nothing in reply. "What is the matter with her?" The turtle says, "Well, then, old miser, you should have sugar too; only speak." Whereupon the faculty (or spirits) consult, the members are heard to speak in turn, and the turtle declares the result of the consultation. She says: "Your child has a piece of iron, or a worm, or some other animal, in its stomach—it must be taken out; or, the patient has a bear's claw in its body, or some porcupine-quills; or, perhaps, your child is sick, because it has a bad name — it must be changed; or, because the individual who has given it medicine, has given it a bad one, being a person without power; or, such a one is sick, because he has killed a bear, or a deer, and given no part of it to the spirits; you must throw your dog in the water to feed the spirits; you must kill it, and give a feast." When the case is grave, the father or the mother, in consulting about a child, or a relation, will go so far in their offerings as to say: "If you cure him, or her, I will give you my daughter." The Jossakeed considers the case in all its gravity, or, rather, the turtle. The faculty, after deliberating about it, deputes one of its number to the sick person, who is absent at the parents' village. The spirit is heard to speak. The whole lodge is shaken violently by unseen hands; the idea is, that the spirits shake it. During the absence of the spirits delegated, the council continues to deliberate; the lodge is again in agitation; the spirit returns, and reports to the faculty the state of the sick person; they deliberate again, and at last the turtle proclaims the decision: "The soul of the patient is no longer in his body; an evil spirit has carried it off; it is imprisoned afar off; a more potent spirit must be sent to deliver it." Thereupon the family gives something more for the deliverance of the soul, which is brought back to the sick person. It is an opinion entertained by the Indians, that when a sick person is very low, his soul, as they say, has already departed; he is dead; but he may recover, if his soul is brought back.

All these rites and ceremonies, with the messages and responses, are executed with great address and cunning. The Indians, who are amused by them, nevertheless believe the marvellous things achieved, and it would be hazardous to attempt to disabuse them. During this ordeal of trial and trick, the gifts pass at each moment into the hands of the singers and musicians, by whom they are transferred to the grand Jossakeed, who receives others also from under the lodge. After the ceremony the result is, the Jossakeed and the singers order a feast, which has no particular form, at the expense of the dupes of the day.

It is carefully to be noted, that the power possessed by the Prophet or Jossakeed is personal. There is no succession of the office. It is a position arrived at from the opinion of the tribe, that he excels in the knowledge of, and power of influencing, the spirit-world. He can call spirits from the "vasty deep." There is no limit to his knowledge of the mysterious and the supernatural. He even affects to call life back to the dead, and by a series of subtle tricks and concealments, persuades his people that miracles are quite within his power. While he thus exercises the functions of a prophet, he is also a member of the highest class of the fraternity of the Medâwin — a society of men who exercise the medical art on the principles of magic, and incantations.

To acquire the frame of mind and state of purity deemed necessary to the exercise of both classes of functions, fasts and the frequent use of the secret hot vapor bath are resorted to. In all ceremonies, prophetical or medico-magical, great reliance is placed on the vapor-bath. This bath consists of a tight lodge, which is filled with vapor by casting water on heated stones. It is entered with sacred feelings, and is deemed a great means of purification. Secret arts are here often disclosed between Medais of high power, which could not be imparted in other places, or positions, believed to be less subject to the influence of sanctifying power. They are called Madodiswon—their use, a consecrated practice, in order to ask something which is wished not to be made public, some private request. Vapor-baths are not a matter of luxury or sensuality among the Indians of North America; their use belongs to the Medicine rite. They are prohibited to the vulgar, and not authorised, and are used in consecrated cases, and according to prescribed forms, which must not be departed from. Let us speak first of the construction of the lodge according to these rites.

Whatever number of persons are to enter in the vapor-bath lodge, its vault can have only four or eight supporting poles. Make a square or an octohedron upon the ground; stick the branch of a young flexible tree at each corner; bend these branches towards the centre of the lodge, so as to make them converge towards the centre; bind these arches well together at their point of convergence, in such a manner as to form a vaulted roof, which has not more than three or four feet of elevation. Make a collar, at half the height of the lodge, of lanieres, so as to embrace each arch pole, and consolidate the whole. Spread blankets on the top, leaving a passage to slip in, and the lodge is constructed. In the middle of the lodge a layer of sand is spread, and upon it are placed four or eight smooth stones, according to the number of the arch poles of the lodge. These smooth stones are heated without, and then introduced, when water is poured upon their surface, to produce the vapor. Around the lodge are spread branches to serve as seats for the medicine-fathers. Introduce a vessel containing water, and two little sticks prepared at the end like brushes, to dip and throw on the water, and the Madodiswon is constructed and prepared. The following are the circumstances in which the institution prescribes the ceremony of the Madodiswon.

1. The mediciners who partake of it, who hold to all the rites with rigor, must never open the *Pĩnyigoosân*, the pouch which contains their pharmacy, their plants, nor visit or inspect these plants, without first performing the ceremony of the vapor-bath. If an Indian has been absent a long time, if his bag has become wet on the journey, or any other reason makes him suspect that his plants are injured, he constructs his lodge, enters it, his wife heats the stones, introduces them, and takes care that the vapor is kept well within. The man smokes, sings, pronounces some prayer, and comes out. He then prepares a feast for the evening, or the next day. He invites first another mediciner, to whom he says that he wants to examine his plants, that he is about to give a feast, to which he requests him to invite whom he pleases. The latter proceeds to invite, according to his fancy, without distinction of persons, whether mediciners or no, males alone. The invited enter, following the course of the sun's movement, making the tour of the lodge, and place themselves, each putting his empty

plate, which he has brought with him, before him; pipes are prepared, and the order to use them is waited for. He who gives the feast says *kanagakana;* each one repeats *kanagakana*, lights, and smokes. While the smoking is going on, he who was charged with the invitations takes the kettle, and goes round and fills the plates. The entertainer makes a brief discourse relating to the inspection of his bag, and finishes by the word *kanagakana*, which each repeats, and then begins to eat; but before swallowing the first mouthful, each one puts a little piece on the ground before him, for the spirits. The plates are then turned over, and all retire quietly, according to the prescribed order. There remains with the entertainer only the person who was charged to issue the invitations to the feast. They inspect the bag together mysteriously, and without any of the family even being allowed to witness the operation.

A person wishes to consult the mediciner about something important—to procure a remedy, a secret, to obtain the love of a girl, or for a disease which he does not wish to make known. He prepares the madodiswon, and invites the mediciner to whom he gives his confidence, and he serves him in the ceremony. When he is introduced, he lies down upon his belly, in order to talk with him under the blanket. He tells him his business, making him at the same time presents, such as tobacco, cloth for netapes, &c. "My grand-father," you say, "I wish," &c. You retire; he smokes, he prays, and he sings, during which time he invites the monedos to smoke, especially the sun, which is prescribed by this ceremony. He proceeds to a feast, as in the preceding case, declares that a grand-son has asked him for medicines, of which he retains a little, but does not declare who or why. The feast is given at your expense. The next day, you go to get the medicine; but do not forget to carry some more tobacco, sugar, &c., because the feast has considerably reduced the quantity you have already given.

When you have not much time to lose, or your means are slight for this kind of consultation, a shorter method, and one more proportioned to your means, may be adopted. The faculty of the medical institution of the Indians, is very accommodating. Let the present you are about to make be composed of two parts, one of which is eatable. Go to the mediciner at night, relate your business to him, and however late it may be, he will soon assemble some of his colleagues to devour the little you have brought, to whom he will say that he is very sorry to disturb them, but his grand-son is in a hurry, whereupon they will retire, and you will be put in possession of the mysterious secret which will render you acceptable in the eyes of the cruel fair one, or will cure you of the love of those who have been too tender.

3. The madodiswon is sometimes practised by a chief who has something to ask of his nation, and who, having no right to ask or to demand it as chief, shelters himself under the rites of medicine to accomplish his object. He invites first, four *medais*, for the vapor-bath, and communicates his wishes to them; these invite afterwards a great many others, conformably to the ideas suggested by the chief. They depute the *Osh-*

kabewis throughout the whole country, carrying little sticks painted of different colors, a foot long, of which he delivers one to each individual invited upon a day assigned. The sticks which could not be delivered because the persons to whom they were destined were absent, are brought back to the bath-lodge. These are the sticks which are used to beat time in the songs employed upon these occasions, in which the drum is not admitted. The day arrives, and the persons invited enter into the vapor-lodge, where they receive the communications, upon which they deliberate afterwards among themselves, without the intervention of the inviter. The baths are succeeded by the feast—a great feast—*wikondiwin*. The guests retire, the faculty only remaining, when around the stones which were employed to produce the vapor, are arranged all the little sticks of those who were not able to comply with the invitation. These sticks are witnesses that they were invited, as they stand in lieu of the consent of those for whom they are destined. When I arrived at Lake Leech, the chief, Flat-Mouth (La Gueule Platte), had been gone for two months to visit the English, to ask from them munitions for projects which he wished to execute, and which he had not yet abandoned. Before his departure, he had given such a fête. I saw the madodiswon which he had constructed, and about thirty or forty sticks which were witnesses of those who had been invited, but who could not be present. Nevertheless, a great many savages had participated, for the ceremonies had lasted nearly a week.

A person also employs the Madodiswōn to heat his manido. It is also a vapor-bath, followed by a feast given to the manido of him who gives the fête. It is he who takes the bath, and the numerous guests who partake of the feast. In this case the lodge, on account of the elevated object, assumes the form of a temple to the god of the individual. Instead of eight hoops and eight heating-stones, the lodge is constructed of ninety poles, and there are ninety stones. The lodge receives as near as possible the form of the animal which is the manido.

Mayigabo treated in this manner the bear, his manido, upon my second visit to Leech Lake. The celebration took place upon the summit of the hill, Otter-Tail Point. The whole population of the lake was present. In his prayer he said, "You are sick, you are going to die; I will take care of you; you will bestow charity upon me; you will have pity upon me, if you do not die; you have been a grand manido, &c.

The ceremonies of the Madodiswōn are indispensable to those who wish to enter into the society of the mediciners.

The initiative to be instructed in the medicine, cannot be taken by the candidate himself. This is the reason why all Indians are not *Midais*, as they wish to be. The initiative must be assumed by the parents or friends, under the influence of a dream which they have had, that such a person, son, daughter, or friend, is in a bad state of health, that there is something which will hinder them from living, &c. Formerly, it was sufficient that one person made a declaration of such a dream, with reference to another, to entitle the latter to be presented. There were then great abuses, and anybody became very easily a member of the *Midai*. This abuse has been reformed, and Flat-Mouth (La Gueule Platte) is regarded as one of those who have contributed most to this reform. It is necessary now that two persons at least should dream that a person is going to die, that he may be presented as a candidate.

The candidate, having made up his mind, prepares a little feast, invites four *midais*, and informs them what his relations have suggested to him in consequence of their dream, and expresses his desire to receive the medicine. The second day the candidate makes a madodiswōn for the four midais, in order that they may agree among themselves upon the four medais required to complete the faculty according to the number eight. This first ceremony of the madodiswōn does not require a feast.

The third day the candidate gives them a second sweat for the eight midais. He waits upon them, and gives them tobacco to smoke. The medais here agree among themselves how they shall proceed in making the demand.

The fourth day there is another sweat for the eight, who inform the candidate that they have agreed upon his initiation, that it will take place at such a time; always after a certain number of months, when the case of the candidate is not a grave one. They think that to receive the great medicine saves life, and hence the delay agreed upon depends upon the danger incurred thereby.

The ninth day, in the evening, the candidate prepares a feast, and invites the eight midais; these invite eight others, each inviting one, but these last eight candidates are chosen, men and women, in such a manner that if the candidate is a man, the number of men of these eight will be the greater, and the reverse if the candidate is a woman.

Before the introduction of the last eight midais, the first eight who compose the regular faculty, have had a sweat ceremony with the candidate.

Upon the introduction of the last eight, it is declared that the candidate shall receive the medicine. A feast takes place; each midai sings one or two songs mingled with dances, and the ceremony concludes at a late hour.

Things remain in this condition until the time designated for the grand initiation. This is a time when the savages, returning from the chase, are assembled in greater number. The spring is generally the season selected.

The candidate makes a new madidoswōn for the eight midais, followed by a feast. The number of those invited is regulated by the faculty, which gives to the candidate as many little sticks as there are to be guests, to be delivered, one to each, as a ticket of invitation. Among these little sticks are placed two feathers of different colors, and the persons to whom they are to be delivered are designated. These two feathers are the nomination of the two managers who are to direct all the ceremonies on the day of the grand initiation, so that everything may be done according to the ritual. On receiving the plumes, they comprehend the honor bestowed upon them by the faculty.

At the feast of this day, the faculty announce that the period has arrived that such a one is to receive the medicine, that, conformably to tradition, to the recommendations of their fathers and grandfathers, the great day must be preceded by three nights of medicine songs to the spirits. The feast takes place—they disperse. The three following days are devoted to these chants, which each one performs at his own lodge. In the day-time, those who have private ceremonies to observe, such as the inspection or consecration of plants, profit by the occasion. At night they sing in their lodges until a late hour. Great freedom prevails during these practices, and usage has consecrated the habit which admits those who are not mediciners to participate in the common joy occasioned by the grand festival which is preparing. Men, women, and youths, go from lodge to lodge; they dance and amuse themselves, and they receive something to eat.

The fourth night, which is the one of the ceremony, the pleasure, as they express it, becomes reputable again. (*Omanayitonawâ*—they observe it, they keep it, as it were, a holy season.) Those who are not mediciners abstain from all disturbance. All the *midais*, who are preparing to take part in the ceremony of the next day, proceed, each one at his own lodge, and according to the rites, to the opening of their pouches, *midewayanug*, and to the arrangement of their costumes, instruments, &c. The faculty assemble in a lodge with the candidate, who has procured all the booty which is to be presented. The faculty instruct him in the trials which he is to undergo, the next day, in the part which he is to perform. They train and form him for the occasion.

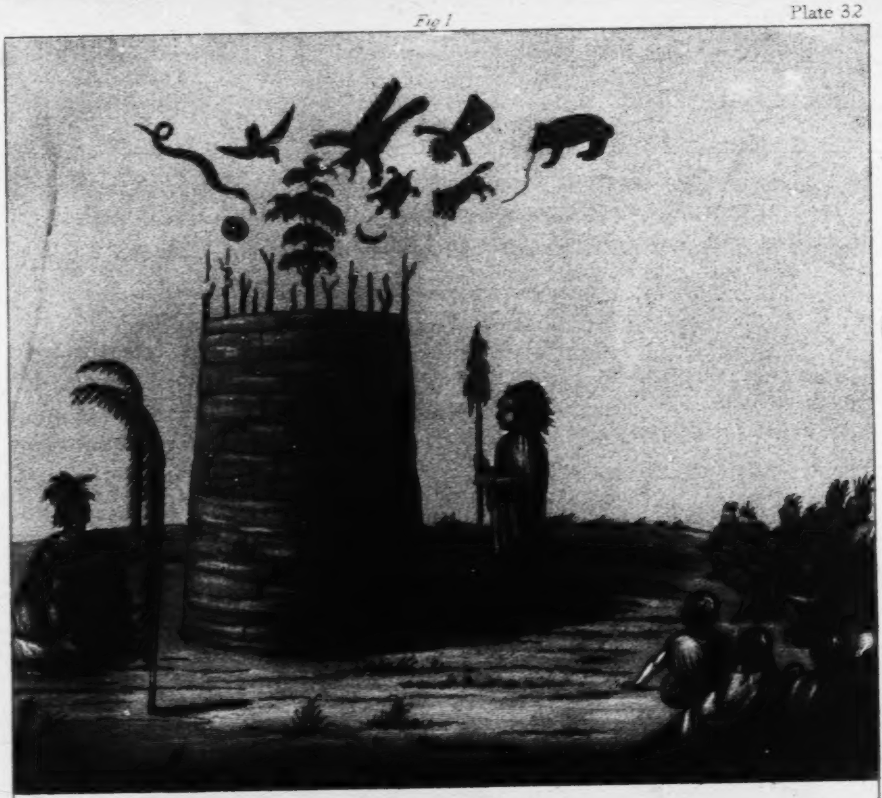
MIDAWIN. (Plate XXXIII., B.)

On the day of initiation, all the village is in motion; and from early dawn the Indians begin to assemble from all quarters. The *Mizhinaweg*, and the two who have received the colored feathers or plumes, proceed to the construction of a large enclosure, with two gates or entries, one to the east, the other to the west.

In the meanwhile, the faculty and the candidate are assembled in the lodge where they have passed a part of the night, and where the instruction is continued. *Okagikimawân*, they counsel him. The gifts presented by the candidate are composed of blankets, cloth, pots, guns, &c., in quantity sufficient to make eight parcels for the eight members of the faculty. There is besides a dish which contains eight mouthfuls of something to eat: this dish is called mida Onagōn—the dish of the ceremony of medicine: the presents—Pâgiyigōnun.

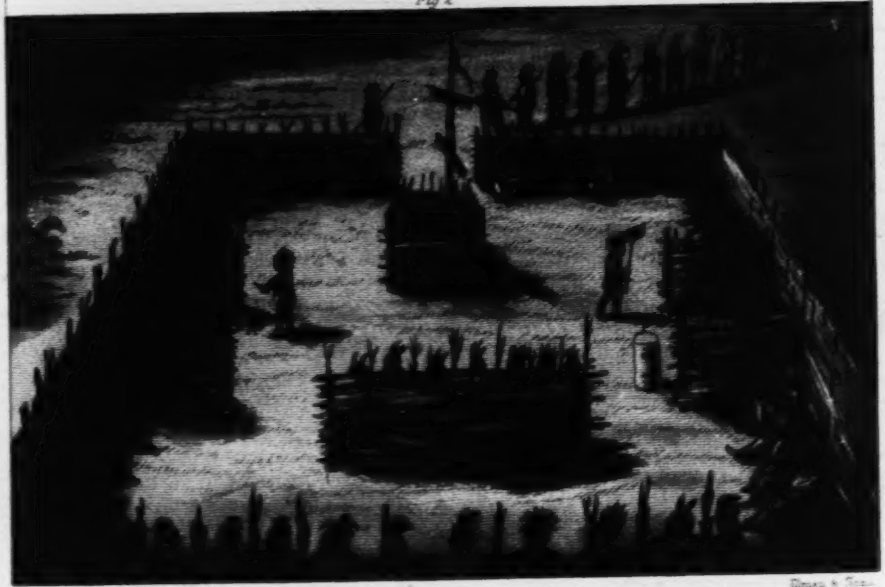
The large enclosure or *Midawigomik*, being prepared, all the midés, men and women, proceed thither and take the stations assigned them. There are some differences among the Indian nations, in the manner of commencing the ceremonies; but these differences, which vary in nothing essential, are evidently the mere consequences of local circumstances. I shall state first how the Chippewas proceed, and then indicate the modifications adopted by the Sioux.

Fig 1 Plate 32



PROPHET'S LODGE

Fig 2 Plate 33



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When everything is ready, the Mizhinaweg give notice to the faculty, who go out, walk gravely one by one, the candidate being at the head, carrying a stick, upon which the presents[1] are suspended, and the last of the file carrying the *mideonagon;* all sing

Wâbamishin, Wâbamishin, Wâbamishin, &c.
Behold me, behold me, behold me, &c.
Ezhinagwiôyân.
How I am prepared, &c.

They enter the lodge by the gate E (see Plate), at the east, make the circuit by south, west and north, and returning, place themselves along the east side of the lodge, fronting the centre. The *Mizhinaweg* take the presents from the hands of the candidate, and suspend them by two cords at a certain height, H. The faculty make another in the same direction, singing another song, with these words alone:

Anendayânine, anendayânine, &c.
Wemittigozhiwug Omadindaganiwan, Nindayâmoowân.
I have them, the goods of the whites, &c.

The song being finished with the tour of the lodge, the candidate and the eight exclaim loud enough to be heard by everybody, *Kanagekana*. Nâ is responded in chorus; upon which the faculty proceed to take their places at the north, at A, the place reserved for them, and the candidate seats himself before the faculty, at B.

C and D are two points where fire is kept, with no other object than to light the pipes during intervals, and to give warmth, if the season is cold. P is a post, which they call *Midewatig,* three or four feet high, and painted according to the taste of the *Mizhinaweg.*

At the south, in front of the faculty, are the singers, with the drum Mittigwâkik and the Shishigwan for accompaniment, with a little mallet to beat the drum, which is called Pagaâkookwân.

One of the eight delivers an harangue, upon the power of the Manidos to cure or to make sick, a power given to the Medais, and transmitted to them from age to age

After the harangue, the candidate rises and makes the circuit of the lodge, stopping to look at all the members of the Mida, one after the other, offering to each one a word of salutation, which is accompanied by a movement of his hand, as if he was counting them, or giving them his blessing. This part of the formality particularly excites the curiosity of the whites who witness the ceremony. It is nothing more than a family salutation addressed to each member, according to age or sex, or relationship to the candidate, as my father, my uncle, my cousin, my aunt, my sister, &c.; and he says to each: *Shawenimishim* — have pity upon me, give me something. The faculty rise, place themselves in F, and sing:

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[1] The presents, which are not eaten, are called *Sasagiwigigon*, in the singular; and in the plural, *Sasagiwiyigonna.*

Nabek ôwibiân
Manido nindanissa.
I could kill a spirit with my medicine-bag, made of the skin of a male bear.

(Nabek ôwibiân.) Owibian, from nib, the blow-gun with which they shoot bits of pottery, in a conjuring way, or as a mystic blast. Nabek ôwibiân—the medicine-bag of bear-skin, with which I kill, I fire, I blow the pellets of magic which give disease.

The candidate gets upon his knees, upon an extended blanket. The eight make the circuit of the lodge by the south, saying *Nikanug*—my colleagues, my colleagues—saluting with the hand, and place themselves at the west, making half a circuit, in order to front the candidate. Thence, the eight members proceed to make eight circuits of the lodge, following each other in file; but these eight tours are executed with particular circumstances, the object of which is to show the power of killing possessed by their medicine, by trying it upon the candidate. The one who marches at the head holds his medicine-bag as he would a gun about to be fired; he advances, threatening the candidate with the discharge which he is about to make with his bag, crying out, at the same time, ho ho ho ho! ho ho ho ho! ho ho! ho ho! ho! The candidate trembles, and is only wounded by this blow. The eight defile, and finish the circuit, to begin a second tour, at the head of which now is the person who was the second in order in the first circuit, the one who has already fired having taken the hindmost place in the file.

At this second tour, it is therefore the second member of the faculty who is to fire with his bag at the candidate when passing him, menacing him, as before, with the cry of ho ho ho ho! ho ho ho ho! ho ho! ho ho! ho!

At the third circuit, the third member of the faculty is at the head, and does the same; and thus in succession until the eighth tour, which is executed in a more solemn and decisive manner. Until the seventh circuit inclusive, the candidate has been wounded only; his business is now to be finished, and this duty devolves upon the last member, who holds in his hand the medicine-bag made of bear-skin, the power of which has been celebrated in the preceding song.

Before commencing the eighth tour, he who is to finish the candidate makes a harangue: "Behold this medicine-bag, which has come to me from my grandfather, through my father; my father told me that I would never miss my aim with its assistance. But I am old; aid me, my brethren, that I may have strength to blow, to fire at this man who is there upon his knees; he has a red mark upon his heart; I will go and blow upon it, and my medicine will not fail to do its work." He begins his menaces, ho ho ho ho! ho ho ho ho! advancing upon the candidate, and followed by the other members, he fires, crying out ho! and the candidate falls as if dead.

Sometimes, in this part of the ceremony, they play sleight-of-hand tricks; upon the place where they say they intend to fire at the candidate, they make a red mark;

sometimes they place there a little drum, with a mark in the centre, and the drum bursts when the mediciner fires, or rather, the candidate bursts it, in falling.

It remains now to prove upon the candidate that, if the medicine has power to produce sickness or death, it has also power to cure and to resuscitate.

At the fall of the candidate, there is a great excitement throughout the assembly. The singers draw near to the post P, dance round it to the sound of the Shissigwanun and the drum; all the assistants of the Medai rise and move in cadence, and the members of the faculty gather around the fallen man, having covered his body with their medicine-bags. A moment passes, and they try to raise the body with caution, to put it upon its feet, at the same time marking, by cries of yâ ha! yâ ha! the different stages of restoration to life. The candidate is on his legs; he is already resuscitated; a medicine is given him to drink, and he is once more in good health; he is, moreover, initiated; he is endowed with the powers of the medicine, which is what the remaining parts of the ceremony go to prove.

His first act is to recognize all the members of the Midawin as his fellows. Hitherto he has called them father, uncle, brother, cousin, son, mother, aunt, sister, &c. Now he salutes them by the title of *Nikanug*—my fellows or colleagues. He makes the tour of the lodge, calling them by name, and places himself near the faculty, where he receives his diploma from the hand of the member who gave him the last blow; that is to say, he receives a medicine-bag, which confers upon him the right of practising, and a piece of pottery, which is the personification of the malady which is given or taken away. He marches once more around the lodge with his presents, saluting the assembly by the title of *Nikanug*, and places himself at the west, where he sings the following song, which is done for him by the singers, if he cannot sing himself:

Migayenin endigān midewug endowad.
I also, I am like as are the Medais.

He is about to show that he has the power to sicken and to cure. He places himself in presence of the faculty, and swallows the porcelain bead or malady; he proceeds around, until he returns to the west, all the while exclaiming, Nikanug, Nikanug; then he falls sick, he coughs, he has convulsions; the disease strangles him; he drags himself towards the faculty, and by a last convulsive effort, he brings up the bead, the faculty assisting him in his efforts, and exclaiming, yâ aaa! yâ aaa! yâ aaa! He picks up the bead, and places it in the upper part of his medicine-bag, to make use of it upon occasion.

The candidate seats himself: he is admitted to the right of joining in the feasts of the Medais, and the ceremony consists in taking the eight mouthfuls which are in the Midaônagōn, and making him eat them one after the other. Each member of the faculty administers one to him. He has but to open his mouth, into which the morsels are introduced, and helped to go down by yâ! yâ aa! yâ! ho! ho ho ho! (I have noted these different accents, because they are amusing as expressive of the acts which they accompany.) The morsels are called Midawissiniwin — the food of the Medais.

The repast of the initiated being over, the chorus of singers proceeds, pending which the initiated person takes the presents suspended in H, passes near the post P, and pronounces these words: Migwetch kāshâwenimiyun, I thank thee; thou hast had pity upon me. Then he distributes the presents to the eight members of the faculty, saying to each couple, Migwetch kāshâwenimiyun. He accompanies these thanks with the title of father, brother, &c., according to the relative age of the person whom he addresses: "My father, I thank thee; thou hast had pity upon me."

He proceeds now to try the power of his medicine. He begins with those individuals who are thought the strongest, viz.: the members of the faculty. He makes the circuit of the lodge eight times; and each time that he passes before the faculty, he blows or strikes with his bag, one of the members. This person falls, he feels ill at ease, he is cured, he rises; it is only necessary that he should make wry faces, which shows that the blow has taken effect. The word employed to express this act, *souffler, tirer* with the medicine-bag, is the same for that of shooting an arrow from the bow; it is the verb pimowen, imperfect and present, pimowe, pimowen. Having tried the faculty, he passes to the chorus of singers; he then gives the instruments to the members of the faculty, who continue the singing, while the person initiated makes eight more tours, and disposes of a singer at each turn.

This being finished, he returns towards the faculty, passing by the post, which he addresses again, Migwetch kāshâwenimigun; and before seating himself, he raises his hand, as if to bless the assembly, exclaiming "Nâ, nikanug, nikanug, kanagekana." The assembly replies "Nâ." He then seats himself, smokes, rests, and all is finished for him.

There now takes place a ceremony, which may be called the grand finale of the performance, which is as interesting to the performers as it is curious to the spectators. All the assembly within the lodge put themselves in motion. The members of the faculty take care of the instruments, and continue the songs. During this moving about, they go everywhere; the medicine corps separate themselves into different parties, distinguished from each other by medicine-bags of the same kind. To organize these parties, those who commence the movement dispose of their bags in different parts of the parquet (this part of the lodge is not pointed out in the notes), while making their tour about the lodge. They whirl round and round, each placing his bag where he observes bags of the same kind. At the termination of three or four rounds of the lodge, different piles of bags are seen; those made of otter-skins form one pile, those made of owl-skins another, those of eagles another, &c. &c.; after which each person places himself near the pile in which is his bag. The parties or divisions being formed, each takes his bag, and makes a tour around the lodge, to the sound of songs and of instruments. During this melée, the parties desire to show that the medicine-spirit which they possess has power, which they do by blowing upon each other. This ceremony lasts a long time, and produces much amusement.

All has to end as the sun goes down, and this final ceremony is prolonged until the moment prescribed for the termination of the rite. Time is reserved for the feast which terminates the rite, when they retire each one to his home, where each meda-man has yet to pursue the ceremony of closing his medicine-bag, which cannot be done without a feast, nor except with those who have joined in the sweat. But these last family ceremonies can be deferred to the next day, or for two or three years, which is the reason why one observes family re-unions, from lodge to lodge, for many days after a grand medicine-assembly.

As to the initiated, he has got to compose his medicine-bag, his *pinijigoosâu*. The next day after his initiation, he makes a madodiswon, and invites the eight members of the faculty. They meet and deliberate upon the kind of plants to be given to the new fellow of the society. As there are eight members, it is necessary that he should treat them eight times with the ceremony of the vapor-bath. It is not necessary to give a feast; but the candidate waits upon them, and offers his pipe to the sun, whilst they sweat. This ceremony requires eight days, but may be reduced to four days by taking two sweats a day, one morning and one evening sweat. On the eighth sweat, the initiated is admitted with the faculty. They describe to him the plants, and their virtues. "This plant is the serpent-plant; you can use it in such a manner, and on such an occasion. This plant is the bear-plant," &c. &c. "These names signify that the spirit or monedo of the plant is that which gives to the plant its virtue; and it is this monedo which you must invoke, that the plant may be efficacious. If you deceive the monedo in reference to the plant, or if the medicine does not name the true monedo of the plant, all the power is lost."

At last the initiated gives a feast to close the medicine-bag.

But they appear moved by so great a faith, and they infuse so much honesty, simplicity, and good-nature in the performance, that one becomes interested in another point of view, and which induces one to pass by the mal-address, the awkwardness, and irregularity with which they perform important parts of the rite.

Moreover there remain, among the wild and rude Sioux, many primitive notions which no longer exist with the Chippewas, who are more refined, more advanced in intelligence, and more prepared for the reforms of civilization. For example, among the Sioux, the candidate is entirely naked to his middle, and below to his feet. They hold the medawin during winter, and the candidate is subjected to the tortures of intense cold, eight to ten degrees below the freezing-point. They are more humane, it is true, towards female candidates, the initiation of whom is always deferred to spring. The Chippewas prohibit the nakedness of the candidate; and if the day of initiation is of a painful temperature, the fête is held in a large inclosure, closed and warmed. Moreover, the candidate, male or female, always appears in a costume. The *Medawin* is a grand fête among all the Indian nations of North America. It is the greatest and the most solemn which they have; in their order of religious ideas, far above the fêtes which follow peace or war. One cannot have a correct idea of it but in witnessing its celebration among those nations who are not yet dispersed, and whose customs have not become altered or abandoned by association with whites.

The Chippewas of the upper Mississippi perform these ceremonies with great zeal and taste, and in dresses the most beautiful, the most rich, and the most costly, according to sex and to national custom. The gathering is very orderly, and they infuse much spirit and gaiety in the performance; and acts of legerdemain which they mix with them, and which they perform with much address, to excite surprise and merriment, would seem to indicate that the puerility of the belief has made an inroad upon better minds, which perfectly comprehend that these things are no longer of value but to amuse the simple, and to dupe the ignorant.

Among the Sioux, on the contrary, these ceremonies are performed with the greatest seriousness, with less order, less intelligence, and without spirit or taste.

The Sioux do not possess great stores of costumes, or ornaments, for the celebration of the *medawin*. They assist at the ceremony dirty and ragged, and their medicine-bags are not generally in conformity with the rite. The women are better prepared, and the most industrious have vestments highly ornamented with quills of the porcupine, which are very beautiful. It is to be regretted that a race of men, one of the finest upon the face of the globe, should be so indolent or indifferent, and to neglect exhibiting themselves as advantageously as they could. It is not so with the Chippewas, who have a national pride in these fêtes, for which both men and women make preparations a long time in advance, in order to appear with all the advantages peculiar to their tastes and usages.

It is in these fêtes that the Indian nations should be seen, if one would acquire a correct idea of their national costumes and of their customs, and not in their wars of which their universal custom is, from a fixed principle, to make themselves appear hideous and terrible. See the Sioux and the Chippewas in the field of battle, it is difficult to distinguish one from the other; see them in their civil or religious fêtes, and they cannot be mistaken one for the other.

There is however among the Sioux, one circumstance of the fête *medawin*, which is more solemn, more imposing and impressive, than among the Chippewas or among any other nation where I have seen this fête celebrated. It is in the commencement of the ceremony, the entrance of the medais in the large inclosure, in which the initiation is to be made. The differences which exist in the different ways of accomplishing this entré, do not appertain to any difference in the rite, but it is commanded by causes depending upon the manner in which the nations are geographically divided, in the country which each occupies.

The Chippewa nation is divided into bands, too distant from each other to be all invited in order to give more pomp to the fête. Each band is reduced to its sole means of celebrating the fête at its own home, and it is only at Leech Lake, where the population exceeds a thousand souls, that the ceremony can be seen with great advantage.

Among the Sioux on the contrary, the seven tribes which compose this numerous people are divided in small villages, never so far from each other but that they can visit each other in a day's march.

When the medawin is to be celebrated in a village, one is sure that all the other villages of the same tribe will send a deputation.

I have assisted at several of these celebrations, in winter and spring, by the tribe of the people of the lakes (mendewakautons). The most remarkable took place on the 5th February, 1837, for the initiation of the son of the "Great Soldier," chief of a village on the Mississippi, nine miles below the St. Peters.

The ceremony took place in a wood of oaks, which crown a level space on this side of the large hill called *Pilot-knob*, behind the establishment of the American company, on the right bank of the St. Peters. There was a great concourse of people, a camp of eighty lodges, more than 300 medais, male and female, one or two feet of snow upon the ground, a temperature of 6° to 10° of Far. below the freezing point, a northwest wind vastly increasing the effect of the temperature, making on that day a spectacle of which civilized society has no idea.

More than eight days were occupied in the gathering and in making preparations. The deputation from the different villages had each its station in the encampment with their tents and families, and the members of the medicine corps formed as many distinct faculties as there are distinct villages of the tribe.

On the morning of the day of initiation, about the ninth hour, the *Ashkabuois* of the faculty which gives the fête, and who are to make the initiation, run about the camp and the environs, giving notice that the ceremony is about to commence, adding from time to time that those who arrive too late will be noted, and will be required to give a feast.

At eleven, the grand faculty announce themselves ready to commence, and to receive the deputations. The terms applied on these occasions are—

Maidokazowin, invocation to the manidos. *Menidokazood*, he who invokes the manidos. This ceremony is the one of which travellers most frequently speak, but which I have never seen described. It is celebrated during times of distress, when a country is exhausted of food, and families are dying of hunger. The Indian, who cannot endure the spectacle of misery which surrounds him, and with whom vain efforts at the chase merely exhaust him, knowing not what to do, determines to invoke the manidos, that they would extend their charity to him. They know well that the manidos, in demanding charity of them, will not bring anything to his lodge. He therefore demands, that in his quality of hunter, the manido will bring to him, or will enable him to find, the animal of which he stands in need, for food and for clothing. He demands, in the end, that he may be enabled to kill something.

In order, according to the ideas of the Indian, that the ceremony may have a happy result, that the request made may be granted, it is necessary that it should be performed by some man who has power—that is to say, by a *medai*. The ceremony, according to which they address the manido, is called *Manidokazowin*, and he who performs the ceremony is the *Manidokazood*.

It is necessary that the *Manidokazood* should specify the demand, and that he should write it upon a board. If he requires a family of bears, he must draw upon the board the bear, male and female, and two young ones, and the same of any other animal. It is moreover necessary that he should make a doll of wood representing *Missaba*, the hunter's monedo, and paint it in colors. It is a kind of statue which the Indians call *Mazinini*, the plural *Mazininig*; the word signifies, figure in the form of a man. He goes into a lodge at night, alone; he fixes the mazinini before him, and forms around it an enclosure with four or eight small sticks, painted alternately red and black, and which he calls *Medawâtigun*, the sticks of the medais. At the side, the oshkanzhiwōg is placed standing up, the end in the ground; then the stake zibiattig, the stake of the dead; then the drum, *Mittigwakih*, and shishingwan, the mallet. Everything being ready, he addresses himself to Missaba — says to him that the family is hungry, asks him to assist them, to make him a good hunter, and to discover to him the family of bears which he desires. "I have power, but thou hast more than I. If thou wilt aid me, my family will live."

The lodge is dark, and there is no fire in it. He speaks with closed eyes; and his imagination becomes excited to such a degree, that he believes he sees the bears—that they walk before him—and he takes this vision as an augury that Missabe has granted the request. Then he solicits the time of accomplishment. "Let me kill them tomorrow," in two days, in three days, &c. &c. The discourse being finished, he sings a long time, keeping his eyes shut, exciting himself with the drum and the shishigwân. He continues to see the bears, who come to visit him. The direction in which they arrive is exposed to his imagination, and that which should be taken in order to kill them. It is by this vision that Missaba manifests his aid. These songs finished, his imagination being full, he goes out and invites the neighbors to a feast. This feast is for Missaba and the animals. Medais or none can assist at it. Although often late at night when these invitations are made, they are never declined.

The Manedokazood explains the object of the feast, what Missaba said to him, and the bears which he has seen. "Day after day," &c., he says, "go that way, you will kill bears." Under these circumstances, there is no jealousy of the hunt, because whoever kills the animals according to the prophecy, has not the right to devote them to himself. The spoil belongs to the whole community present. The animal killed is devoted to a new feast, of which all present partake. They cook even the skin, which is eaten; and nothing is allowed to remain except the bones, which are hung on trees, or thrown in the water, that nothing need soil them.

Missaba's share is the head of the animal, the fore-feet, the stomach, and the entrails. All the rest belongs to the guests. During the feast, the manidokazood makes another harangue to Missaba: "Thou hast had pity on me, but I also give thee something."

In the feast given to Missaba and the bears, the night of the prayer and of the invitations, he who made them is supposed to eat the portion of Missaba, and the guests other parts of the animals required. These feasts are always supposed to be given to the spirits, whose portion is eaten by him who was charged to invite others.

In the visions which manidohazood has, he judges of the time and difficulties before finding and killing the animals. He judges of these by the time and the detours which they infuse in their visit during the vision. If the bears, on entering the lodge, go to the kettle which has been prepared for the feast, they will be found and killed the next day without difficulty; but if they stop at the door of the lodge, their capture will require more time.

Those who are not medais, and have occasion to invoke the spirits to kill game that they may live, are obliged to apply to some medai to perform the ceremony for them. Even where they are medais, if they have not confidence in their power, they apply to another, and furnish the feast and the tobacco.

Nanandawi idiwa—the visit, the attention which a medai bestows upon a sick person, from nanandawi, v. Imp. third person, ônandawiân; imp., nanandawiâ, to take care of, to take under one's care; a medicine-man who takes care of one who is sick.

For example, a child is sick; it is desired to know the cause; something is cooked, tobacco prepared, and a small piece of cloth, or something else, at hand, not to be eaten, which is called Sasagiwiyigon. In these cases, those presents which are eaten are called yibakooyigōn-yibikooyigōnan; and the present of tobacco, pindakooyigōn.

Then a medai is sought for, or some empiric who has a knowledge of plants and of their uses, and who practises after the manner of the whites, although he is not a medai, a regular mediciner. There are many of these empirics among the Indians, who perform juggleries as well as others, but cannot do more, and are not admitted to the medawin.

He who goes after the "medicine-man," says to him, kisāgāsweigo, come and smoke. If several are invited, he says kisāgāsweigom. He comes, they give him the pipe, and if the patient whom he sees is really sick, he accepts it, saying, Nâ, nikan, nage, nâ, or kanagekana. If he is not a medai, he says, Nâ, nisagimiân. Kanagekana is an abbreviation of nâ, nikan, nage, nâ.

The family talk with him about the patient whilst he smokes, and say to him that they desire he would administer to the patient. The plate containing the food is placed before him, to all which he replies by the word *ho!* After having reflected, he commences an harangue to his own monedo, that he would enlighten him about the condition of the sick person, and make known to him the plant, the remedy he should use.

He does not fail to make the family understand that his monedo is a kitishi-monedo. He says to him, "Aid me, assist me; you are a great monedo, you must drive out the *magi aya awish*, an evil spirit, a worm, a porcupine, any insect or animal not consecrated as a monedo of medicine. They do not speak thus of the serpent, the bear, &c. &c., which are grand monedos; it would be to treat them with contempt, and to expose him to their wrath. And he says to him, you must drive out the *mayi aya awish*, in reference to noxious and unhealthy substances, a bit of wood, of iron, or a green and yellow fluid like pus, which he supposes to be in the body, boils, &c., produced by animals and insects. The boil is animated, they say to it mayi ayâ awish; stones also. For a bone, a fish-bone, it is mayi ayi iwish. Speaking of an unhealthy place or country, or of an epidemic prevailing there, they say *mayi akkis*.

Having determined the plant, the remedy to be applied, he makes another harangue to the monedo of that plant, that he will render it efficient; and if he leaves the plant to be administered during his absence, he disguises it, he will not tell what it is; but he says it is his monedo, and recommends that you invoke the monedo before administering the remedy.

The consultation having reached this point, after he has eaten something, the medai does not push his art further without some tribute to his class or order, unless he is the sole one in the country. He therefore gives invitations to a certain number of persons, men or women, medais or not, at his pleasure. The guests arrive, their plates under their arms, and pipe in hand. The mediciner fills the pipes, and says to them, "Smoke your pipes, make the spirits above and the spirits below smoke. The guests answer, as in way of thanks, Nâ nishanug kanagekana, if the medicine and the patient are medais, or nâ nisagimamug kanageka, if both are empirics, or nâ nishgimam kanageka, if one is medicine and the other not. This being said, he makes an harangue (Ayanimitagooziwin) to explain why his services have been required. He arranges the portions of food, they thank again, and eat.

The mediciner assumes a suppressed voice, arms his right hand with the shishigwân, his left with the mayi ayawish, and says, nâ kanage kana. Having finished or not, all cease to eat at this exclamation. He commences a lively harangue to his monedo, and to the monedo of the remedy. He invokes them, prays to them, urges them, commands them to free the sick from the mayi aya awish, or from the mayi-ayi iwish, which he has in his body. He sings a song, warms and reanimates himself, resumes his harangue, which the guests now listen to standing up. Then comes another song, during which the guests dance, showing their empty plates, to the spirits above and below. The dancers make a tour of the lodge, all the time dancing; and as each arrives near the door, he hops, and gives the we-ho! hohohoho-ho! pronounces the kanagekana loud, and goes out.

During these ceremonies of medicine and feast, the number of tours of the lodge made by the guests, before going out, is regulated by the number of members who compose the faculty engaged in the ceremony. In the case described, there being but one grand meda, the guests make but one tour.

The meda remains alone, the manidos are satisfied. He sends for his medicine-bag, and while searching in his bag for that which he wants, he sings a song:

Anindi wendabion â.
Where are you, where are you, in what place are you?

and when he has found it, he exclaims:

Yâ aa! yâ aa! hoho! ho! ho!

He takes it in his hand, and prepares the remedy in a shell or a plate, singing

Mayi ode, mayi ode, wi-i-wi.
He climbs, he climbs, he crawls.

He makes an harangue to the manido, and sings:

Wayiwonne tamadweyiwonne.
The mountains, the mountains which threaten.

He makes a round of the lodge, holding the potion he is about to administer. During this tour or round, the patient places himself to receive the dose; the meda approaches him, saying, hiwâ, hiwâ; he swallows it, and the descent down his throat is completed to the sound of we-hohoho-ho-ho!

He talks to the meda, or to the manido: "Do not stop, clean the body, cast out the mayi-ayâ-awish, or the mayi ayi iwish." He marks his *Pinyigoosan*, has it carried to his home, waits a little, takes the presents made to him, recommends to the manidos to remain in the lodge, and to watch over the invalid, to cure him; then he makes a tour of the lodge, singing wabamishin, &c. &c., and showing the presents to the spirits above and below, arrives near the door, exclaims we-hohoho-ho-ho! kanagekanan, and departs.

The meda continues to attend to his patient. He visits him every day, but without repeating the same ceremonies. The invalid must, however, continue to make presents to the medicine-man, and to give him something to eat, without which he will not again put his foot in the lodge. His manido withdraws his power, and the patient dies.

The most valuable present which can be made to the medicine-man, of any kind of food, under any circumstances in which remedies are required, or revelations, or some secret, is a dog—any kind of a dog, fat or lean. This is the most agreeable offering to the spirits, the victim they like best to eat. And as it is the

Medais who eat for the spirits, it is with dogs that they must be treated, and it is with dogs that they make their most solemn feasts.

The offering in highest estimation, next to the dog, is the *Madodiswin*, the vapor-bath. The Nanandawi, idewin, of which I have described the principal features, will give some idea of the practice of Indians in medical matters. This ceremony is very frequent with them. It is the one which strangers generally notice, because it is of every-day occurrence, while the other ceremonies are only accidental, and at certain seasons of the year. Thus, the ceremony Nanandawidiwin is the ceremony the most frequently described by travellers, under different names, and under interpretations always different, because they do not know its object, nor its relation with general notions of Indians.

We can now comprehend why this ceremony assumes so many forms, although at bottom the rite, the ideas which govern it are always the same. This diversity of forms in practice arises from diversities of condition of the invalid.

We will mention here—

1st. The case described among the Chickasaws.

2d. Some cases taken from travellers, particularly from Henry.

3d. The case of the woman of Leech Lake, whose only son, ten years old, was very sick. She requested that they sing the medicine-song, to relieve his depression. They brought him ten medicine-men, who decided to sing each four songs, during which, according to the rule among them, the invalid should not sleep.

4th. The case of accouchement, in which they invoke the power of the crab.

The Choctaw Indians have two kinds of doctors—medicine-men, charmers, and burners. When charming fails, they resort to the application of fire, that is, cauterize.

The charmers, conjurors, or those who cure diseases by a sort of animal magnetism, have various ways of operating, namely—titillation, or the imposition of hands; by suction with the mouth; by songs, accompanied with the jingling of shells and bells, and the beating of sticks. The sounds produced are similar to ventriloquism in one respect, that is, the sound appears anywhere but in the place from which it actually proceeds. I was once at the house of an Indian. His wife and daughter were both sick. The Indian prophet, or charmer, was sent for. He came, dressed in the skins of wild animals. The claws of the grizzly bear ornamented his neck; the claws of the panther, wild-cat, hawk, and eagle were also fastened to different parts of his dress. The helix of his ears was cut in notches, like a saw. His ears had rings, three inches in diameter, suspended from them. On the rings small shells were loosely fastened; and a ring, ornamented with shells, was also suspended from his nose. The borders of his dress were fringed with shells, the teeth of serpents, and the tails of rattlesnakes. He had several sticks in his hand.

He approached the patient, directed his eyes upwards, muttered strange sounds, stretched himself up, and as he rose, his whole frame vibrated with a tremulous motion.

He poured forth a plaintive song, beat with his sticks, shook his bells and shells, waved his hands over the invalids, and the daughter sprang up and declared herself well. The wife still lay in the same position. At length the charmer ceased, and said some words. I asked what he said. The prophet says, "He has not struck the right song for the wife; he will try again." Soon, sounds were heard, as if descending from the skies. The sound did not seem to proceed from the prophet, but overhead, and all around us. The prophet was trembling in every part of his frame, and beating with his sticks; gave a lively song, in quick time; touched her in various places, with his hands and mouth; struck lightly with his sticks; and sucked her flesh with his mouth. But all would not do. The interpreter told me that the prophet said she had been shot by a witch with a ball of hair. The fact was, she had pleurisy. I bled her, and gave her tartar-emetic and ipecacuanha, and she got well.

By the preceding details it will be perceived what a body of subtile superstitions, and widely-spread popular error, is to be encountered by civilization and Christianity in the masses of the Indian tribes, led by their native priesthood, and animated by their appeals. No marvel that the missionary teachers, on the settlement of New England, encountered so general and fierce an opposition from the Indian pow-wows and sagamores; or that the task has continued, under various phases, as the States settled, to be a labor attended with so much difficulty, and so many sources of trial and discouragements.

XIII. MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE INDIAN. C.

[3d Paper, Title XIII.]

TITLE XIII.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE INDIAN.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE XIII.

TITLE V., LET A., VOL. I., p. 249 to 255. [1st Paper.]

Remarks on the Medical and Surgical Knowledge of the Dacotahs. 66. Medicine. 67. Anatomy. 68. Pathology. 69, 74. Theory of Diseases, and their Remedies. 70. Blood-Letting. 71. Aneurism. 72. Healing Art. 73. Amputation. 74. Treatment of Imposthumes; Parturition. 75. Paralysis.

TITLE XIII., LET. A., VOL. III. [2d Paper.]

Practice of Medicine among the Winnebagoes.

TITLE XIII., LET. B., VOL. IV. [3d Paper.]

1. Preliminary Remarks on the Indian Notions of Anatomy and Medicine.
2. Medicine; or some Account of the Remedies used by the American Indians in the Cure of Diseases, and the Treatment of Injuries to which they are liable, and their Methods of administering and applying them.

TITLE XIII., LET. C., VOL. V. [4th Paper.]

The Indian as a Physician.

MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE INDIAN.

THE INDIAN AS A PHYSICIAN.

By the descriptions given in the preceding pages of these volumes, of the aboriginal ideas of medical magic, the topic is relieved of one of its chief difficulties, and the arts and ceremonies of a class of influential pretenders to medical knowledge exposed; for it is on this subject, more than any other professing to be useful to their fellow-men, that the Indians bend their efforts. The cure and knowledge of diseases are subjects too interesting, in every wigwam, not to excite an absorbing care. The Indian, seeing cures performed which often strike him as wonderful, and of the rationale of which he is ignorant, soon comes to believe that there is an amount of occult knowledge on this head, which mysterious spiritual influences could only communicate, and the men who profess this art have ever been regarded with the greatest respect.

But it is necessary to distinguish between the simple and honest Indian doctor, or muskikíwininee, and the meda, or magical professor. The latter is a member of the medawin, or grand medicine society. He aims to give efficacy to his skill by necromancy. He shakes the charmed skin of a stuffed weasel, bird, or magic bone, at his patient. He uses violent genuflections; he is an adept in incantations. The power of the prophet, or jossakeed, goes one step higher. He invokes the spirits, not of his ancestry indeed, who have preceded him to the land of spirits, but of the gods or monedos, who are represented on earth by the various classes of birds, quadrupeds, and reptiles, who have glided in, or flown across, his pathway through life. It is by the superior knowledge of these that he sees into futurity, foretells events, and predicts health, disease, and all the vicissitudes of life. The mishineway, who is of the third order of these ceremonialists, is a mere initiate class to these mysteries, and begins his functions in the path to promotion, by lighting the pipe that is to give a sacred character to these institutions.[1] The Indian physician must not be confounded with these orders. He heals bruises or sores by emollient cataplasms, and attends the cure of wounds and cuts with very great care, and attention to the cleanliness of the injured parts. He administers simples culled from the botanical catalogue, whose laxative, aperient, or other properties, are known to him. He has a general knowledge of the most common disorders of the stomach and bowels. He knows the value of the most unremitting care and attention to the patient who is committed to his hands; and on this, so far as relates to topical cases, his success doubtless often depends. If he concocts his liquid vegetable remedies (Plate V.), on compound theories of the effects on different parts of the system, it is with a simple reliance on the natural powers of the mixture, and not from any faith in the magical doctrines. It is not known that the Indian physician has ever directed his mental vision so far to causes, as to feel the pulse; but it is certain that he becomes satisfied of its fullness by the common remedy of bleeding for inflammations, or fullness or rapidity of its beat.

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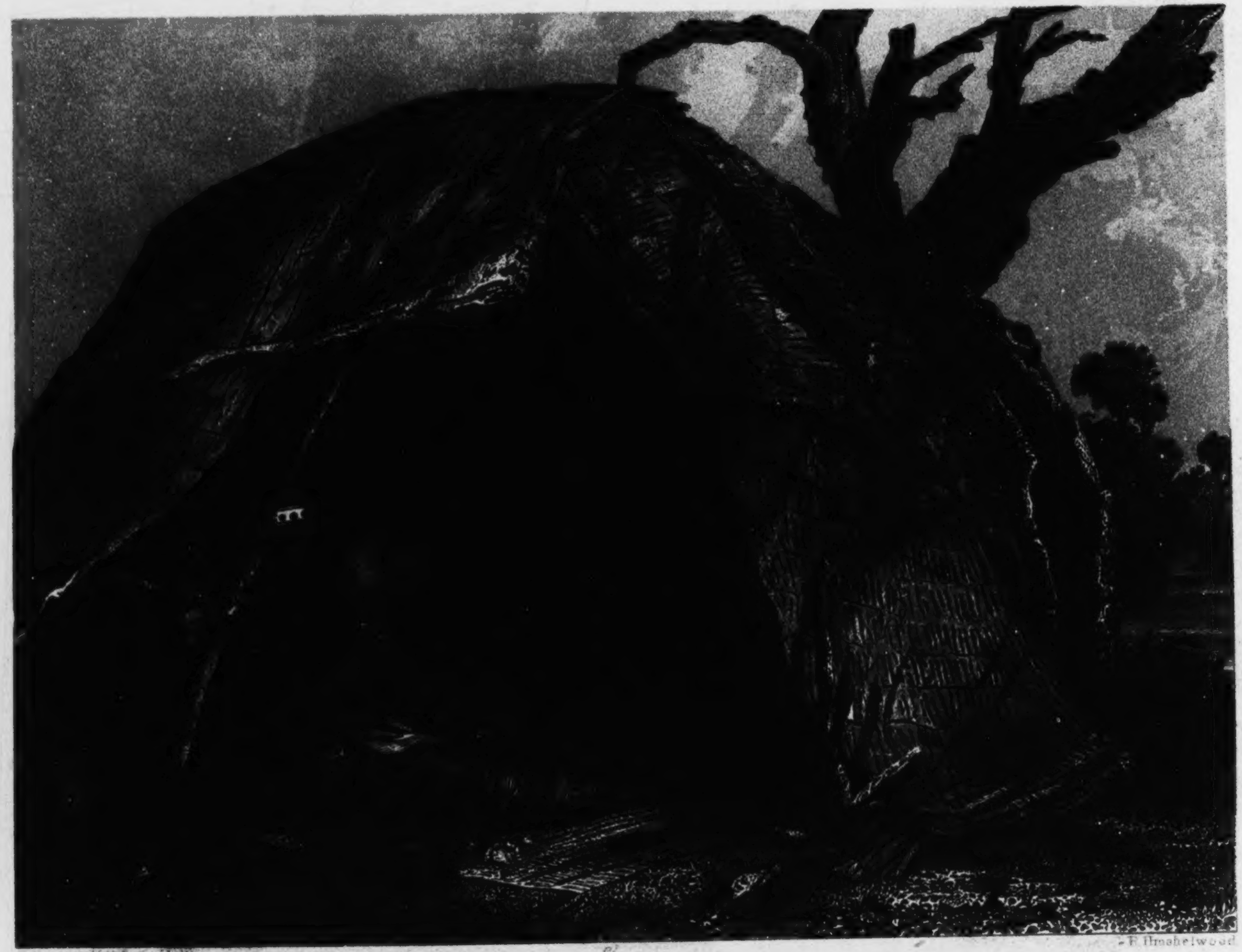
[1] There is a class of practitioners who are neither truly medas, nor medicine-men, but something between, having leanings to the higher ceremonial exhibitions of the art. Their mode of administering medicine is after this sort. Having prepared to give the remedy to the patient, he addresses it as if it were a sentient person, in this manner, saying, "You have been created for the use of man; you will perform the office for which you have been designed; you will cleanse this man's body; you will act like one who sweeps clean, and cleanse all that is hurtful to him; and if you are too powerful, you must return from the patient's body, without injuring him."

It is this class of practitioners who, by their care and devoted personal attention, are so generally useful. There is known to them a forest materia medica, and a pathology which regulates the practice; and we cannot doubt that they much mitigate the diseases and accidents of Indian life, and deserve to be regarded as benefactors to their race.

To ascertain these practices, reference has been made to physicians of established reputation and judgment, who have been much thrown into contact with Indian society on the frontiers, whose contributions to a true knowledge of the subject have been given in prior volumes. The paper of Dr. Pitcher (Vol. IV.), derives especial value from the botanical list of plants employed by the aborigines as of remedial worth; and it is worthy of remark, denoting, as it does, much accuracy of observation in the Indian practitioners, how generally the properties ascribed to them coincide with those attributed to the same plants in civilized practice. By exhibiting a view of the low state of physical knowledge during the mediæval ages, there is a benevolent abatement of the tone with which we ought to regard the Indian superstitions. To acquire this knowledge of the actual skill possessed by the Indian physician, that it might be exhibited in contradistinction to his superstitious practices, appeared to the author important; and having accomplished this object, his task is terminated.

Plate 34



S. Eastman U.S. Army Del.

F. Hinshelwood

INDIAN DOCTOR CONCOCTING A POT OF MEDICINE.

XIV. PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS. D.

[4th Paper, Title XIV.]

TITLE XIV.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE XIV.

TITLE XI., LET. A., VOL. II. [1st Paper.]

1. Importance of the Pastoral State.
2. Means of Amelioration, by strengthening the Authority of the Chiefs.
3. Moral Questions relative to Practical Plans of Education and Civilization.
4. Present Condition of the Six Nations of New York.

TITLE XI., LET. B., VOL. III. [2d Paper.]

Memoir on the Influence of Education, Christianity, and the Arts, on the Condition of the Indian Race.

TITLE XI., LET. C., VOL. IV. [3d Paper.]

1. Plan of Colonization; and Present Social, Political, and Educational Condition of the Tribes.
2. Discouragements to Education arising from the Hunter Habits.
3. Necessity of a Government of some Fixed Form, to their Prosperity.

TITLE XIV., LET. D., VOL. V. [4th Paper.]

Summary Sketch of the Policy of the United States respecting the Indians.

PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS.

SUMMARY SKETCH OF THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES RESPECTING THE INDIAN TRIBES.

More than three centuries have elapsed since our acquaintance with the Indian tribes commenced. The history of the period is replete with wars, negotiations, and removals, and those feverish and spasmodic conflicts, which have marked the discovery of the country and the progress of settlement. It is enough for the present purpose to observe, that through every mutation of fortune, and in every vicissitude of their relation to us and to the civilized world, while in their slender forms of government, if they deserve that name at all, they have bent beneath the pressure upon them, they have at the same time, exhibited examples of traits of character which evince the possession of mind. If a people are to be judged by their prominent men, they have shown many manly and exalting traits. Admiration has been expressed for their endurance under severe trials, and their calmness and dignity under misfortunes. Brave, without order in battle, or the aids and excitements of civilized troops; persevering in their ideas, without system or steadiness of act; clinging to the idea of independence and personal freedom with a death-gripe; ever appreciating acts of disinterested kindness and benevolence; hospitable to the stranger and wayfarer; expert in allegory, and occasionally keen in irony; and above all, eloquent by touching appeals to the heart—they reveal the great truth that long wandering in the paths of error and delusion has not extinguished those nobler feelings of the human breast which bind man to man. Such, at least in the social state, have been the characteristics of their chief leading men.

During eighty years of the above period, they have been under the protection, not the *close government* of the United States; and it appears pertinent to consider what have been the influences impressed on them by their proximity to us. For more than two centuries, the Indian tribes of this continent existed as the mere objects of the fur-trade. They were excited to pursue the chase by every means that their own gratifications, on the one hand, and the selfish ends of commerce, on the other, required. Efforts for their improvement and reclamation were made; some of them, and perhaps the most strenuous and successful attempts from the very planting of the colonies. It is not proposed to do more than allude to these.

When the United States succeeded to the sovereignty of the country, the Indian tribes were in the most disturbed state. With a few and partial exceptions, they were banded against the newly-rising power, and surrounded the states, along the whole line of frontiers, with the crushing power that wound itself about Laocoon; and for many years after the great conflict, they remained in a disturbed and alarmed position. It was not, in fact, until the treaty of Ghent that they began to realize their true position, and to feel the insecurity of alliances with nations beyond the Atlantic, whose great object was jealousy of, and triumph over, the American institutions. The policy adopted towards them was to treat them as quasi-independent nations. Treaties were made with them as with foreign nations. The sovereignty of the soil was ever claimed as a principle derived from the crowns of Great Britain, France, and Spain, as one indispensable, under all circumstances, to the national power. But the laws were not extended over the Indian territory, except in criminal cases, where the life of a white was involved; while a code of laws was enacted, the specific objects of which were to regulate the trade with the several tribes, preserve peace on the frontiers, and protect the rights of the Indians. It became evident that, left to his own energies and foresight, or rather the general want of them, the Indian tribes could not endure the conflicts of civilization on their borders, with their continually increasing money-means from the sales of their lands, without the most injurious consequences to them, personally and tribally. To gather the tribes, and fragments of tribes, from the jurisdiction of the states, and transfer them to a territory in the West, where they would be freed from these dangers, was the plan adopted. This plan was first formally brought forward in 1824. (Vol. III., p. 573.) The number of Indians found within the old states at that time, and without reference to the indigenous tribes west, was one hundred and twenty-nine thousand. (Statistics, p. 372, Vol. V.)

The principal Appalachian tribes, namely, the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, who had made the greatest proficiency in agriculture, arts, and manners, voluntarily exchanged their respective territories east of the lower Mississippi, for ample and fertile areas west of that stream, where they have increased greatly in numbers, intelligence, industry, wealth, and manners, and where they appear to be destined, at no distant day, to become a sovereign state in the Union.[1] Details on these tribes will be found under the appropriate heads.

With regard to the numerous small expatriated tribes, who, together with the indigenous Osage, Kanzas, and other nations, occupy the parts of the Indian colony which now forms the territory of Kanzas, and also the Missourias, Otoes, Omahas, and Pawnees of the territory of Nebraska, modifications of the original terms of occupancy have been introduced, with their consent, which are proposed to be incorporated into a bill before Congress. The terms of this bill may be stated in the language of the Hon. James L. Orr,[1] Chairman of Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives. "There is much," he remarks, in submitting his views on this subject, "in the history of the aborigines of the western continent, to challenge the investigation of the philosopher, and to excite the warmest sympathy of the philanthropist. The rapid decay of this noble race of native Americans should arrest the attention of the statesman, and some policy be adopted to save the remnant of this once proud and powerful people from annihilation. It would be prompted by considerations of mere humanity; but when we recur to the first discovery of the New World by Columbus—an event which has exercised so potent an influence in the history of our race; when we remember the progress of its early settlement, and the kind hospitality our ancestors enjoyed in the rude wigwams of the red men of the forest, gratitude alone imperiously demands that we should now spare his posterity an extinction which our policy towards them is hastening with certainty. Your committee entertain a sanguine hope that the policy shadowed forth in the bill may stay that destruction which our former system is rapidly accomplishing.

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[1] Of the liberal features of the bill introduced at the late session of Congress by the Hon. Robert Johnson, Senator from Arkansas, no analysis is deemed necessary, as it may undergo changes before its final passage.

It is proposed to extend it, as an experiment, to those tribes who have heretofore been removed from the States to west of the Mississippi, and who are now located in the projected Territories of Kanzas and Nebraska, as also to the Osage and Kanzas tribes, who are indigenous, but who have conveyed heretofore most of their lands to the United States, reserving only a small portion of their once extended possessions, on which they now reside.

If the experiment succeeds with the emigrated tribes, some of whom already have a partial knowledge of agriculture and the civilization of the whites, it can be extended, as settlements progress westward, to the wild tribes who now have no experience in tilling the soil, and who rely exclusively upon the chase for the means of subsistence.

The present destitute condition of most of the emigrated tribes west of, and contiguous to, Missouri and Iowa, is a melancholy memorial of the sad failure of our misjudged efforts to civilize this fated race.

Enlightened philanthropy now suggests an abandonment of our former system, and the institution of a new one which will alienate the Indian from the precarious fortunes of the chase, and attach him to the more stable and happy pursuits of agriculture.

In their new homes, they have been disappointed in the permanent and abundant supplies of game furnished by the forests and prairies of the West. When they removed far towards the setting sun, and abandoned the wigwams and graves of their fathers, we told them they would get beyond the reach of the vices, deceptions, and oppressions of bad white men, and that the Great Spirit they reverenced would bounteously supply them with the deer, bear, elk, and buffalo. Their tastes and habits made them yield a willing ear to the stories which we told them of this promised land. Their hearts saddened, doubtless, when they turned and gazed for the last time on their native heath, and still they were cheered in the hope of a bright future, to be realized in the stillness of that wild to which they were treading their way.

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[1] Of South Carolina.

The policy towards the Indians, when adopted, seemed wise and humane. Its authors never anticipated the rapid progress of the extension of our settlements and population westward. It was supposed the Mississippi would, for many long years, mark the western confines of this Union, and present a barrier to western expansion not to be overcome. Soon, however, the illusion was dissipated; for the sturdy pioneer leaped the rolling flood of the "Father of Waters," and began to fell and conquer the forests on the western slopes of its great valleys. In a few brief years, a tier of States was formed "over the waters;" and then it was confidently believed that the broad plains and prairies, mountains and valleys, westward to the Pacific, would only be trod by the wild beasts of the forest and his natural enemy, the red hunter. A few more years, however, demonstrated the impotency of the most sanguine imagination to fix limits to our march westward. The acquisition and settlement of California and Oregon, has created the necessity of converting much of the Indian wilderness into a great highway and thoroughfare. Not less than seventy-five thousand of our citizens annually traverse the Indian country on their journeyings to and from the Pacific coast. The red man is no longer permitted to roam the wilderness free from the baleful presence of the hated pale-face. He sees the buffalo driven farther and farther from his lands, his lodges, and his wigwams. He finds that the annual slaughter of this noble animal for his own subsistence, that of the white caravans that dot and enliven the plains, and for the robes to supply the wants of civilized and savage life, amounts to upwards of four hundred thousand.

Unforeseen circumstances, such as no human foresight could have anticipated, have defeated the great object sought to be attained by the removal of these tribes. Want, we may justly say famine, is griping at their heels. The rapid destruction of the buffalo is exhausting the only larder from whence they draw their support; the broad prairie yields them nothing but game, which is now taken only by labor, toil, and privation, and when found, its quantity is so meagre as to rather tantalize than appease the dreadful gnawings of hunger.

Some of the tribes on the frontiers of Missouri, when they leave their lodges in the spring and fall to enter upon the precarious hunt for food, traverse several hundred miles of foodless desert before reaching their harvest-field—the herds of buffalo. Very soon they will cease to gather a harvest, for the buffalo will only be known in the natural history of a past age.

An increasing emigration and settlement along these great highways, and the large number of laborers and employees on the Pacific railroad, soon to be constructed, will destroy all the game supporting the Indian; and what will be his fate? If he should rob and murder to procure food, that his broken spirit and tortured body may be postponed a dissolution, should it excite surprise? And if justice required expiation for the crime, would not even a callous judge melt in tears of pity when gaunt famine pleads its justification for the deed?

When the buffalo is exhausted, the small game will feed them but a very brief season. Having neither breadstuffs nor vegetables, with nothing but meat to subsist upon, the ordinary demands of nature would not be appeased by less than from five to ten pounds per day. The deer is already growing scarce; and it cannot be depended on to subsist the Indians when the buffalo is gone.

It is idle, then, to look longer to the chase as a means of support for the Indian tribes. They are reduced to one of three alternatives — either to starve, plunder, or labor.

Humanity revolts at the prospect of perishing for food in a country where "old mother earth" so generously rewards the labor of the husbandman; but the second is violative of every social and moral duty, and its perpetration must bring ignominious punishment. The adoption, by his own free choice, of the last alternative should, if possible, be secured; and it is the solemn duty of Congress, by its legislation, to aid this consummation for the benefit of its wards, and thereby discharge its fiduciary trust to the Indians, now weak and powerless. It can only be done by giving to the red man an incentive to labor. Your committee are quite confident the result will be approximated by the passage of the bill under consideration. It suggests the general provisions of treaties to be hereafter negotiated with the Indians. Much of the mere detail of the plan is to be supplied in the stipulations of the treaties, and in such rules and regulations as may be adopted by the President of the United States to give the system efficiency. It contemplates the abrogation of their tribal existence, and gives to every member of the band an independent personal and political individuality, by changing the arbitrary will as law of chiefs and sachems for the laws of the United States and the protection to life and property which they afford. The council-fires are extinguished, and appeals for justice are addressed to the courts and legislatures rather than to the council-house. It gives him a permanent homestead, in quantity dependent on the number in the family, not to exceed in any event one section of land, by a higher and more stable title than mere occupancy. His 'lodge' is converted into a dwelling, and becomes 'his castle,' protected from unlawful encroachments. His affections and the affections of his children will entwine themselves around its enclosures, and the wild romance of a roving life will be dissipated. When he sees his little boys and girls growing up in that peaceful and happy home, it will stimulate him to industry. They must be fed and clothed and educated, and this will encourage his thrift and economy to meet these requirements of civilized life. His earnings will be measured by his own industry, and dispensed by his own volition. When he sows the seed, he will feel assured that he will not be molested in reaping the harvest. Fierce cruelty and cold neglect will no longer be practised against his wife and children. His kindness will cherish and his affections command them.

If sobriety and industry mark his conduct for a period of two years after entering upon and cultivating the homestead reserved to him by the bill, he is elevated in the scale of social and political being to the high privileges of a citizen of this great republic; and he will doubtless make a good citizen, meeting every obligation it imposes, whether it be in the camp or the cabinet. They are intellectually capable of high culture and civilization. The oratory of the unlettered savage has not unfrequently delighted educated ears, and the Indian blood has already marked its susceptibilities for intellectual superiority on many pages of our own history.

If he should, however, cling to his early habits, and refuse to obey the Divine command to till the earth and earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, persist in wandering over the land and lead the life of a vagabond, the President is empowered to withhold his annuity arising from the sale of his land until he shall return to his home and resume the pursuits of industry. This power, your committee believe, will exercise a most salutary influence over the Indian in keeping him at home and engaged in industry.

But that feature in the system best adapted to the civilization of the Indian is the permanent settlement in their midst of a virtuous and moral white population. Our pioneers will seek homes on the virgin soil of the Indian country, carrying with them their families, thereby giving earnest of their purpose to demean themselves in a manner compatible with the high duties and obligations of citizens and Christians.

A white population of worth and integrity will occupy a large portion of the ceded soil in the midst of the Indians, to which they have hitherto been strangers. Heretofore the white race has generally been represented by vicious outlaws and desperate adventurers; and this association has degraded and debauched the poor Indian. The habits and appetites imparted to them by these adventurers, instead of elevating, have destroyed all the native virtues of the savage.

The bill will secure certainly the settlement of an industrious moral white population in the midst of the Indians; and their example will incite the Indians to industry, the accumulation of property, and the acquisition of intelligence. They will learn skill in agriculture by having constantly in their vicinage practical farmers—when to sow and how to reap and garner; the uses of the plough, hoe, and spade, the scythe and sickle. Seeds and roots adapted to their soil and climate, and suitable to supply the wants of civilized life, will be introduced by their white neighbors; and the proper modes of rearing and caring for stocks of horses, cattle, and hogs will be learned. The white man will erect school-houses and churches; and the Indian when he learns the superiority of his white neighbor in all the duties of life, from his superior intelligence and education, will become the patron of the school-house and the regular attendant of worship at the church. His traditions of the power and attributes of the Great Spirit will melt before the teachings of Divine revelation; the Sabbath will be consecrated to the service of the Great Chief, and no more desecrated by the war-whoop or the sharp crack of the hunter's rifle.

This picture of their advanced and ameliorated condition, under the operation of the system they recommend, your committee believe is not overdrawn; and if it is true, philanthropy and humanity would be supremely elated at the happy change. To strew the pathway of life of half a million of human beings with prosperity and happiness, where it is now illuminated only by the baleful lights of poverty, ignorance, destitution, and threatened extinction, is a benevolence worthy of the exalted intellect and the benignant heart.

Your committee are not discouraged at the signal failure of all former efforts to civilize and domesticate these "children of the forest." They were founded in error: first, in paying them money annuities, which debauched them by furnishing them the means of gratifying their appetites; and, secondly, through the Indian intercourse act, casting, by its operation, on them a lawless class of white men.

An earnest desire to protect the Indian induced Congress at an early day (in 1802) to pass an act regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians. It prohibited all white persons from entering the Indian country, except such traders as might be licensed by the Indian agents. The agencies were extended over a vast amount of territory, and the agents could not, if they had been so inclined, always execute the law and drive off intruders. Its practical operation has been to keep out of the Indian country good men, and to introduce into it men whose vices and crimes expelled them from decent society. The licentiousness, vice, disease, and death that have stalked with merciless strides through all their wigwams, found their germ in this most unfortunate and misjudged act. Good men have respected the law, and kept out of the Indian country; while bad men disregarded it, and entered upon their territory. There are honorable exceptions to this rule; but the mass of white men, who have renounced the society of their peers to make their haunts in the Indian country, in violation of all law, have been drawn from the very dregs of society. These men are responsible for most of the murders and robberies and wars which the Indians have made. These men have taught the poor savages all the *vices* of our race and none of its *virtues*.

If the system your committee recommend should be adopted, a class of white men will go into the Indian country for whose virtues we need not be ashamed, and for whose morality we need not blush. They will elevate the aspirations of the Indian; and that this diffusion may be general, and every vestige of their tribal associations and proclivities obliterated, it is provided that not more than six families shall make coterminous locations. This will insure a white neighbor near every Indian settlement.

There is one feature in the bill to which the attention of the House is specially invited. It is proposed to remunerate the emigrated tribes for the cession of their lands, by allowing them the entire net proceeds of the sale, when disposed of by the government. This compensation is more liberal than we have usually made, though it is not without precedent, as in the case of the Chickasaws and Black River Chippewas; but there are considerations not to be overlooked, demanding a generous and liberal policy towards the emigrated tribes, some of whom have already, at our solicitation and for very inadequate compensation, removed more than once. The lands they now occupy are guarantied to them in the most solemn and imposing form. If we ask them to modify the contract, they should be approached with none other than a just and liberal offer. The great interests of this republic require a modification of the terms on which they hold their lands. The safe and comfortable emigration of our citizens to and from the Pacific coast would be greatly promoted, if the Indian country was opened, and settlements made along the various routes. At least one hundred thousand persons, annually, will hereafter traverse the routes; and much suffering of man and beast would be averted, if settlements were made at convenient intervals, and such crops raised as were needed to supply these caravans. The prospect of one or more railroads to the Pacific renders it necessary that the title shall be extinguished, that the right of way may be given to such companies as enter upon the contracts for their construction; and while the work is progressing, and when completed, the laws of the United States must be extended over the whole line. Crimes must be punished, which can now only be done, when committed in the Indian country, by removing the criminal to an organized State. Contracts must be respected and enforced. To do all this, territorial governments must be organized, courts established, and officers appointed. The whites can no longer be kept out of the Indian country; the plains and prairies to the Rocky Mountains have nearly ceased to echo the lowing of the buffalo; the crack of the emigrant's whip, the merry jest and joyous laugh of the Caucasian man, now ring through the vast wilderness. Where there is so much of human life and property, law and government is a necessity which we must respect.

Congress must extend our laws so as to meet the governments on the Pacific, not only to subserve the convenience of our citizens, but to protect great national interests. It is a national necessity that requires us to assume the jurisdiction which the right of eminent domain entitles us to. In exercising it, we should scrupulously abstain from doing injustice to the emigrated tribes who are entitled to the right of occupancy by treaties and conventions still in force.

The accompanying table [Statistics, Table VI.], prepared at the Indian Office, shows the different tribes affected by the bill, the country from whence they emigrated, their numbers, the quantity of land now held, the title by which held, the dates of treaties, and the annuities they receive.

The recommendation of your committee to give these tribes the net proceeds of the sales of the lands, when disposed of by the United States to purchasers, will be fully justified when the nature of their present title is explained, as we propose, by making short extracts from various treaties made with them and also from the statutes of the United States.

The territory conveyed by the United States to the Sacs and Foxes was 'for a permanent home;' to the Kickapoos 'as their permanent place of residence as long as they may remain a tribe;' and to the same tribe in a subsequent treaty, it was stipulated that the land they now occupy should be 'assigned, conveyed, and *forever* secured by the United States to the said Kickapoo tribe as their permanent residence,' &c.; to the Delawares, the land 'should be conveyed and *forever secured* by the United States to the Delaware nation as their permanent residence, and the United States hereby pledges the faith of the government to guaranty to the said Delaware nation *forever* the possession, &c., against the claims and assaults of all and every people whatever;' to the Pawnees, Ottowas, Quapaws, and Senecas and Shawnees, it was agreed to '*grant by patent, in fee simple,* to them and their heirs forever, as long as they shall exist,' &c.; and to the Peorias and Kaskaskias, the United States 'cedes, &c., land *forever*, or as long as they may live upon it as a tribe.'

The treaties from which these extracts are made are consistent with the legislation of Congress. On the 28th of May, 1830, Congress passed an act directory to the President of the United States, indicating the wish of the legislative department of the government as to the terms and conditions on which treaties should be made with the Indians for exchanging lands. The third section declares, 'that, in making of any such exchange or exchanges, it shall and may be lawful for the President, solemnly to assure the tribe or nation with which the exchange is made that the United States will forever secure and guaranty to them and their heirs or successors, the country so exchanged with them, and, if they prefer it, that the United States will cause a patent or grant to be made and executed to them for the same: *Provided always*, That such lands shall revert to the United States if the Indians become extinct or abandon the same.'

The title for perpetual occupancy is clear and indefeasible; and as there is a national necessity, growing out of our trans-montane and Pacific acquisitions, to again ask our red brethren to modify existing stipulations to suit the exigencies of the case, would it be just or generous to acquire their lands for an inadequate consideration, and speculate in their sale upon the ignorance, the fear, or the weakness of these poor Indians?

Your committee would not concede to a small number of savage men, white or red, the right of appropriating absolutely a vast territorial area, that they may live by the chase or upon the spontaneous productions of the earth rather than by labor, when such lands might be required for the plough of the husbandman, or when the safety or convenience of an adjacent civilized State required that it should be subdued and brought into cultivation. The civilization of the white is vastly superior to the civilization of the red man; it is productive of more social happiness, and is better adapted to intellectual progress. Hence, when the expansion of our population has required additional territory, the government has acted wisely in appropriating it—generally by purchase, and for a reasonable consideration, if the value of the lands acquired is measured by the usufruct it bore the Indians. The guarantees we have given these emigrated tribes, the plighted faith of the nation to them in laws and treaties, render it imperative on the government to obtain their consent before it appropriates their land; and that consent should not be given by the Indians unless the government agrees to pay them all it may receive for the lands, deducting only the expenses incident to its disposition. The bill meets the justice of the case.

The money is to be paid from time to time, as the sales progress, and distributed to individuals in such proportions as each treaty may respectively stipulate. Each tribe will have one or more agents for making payments, and supervising generally their affairs. If any Indian is by him considered incompetent to manage prudently the sums to be paid him, it will be the duty of the agent to report the fact to the President, who is authorized to commute cash payments for payments in clothing, provisions, &c.; which articles are made inalienable to any white person, under penalties which will secure the observance of this provision. The President may also authorize the money thus due to be expended in the clearing and fencing of lands, and the erection of buildings. Those who are competent to manage for themselves receive the payments in cash, and may disburse it at their own option. Every Indian will be secured a permanent home, and the comforts and pleasures it bears. It will give him individuality, self-respect, elevate his aspirations, and enlarge his affections. His moral and intellectual nature will be changed; his erratic tastes will be swallowed up in the blandishments of a permanent home, and his love of excitement, for war, and the chase, will be satiated in the acquisition of wealth and knowledge.

Individual right to property, with the privilege of enjoying, granting, and bequeathing it, is the great effective stimulant to industry; without it, our civilization would not have reached higher than the barbarous rudeness of savage life.

The Indian has no conception of title to land in severalty; it is his while he occupies it. He has no well-defined security for the rights of person or property; the weak have no shield between oppression and the strong. This makes the red man idle; he is not so naturally; his temperament is active, and his motion quick. Throw around him the protection of the white man's laws, and he will rise not more highly in our appreciation of him than in his appreciation of himself. When his property is despoiled, give him a court to appeal to, instead of the war-club; let him feel that his person is secure, and that his home is "his castle;" convince him by kindness that the white man is his friend, and that all the race are not treacherous, and the Indian will be a far nobler specimen of humanity than his former developments would indicate. Give him the rights of citizenship, when he proves himself to be capable of their exercise by industry and good deportment, and you will have converted the rude savage into the exemplary citizen: in war, to rally under the stars and stripes; in peace, to develop the country; and when his posterity shall speak of the white man, let your public acts be so just and liberal to the ancestor, that they will bless you with benedictions rather than curse you with imprecations."[1]

While the subject brought forward by this measure remains without final action, the Indian Department has proceeded to enter into treaties with the Indians of those territories, by which some of its leading principles are adopted. [See notes to Tables IV. and V., Statistics.] By these principles, they cede their surplus territories, and accept adequate reservations within the same for their improvement and advance in agriculture, knowledge, and the arts. The features of the bill which regard the advance of the Indians in their civil and social rights, aiming to draw them forward to the period when they shall be prepared to assume the rank of citizenship, are important. It has been an error, throughout the whole period of our dealing with the Indians, to suppose that they will not bear the application of the civil code; and consequently, to have left them beyond the power of its operation, only holding them amenable to the criminal code in the particular cases where the blood of white men is involved. It is an error which we have been late in perceiving; but it is believed, from the whole operation of our system, that it is precisely this want of the influence of the civil code on Indian society, that keeps them in the Indian state. There is not only an absence of exact perception of private rights, but of the obligation of man to man, which is the cement of the social state. If an Indian, living in the semi-civilized state of our colonized Indians, could be made legally answerable for his debts, as well as the routine of duties protected by the law, it would produce the most beneficial effects. To bring him within the pale of this law would be, in fact, to bring him essentially within the pale of civilization.

At a subsequent date, a debate arose in the Senate, on an amendment introduced by the Chairman of the Finance Committee, on the Indians of California, which led to the expression of important views on the general policy of the government respecting the Indian tribes. Mr. Sebastian,[2] Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, of the Senate, said:

I understand that the amendment to the amendment goes further, and involves an abandonment of the plan adopted by Congress and the Executive heretofore, in order to restore the old, and what I understood to be the exploded, system of Indian administration in that State, which existed prior to the act of the last session of Congress.

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[1] This bill was introduced April 7th, 1854. Amendments to it were subsequently introduced by Mr. Orr, on May 2d, 1854.

[2] Of Arkanzas. As these pages may be read on the banks of the Danube or the Neva, where the system of the American Government is not so well known as it is here, it may be stated that in the Senate, the voice and vote of each of the States, large and small, is uttered by two senators, holding their seats for the term of six years from the time of their election by the State Legislatures—agreeably to the established classes

The amendment, as now proposed by the senator from California, would be restoring the plan of appropriating general amounts for the general purpose of preserving peace with the Indians in California. By referring to the history of the administration of that plan, it will be seen that such had been the magnitude of the evils that had grown out of it, such had been the signal failure of that system heretofore, that on the 3d of March last the Senate, almost without a dissenting voice, adopted the system which is now in force there, and which, I think, affords the only efficient plan for the protection and civilization of the Indian population of that State against that inevitable and irresistible agency—the encroachment of the white man.

That system, so far as it has worked, has worked efficiently—expensively, it is true, as every system of administration in that State must necessarily work, from the inflated state and condition of things there at this time. That is a difficulty which we must expect to meet, and which we must face. It is a difficulty which we are to overcome, and overcome now; for an experiment, when first tried, must involve the expenditure of amounts startling to us, from which we must expect that the development of the system will recover itself in the process of time.

But, sir, has the old system, for which the senator now proposes to abandon this experiment, ever worked with greater satisfaction than that which was adopted on the recommendation of the committee at the last session, and which has proved successful up to this time, although it costs an immense amount of money? I think not. We all remember the results of the old system, for which an appropriation was made. Commissioners were sent out there, and almost the first fruits of their labor was a batch of some nineteen or twenty treaties, which were sent here, involving the government in the expenditure of $800,000 or $1,000,000. It is very true that we have not paid it; but this shows the operation of the system. The very first step which was made in its progress broke it down, and it has not been able to be revived.

I appeal to the senators from that State, if we abandon the only system which has worked with anything like results corresponding to our expectations, and go back to the system of general appropriation — to the abandoned and exploded system, which never worked with efficacy—what are we to expect? Are we to expect results more flattering than those developed in the operation of this system? I think not. I am disposed, therefore, to adhere to this system tenaciously, until it shall be, by experiment, proved to have been a failure or a successful policy. It is the same which we adopt in reference to all the Indian tribes at this time. It has been ingrafted on our late treaties. It has been ingrafted on one or two appropriations in the Indian appropriation bill; and we intend to propose and insist upon it as a system of general Indian appropriation, believing, as I think, that it affords the only prospect of permanently civilizing and giving fixed agricultural habits to that people."

The question of the power of the general government to make reservations for the Indians of California, becoming involved, Mr. BELL[1] said:

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[1] Of the State of Tennessee, formerly Secretary of War.

"I concur entirely in the views expressed by the senator from Arkansas; but I should like to make an inquiry of him in reference to an objection which he states, that the United States have no power to make reservations in the State of California. Why is it that treaties have not been made with these Indian tribes? I have inquired casually of members of the Senate who I presumed might be informed upon this subject, but without obtaining satisfactory information. I know that there were treaties made in such a form, and under such circumstances, that the Senate rejected them, or the Executive, perhaps, thought proper not to submit them to the Senate for rejection or ratification. But why is it that no subsequent attempt has been made to make treaties with these Indian tribes? I take it for granted that there is public domain there, in the various gorges of the mountains, where they would not interfere with the population now in California.

A treaty is the only method of which I am aware by which, under the constitution, we can secure reservations in order to make the experiment; and I have been surprised, under the circumstances, that no such treaties appear to have been attempted of late, as far as I am informed. Perhaps it may be that they are in progress now, or that instructions have been transmitted to make them; but if there be territory belonging to the United States in California by treaty, we can certainly secure the Indians in the enjoyment of those reservations just as we have done in all other cases, and just as we are authorized directly by the constitution to do, where the United States are the owners of the unappropriated domain, and where the Indians have not been incorporated as members of the State by law. In that case, we have no power.

It was suggested in debate yesterday that the people or the legislature of California would not, perhaps, give their consent to this plan. Rumors were stated as existing in California, that perhaps east of the Sierra Nevada some country did exist on which the Indians might be located. I suppose, if there be any territory unappropriated by law, it would be in the power of the government to select portions of the public domain on which to make this experiment. But my object in rising was to get information from the senator from Arkansas, to get him to inform me, if he knew, why it was that this preliminary step had not been taken?"

MR. HUNTER.[1]—"I would ask the senator from Tennessee—for I really wish the benefit of his information on the subject—whether he thinks we would have the right to take a cession of the exclusive jurisdiction from the State of California for Indian reservation? That seems to me to be a point of doubt. I merely wish to ask the question to get the information from the senator."

MR. BELL.—"I only refer the honorable senator to the practice of the government from Washington's administration down to this time. The government has never undertaken to exercise the powers of sovereignty over the Indian tribes, it is true, so far as to give them the fee-simple in the domain. We do not do that by treaty, and it is not necessary for the experiment to be made that we should give them anything but the usufructory enjoyment; but that we can continue indefinitely.

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[1] Of Virginia, Chairman of Committee of Finance.

In those States—for example, in Texas—where the government owns no public domain, the United States have forborne, for they have no right whatever to make any such reservations. That would have to be done without the consent of the legislature of the State. But my experience is, that the government, from its foundation, has felt at liberty, and has executed the power of making permanent reservations, not giving to the Indians the fee-simple of the soil in any State, but by treaty stipulations, protecting the Indians in the enjoyment of those reservations—and this under the express power of the constitution authorizing the government to make treaties with the Indian tribes within any States of the Union, those tribes not being members of such State, and not being recognised as citizens."

Mr. Rusk.[1]—"I do not apprehend that the United States can take the jurisdiction of any land in California for the use of the Indians without the consent of California. The United States, though, have certainly the authority and power to set off for the use of the Indians any amount of territory they choose, and prescribe rules and regulations for their government. The constitution expressly gives the power to Congress to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes; and under that article of the constitution it has been constantly the practice of the government to set aside portions of the country for the use of the Indians, and establish certain rules to prevent encroachments on them, and thus carry out the power expressly granted by the constitution.

Now, I should be very sorry to see this attempt in California abandoned. I should feel extreme reluctance to see it abandoned; and I should also feel extreme reluctance to make any rules or regulations in regard to the Indians which should be distasteful to the State of California. I know how these things are. At the time these reservations were selected and taken, the country was not settled. There is a population going into California rapidly, and perhaps encroaching on the Indians; and this may lead to some inconveniences. I do not think, however, that we ought to abandon the plan.

I think the best plan would be to compromise this measure somewhat. I am not disposed to stint California or to stint the Indian Bureau in the appropriations necessary to carry out this plan.

I have no objection to increasing the appropriation; but as it seems to be distasteful to California, she may exterminate the Indians, it is true; but in doing that many valuable lives would be lost, and there would be uncertainty and difficulty on the frontier; it would be cruel to the Indians, and hurtful, I think, to the State of California, because valuable lives would be lost, and although not a very formidable, certainly a very troublesome, enemy would be had upon the borders, assassinating the peaceful citizens; I am willing, so far as I am concerned, to increase the appropriation, and to make its expenditure, and the further progress of the affair, dependent upon some provision that it shall be expended in the manner proposed, with the assent of the State of California."

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[1] Of the State of Texas.

Mr. Walker.[1] — "Sir, we were apprized, yesterday, that another difficulty had arisen; that in California serious objections are growing up to this policy of the government. The State or the people of the State, are objecting to the location of the Indians upon these military reservations. I confess that what reflection I have been able to bestow on the subject has brought my mind to the conclusion that we have not power to do it without the consent of California. Some are disposed to start the further question, whether we can do it with the consent of California, under the provisions of the constitution. I am inclined to think, for one, that we can do it.

I should regret exceedingly to see the Senate abandon the plan which has been commenced. It must be borne in mind by every senator that the condition of our country is such now that we must necessarily resort to some plan by which we shall establish a permanent system for the Indian tribes. It has got so now that we have no other place to send them; we find them in their condition surrounded by the whites. The last inch of territory is being organized. We have no place then to send them beyond the limits of these countries organized for civil government. Finding them, then, as we do, in different localities of the United States, it would seem that we must necessarily adopt some permanent system for their government, for their control, and for the amelioration of their condition. It cannot be done, it would seem, in any other way than upon the plan of locating them permanently upon reservations, granting these reservations for that purpose, and sacredly maintaining the grant.

If it is proposed to locate them in this way, it is my opinion that we should have to obtain the consent of the States. In the State of Wisconsin, that consent has been given, as I remarked yesterday, to the location there of one of the Indian tribes, the Menomonees. Their reservation has been surveyed for them, and they are located upon it. So far as the matter has gone, we can see at all events that the Indians have become contented. They have thus become, collectively and individually, interested in the policy of the government. They are beginning to see, as well as the white population must see, that they have now to conform their habits and their lives to this permanent state of the case; that they can go nowhere else. Seeing this, as they rationally must do, they begin to manifest an interest which is really pleasing to those who look with an eye of regard on the condition of the Indian tribes. They are beginning to manifest that rational view of their condition, and I do sincerely believe, that it will soon be seen that they will become agriculturists, that they will send their children to school, that they will imbibe education, and finally become, so far as such a race can become, good citizens.

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[1] Of the State of Wisconsin.

This is but in miniature the plan which is proposed here, except that in Wisconsin they are not under military rule. It is but in miniature the plan, with that exception, which is proposed in California. There the number of Indians is vastly greater; but I have no doubt in my own mind that when they, by contact with the whites, under this system, which is one of protection, shall see that it is the last thing that can be done for them, and the best thing that can be done for them, they will then become interested in it, and will themselves lend their hand as helpers to the government, and co-work with the government in the amelioration of their own condition. But if we now abandon it, what are we to do? If we no longer pursue this plan, but indefinitely, vaguely, and generally make appropriations for their subsistence, and for the maintenance of peace with them, what can they see in the prospect, in the future, of hope to themselves, that they are to have anything like a permanent condition? They can see nothing which they will have to interest them now to fix their minds upon a future and a better condition. I cannot, however, see the necessity, for the next fiscal year, of increasing the expenditure to the amount proposed. I do not believe that it will be a benefit to the Indians. I do not believe that it will be a benefit to the government. The government, in trying this scheme, ought to do it cautiously."

Mr. Seward.[1]—" Mr. President, I think a very short retrospect of the history of the policy of the country in regard to the Indians will show us why it is that we have never been successful heretofore in civilizing them by bringing them into reservations, and why it is that henceforth we are to be successful in that policy. When we began to bring the Indians into reservations in the Atlantic States, we found a portion of them desirous, and ready, and well disposed to adopt the habits of civilized life; but we found another, and perhaps a much larger proportion, always retaining their migratory dispositions, tastes, and habits; and the circumstances of the country were such that, while the white man crowded upon the reservations that were made for the Indians who desired to remain, there was a vast and illimitable wilderness beyond, to which the Indian might resort, and where, instead of being cramped in small reserves, he might enjoy his native liberty in new and fresher and better hunting-grounds; and, therefore, the Indians were always divided, and, in the divisions, the colonies which were reserved at home were neglected, and the tribes we sent abroad were poor, helpless, and dependent upon the favor of the government.

As the honorable senator from Wisconsin has said, we have reached the end of that condition of circumstances. There are no longer new hunting-grounds to be assigned to the Indians; and when we assign them a reservation, it must be the last, and they must conform to the habits of civilized life, and, in proportion as they do so, contract their disposition and increase their ability to cultivate the earth, so that they can submit to a contraction even of the limits of those reservations themselves. When we shall have attained this condition of circumstances, I believe that there will be found to be no difficulty in bringing the Indians into the habits and customs and pursuits of civilized man. Such is the condition at which we have already arrived in the State of New York, in regard to the remnants of the Six Nations. After division upon division, and after removing what were called the heathen or savage portion further west, from time to time, we have at last reservations there in which the Indians are becoming agriculturists, and are becoming moral, upright, sober, intelligent, and virtuous citizens, maintaining schools, carrying on merchandize, and so conducting themselves, in both reserves which we have made for them, small indeed though they are, as to disarm all prejudice on the part of the white man, and win the favor of the governor of the State, and of all classes of citizens by whom they are surrounded.[1]

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[1] Of New York—formerly Governor of that State.

I think the people of California will find that they will not be crowded by these Indians, if they allow them reservations ample for the present purposes, and that the pacific disposition which they always manifest when necessity for a resort to the chase has passed away will win the favor of the people of that State, as it does, I am sure, in all the other States where they are gathered together into reservations, from which they have no longer any disposition to escape.

To the question which was put by the honorable senator from Virginia, as to whether the government has a right to take a cession from California, or to take the consent of California, to set apart a reservation for the Indians in that State, I answer, that the general government has exclusive power to negotiate by treaty with the Indians; and it has also the power to make arrangements, with the consent of the States. There can be no doubt that it would be unwise on the part of the government to force Indian population into the territory of a State without its consent; but after the consent of the State has been obtained, the power is ample to place them upon their own native ground, or, if you have not that ground, to place them upon any other which you possess, by virtue of your right of eminent domain in the States, or even on that which you may obtain by treaty or purchase from other governments.

Mr. Cooper.[2]—"Mr. President, the plan for the location and government of the Indians on reservations in California seems to have worked well so far; but time enough has scarcely elapsed to allow the Committee on Indian Affairs, or the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to say with certainty whether it is one that can be universally applicable to all the tribes in that State or not. A good deal of money was expended during the last year upon one reservation, on which something like two thousand Indians, I believe, have been collected. It is evidently going to be a very expensive plan of governing the Indians; but, notwithstanding that it is likely to be so, I am prepared to give it my assent, so far as a further trial may be necessary."

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[1] Vide Statistics. See also Schoolcraft's Notes on the Iroquois, Albany, 1846, in which the results of the State census are fully given, together with the condition of those celebrated tribes.

[2] Of Pennsylvania.

MR. DAWSON.[1]—"Sir, this is a great system which we are trying, and we are met, in the beginning, with what is called a constitutional question, a State-rights question, as to whether we can take lands in the heart of a sovereign State and set them off for the Indians in reservations of twenty-five thousand acres. There may be citizens who own the soil under the laws of Mexico when California belonged to that nation; and are we to surround those people with Indians? Are we to plant Indians directly in their midst without any consultation with them, and give to the Indians a title in the lands around these white people? Sir, this is a great movement which we are making. The chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs makes a statement, which is no doubt true, that it is difficult to find a body of land sufficient to place these people upon; and why? There is an abundance of land, but it is taken up by prior titles; hence the embarrassments arising out of the very mode and manner of appropriating the public lands. We are too precipitate in this matter. These Indians have been there through all time, so far as we have any knowledge. They came into this country with that portion of it which is known as California. They were subsisting there, and were maintaining themselves as occupants of the soil. Has the government of the United States destroyed their occupant right? Has it driven them from the position which they occupied? Has this been done by the power of this government? If not, has it been done by the power of the State government of California? Not at all.

But, sir, these Indians are said to be strays and waifs upon the land. Why, they are just as they were when we found them. The soil is just as it was when we took it, and they are entitled now to all the rights which they enjoyed then. We propose now to subsist them by large appropriations annually from the federal treasury, when there are their lands and their hunting-grounds, when there are the gold-mines of the country, in which they can dig if they choose. If they can labor in the soil for agricultural purposes, they can certainly labor in the mines; but yet we are making an appropriation to convince these people that they need not labor, that they are the wards of the government, and that they will be subsisted from the treasury without the necessity of labor on their part. This is the education which we are giving them — an education well calculated to destroy them, and debar them from all progress whatever.

The senator from New York has mentioned the course which his State has pursued towards the Indians that are there. They have been settled for the last seventy-five years immediately within the limits of that State; but instead of prospering, they are dwindling in numbers. It is true that some of them are intelligent and learned men now, but the tribes are dwindling away every day.

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[1] Of the State of Georgia.

Now, sir, my idea on this question is, that we had better not make another appropriation, but wait until we can understand this matter well; and whenever we are about to determine this system, we should recollect that it will have to be applied to Nebraska aud Kansas, and the other Territories of this country; we should fix it by a separate and independent bill, on which we can act understandingly. Let Congress know fully the effect of the measure. Let us not do all our important legislation connected with the Indian tribes, or any other portion of our people, by provisions in our appropriation bills.

I will go as far as any friend of California can desire to put these people in a condition where they shall be peaceful, but I do not want to do it by an act of legislation which will be oppressive to a portion of the people of California. If I were a citizen of that State, I would never submit to the government crowding these people permanently around my home. It is a dangerous question to handle; and the rights of the State and of the people of that State ought to be considered. California is one of the finest States of this Union; and are not the California Indians as intelligent as the Chinese? The Chinese go there by thousands, delve in the mines, and make fortunes; and yet we are telling our California Indians, 'Do not labor in the mines, but go and settle on a piece of land, and try to learn agriculture.' Why take them from the grubbing-hoe, and the spade, and from the mines, where they might have made money? Why not encourage them to go to the diggings and make money by working for themselves, or hiring their services to others? Why tell them, 'No, no; do not labor; we will gather you together, and appropriate money to buy clothing and food to support you?' That is the doctrine. Is it beneficent? Is it kind? Is it philanthropic?"

Mr. Weller[1] said, "The argument is this: the American government is much more beneficent than the Mexican government; and if these Indians could subsist themselves under the Mexican government, why can they not do it under the American government? Sir, let that senator recollect that there is this important difference: Under the Mexican government there was a very sparse population of white people in California, and nature amply supplied all the wants of the Indians; the streams were full of fish; there were there plenty of nuts and acorns, and everything that was necessary to subsist the aborigines. Now under your American government you have three hundred and fifty thousand white people scattered over the whole surface of that State; for, unlike the other new States of the Union, they have not advanced gradually from settlement to settlement, but your people have gone there, and are scattered in all the ravines and gulches and upon all the streams in that State. They have taken from the Indians the supplies which nature provided. They have destroyed their game. They have taken possession of that forest where they once obtained their supplies. They have taken their fish. Yet now the senator can see no moral obligation resting on this government to afford them subsistence. Sir, can there be a higher obligation than that which humanity imposes upon you? If by our action, or if by the action of our people, these Indians have been reduced to a state of abject penury and want; if by our conduct we have deprived them of the supplies that God intended they should have, is there not an obligation resting upon us, not only as enlightened citizens, but as men, to make some provision for these unfortunate people?"

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[1] Of the State of California.

On the 13th of May, the subject of the Indian policy, introduced by the foregoing discussions, was resumed in the Senate. The two senators from California, Mr. Gwin and Mr. Weller, proposed modifications of the original measure connected with the reservations. Mr. Sebastian firmly sustained the policy adopted on prior occasions by the Government.

Mr. Rusk.—"I hope the amendment of the honorable senator from California will not be agreed to. The result of it will not only be an abandonment of what I regard as the only means of preserving the Indians, but it will be introducing another and new system into that section of the country, which will lead, in my judgment, to a much larger expenditure, and no good will be accomplished by it. With regard to the mooted question of jurisdiction, in my judgment it amounts to nothing. Gentlemen, I think, are alarmed without cause upon that subject. The Constitution of the United States gives Congress the right to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes. That is all the jurisdiction that is necessary. All the jurisdiction you want over one of these reservations, when you settle the Indians on them, is to keep out traders, the persons who carry whiskey, and injure and demoralize the Indians. That jurisdiction you have by the Constitution of the United States.

There are two different systems which have prevailed on this continent in regard to the Indians. The English government recognised their right of occupancy, and treated with them, and purchased their lands. It was very good upon principle; but what has been the practice? The Spanish government, on the contrary, did not recognise the right of the Indians to the soil. They took possession of it when they chose, and did not recognise any right in wild Indian tribes to the soil. When they became civilized, they settled them down in pueblos, and admitted them to a kind of *quasi* citizenship, with the right to hold it as property, but not the right to alienate it. What has been the result of the honest principle on which we started out to buy Indian territory? We have purchased Indian territory sometimes when it was not needed, even at exorbitant prices; and we have given annuities, and what has been the result? Why, sir, it has fastened a set of vampires on the Indians, a set of gentlemen who live off the treasury of the United States. That is your policy. There are a few honorable exceptions to it, but, as a general rule, that is your policy. The traders get around the Indians, and they must have annuities paid to the Indians. The result is, that they do not work. They have done nothing at all. The same system was commenced in California. Appropriations were made for Indian purposes soon after California was admitted; and what was the result? Fifteen or twenty treaties were made with Jose Maria, and every Indian chief they could find in the mountains, looking to the expenditure of millions of dollars in the way of annuities. Where would those annuities have gone if the treaties had been agreed to? Would they have been a benefit to the country? Not at all. Would they have benefited the Indians? Not at all. They would have benefited a few traders, a few vampires on the Indians — men who are ready here, with every imaginable claim, to get appropriations which they can divide among themselves.

Then this other system was adopted, of making an appropriation, and furnishing the Indians with stock, furnishing them with farming implements, settling them down upon the land, and teaching them to work for themselves. Now, it is a mistake to suppose that Indians cannot learn to work. The Choctaws and various other nations learn to work, and, as a general rule, they have almost as good farmers among them as we have. These Indians in California have gone and settled down upon one of these reservations, and they now do work. I have good evidence for saying that they have several thousand acres in cultivation. They have more land in cultivation now, and are raising more to live on at this moment, under this arrangement, than I expected they would up to this time. If you abandon this system, you will have twenty treaties at the next session, providing annuities to be paid out of the treasury, and these annuities will give rise to great squabbles with the Indians and traders."

MR. PRATT.[1]—"I do not conceive that it requires the assent of California to give to this government the right to place upon the reservations the Indians whom we propose to place there. In the first place, you are to require, before the provision goes into effect, the assent of California that you may place upon your own land, reserved by this government, these Indians. Of course, until the legislature shall have met, (and it is not yet elected,) you cannot attempt to appropriate the money. Thus a delay of several months—I do not know how long, perhaps ten months—will elapse before, by possibility, even if the State should give its assent, this appropriation can go into effect. Then after the legislature, which is to be elected, shall have met, it has to act upon it, and to give the exclusive jurisdiction for which you ask.

Now, as I have already said, we do not want the exclusive jurisdiction. The land is ours. It belongs to this government, and we have a right to place the Indians there. If they should commit any offence under the laws of California, they would be tried by the tribunals of California; and that is the whole result of the absence of this exclusive jurisdiction.

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[1] Of the State of Maryland.

Mr. Walker.—"The argument of the senator from Maryland would be well enough if we had no information as to what has been the practice of the government in such cases. I can inform him, however, that, practically, the government has asked for the consent of the States—deeming itself disqualified to locate the Indians permanently within their limits without their consent; and I will instance the case which I before mentioned of the Menomonees of Wisconsin. They were turned over to the legislature of Wisconsin before anything was done. The legislature gave consent that they might be located on a certain reservation, and they were located accordingly. The senator will find that this has been the practice of the government."

Mr. Pratt.—"I suppose it was done in that case because of some such provision as is contained in this amendment."

Mr. Bell.—"I wish to ask the honorable senator from Wisconsin a question. When those Indians were turned over to the mercy of the State of Wisconsin, in settling the question whether they should be driven out of the boundaries of that State altogether, or whether they should find a home there, had they not ceded every foot of land which they owned there?"

Mr. Walker.—"Certainly."

Mr. Bell.—"Then those Indians did not own one acre of land in that State, and had not even a possessory right. There was a clear case where the consent of the State was necessary. But that is not the case in California."

Mr. Walker.—"Let me apprize the senator from Tennessee of the fact: after the Indians ceded their land, it became the land of the government."

Mr. Bell.—"I understand that; but the two cases are not parallel."

Mr. Walker.—"That case is parallel to the present one, in my view. It is alleged by the senator from Maryland that this land being the land of the government, the government can do as it pleases with it, so far as the location of the Indians is concerned."

Mr. Bell.—"The title of the Indians in California has not been extinguished; and I agree with the senator from Maryland, that we have the power to locate them on the public land, if we think proper, because the Indians there have never parted with their possessory rights according to our policy."

Mr. Hunter.—"But will they not be subject to the laws of California? It is the opinion of the senator from Maryland that if we locate them without the cession of jurisdiction from California they will be subject to the laws of that State."

Mr. Bell.—"But have these Indians no rights of possession, no usufructuary rights? Is that the law of California now? I do not understand it to be so, for the laws of the United States have been thrown over that territory, and we have attempted to treat with them. If they are members of the State of California, we cannot treat with them."

Mr. Pratt.—"I may be entirely wrong, but my notion is this: the government of the United States has pursued the policy of Great Britain in reference to the Indians. We have conceded that the right to the soil was in the Indians, and that this government could only acquire the right to the soil by treaty or acquisition from the Indians. Now, California was Spanish territory, and the Spanish government differed entirely from the English government on this point. The Spanish government never recognised the right of soil in the Indians; consequently I did not attempt to argue that the Indians possessed in California any right to the soil."

Mr. Bell.—"They have the same possessory right which the Indians west of Missouri had—the same right that the Indians had in Florida—the same right that they had in the old cession of Louisiana. So that, if the senator's view be correct, we have been acting upon false principles all the time. The government has carried out its policy in all these cessions, though the civil law applied in all the French and Spanish settlements. Whenever territory has been ceded to the United States, we have carried our own policy there, and allowed the Indians to have this possessory right, and treated with them as having a claim to it. That is our public law adopted in relation to the Indians. Then, I contend that we have a perfect right in conformity with the principle of our *quasi* public law in relation to the Indians, to treat with them in California precisely on the same footing in regard to any rights of possession which they have in the district of country over which they roam, as we have treated with the Indians in other territories."

Judged by their condition, manners, &c., there are three classes of tribes in the United States. First on the list are the four advanced tribes of the Appalachian or Floridian circle, who have been referred to as being the subject of contemplated distinct territorial organizations, namely, the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Cherokees. Secondly, the semi-agricultural tribes and parts of tribes, who have been chiefly removed, within the period of some thirty years, from old States to the west of the Mississippi, under the colonizing system. Thirdly, the hunter tribes, who constitute the great body of the Indians of the United States—tribes who rely on the chase for a subsistence, migrate periodically with the game, and live under the excitements of war and robbery, murder and plunder. To confound the *first* or *second* of these groups with the *third*, in any discussions aiming at accuracy of allusion, would be the greatest injustice. To discriminate truly between them—to show the progressive superiority in arts and manners of one group over the other, and the basis of public policy due to each—and to give accurately their names, numbers, geographical position, means, resources, history, and condition, past and present, was the primary object of these investigations. It was not a task which could be accomplished with a twist of the pen—it required consecutive labor, inquiry, comparison, and digestion. It was anticipated that difficulties would be encountered—difficulties resulting from the nature of the work, remoteness of position of many of the tribes, difficulty of access to them, and above all, the reluctance of the tribes to expose their statistics, or even to understand the reasons for requiring them, or to facilitate their acquisition. So far as the work has been accomplished, reference is made to the statistical sections of the preceding volumes.

Looking on the Indian tribes as lapsed branches of the family of mankind, there are no true causes of discouragement. The results of centuries are not lost. The effort, the money, and the sacrifices of benevolence, and of a wise policy, have not been thrown away which have reclaimed one Indian of a thousand. "No Christian," is the remark of the presiding officer of one of the principal American Boards, "can read the history of the aborigines of our country, from the first landing of the white man to the present time, without painful emotion. As the wave of our population rolled onward, the native race were forced to retreat before it. Bold, daring, cunning, and ferocious though they were, the superior prowess of the civilized man compelled them to retire from the shores of the Atlantic, and all the pleasant valleys on both sides of the mountains, to the prairies beyond the great rivers of the far West. Here they have, at present, a temporary resting-place; but it will depend on the efforts of the church whether or not they will long be found even there. Nothing but the Christian religion will save the remnants of this much-injured race from the melancholy destiny of those who have already disappeared. The country assigned to them for a permanent home will soon contain a population of one hundred thousand;[1] while the tribes beyond them, on this side of the Rocky Mountains, contain one hundred and fifty thousand more,[2] forming an aggregate of two hundred and fifty thousand, in fifty tribes and bands, of various sizes, and all more or less accessible to the labor of the missionary."[3]

These remarks, on but imperfect data by the institution quoted, are thrown out with a keen foresight of our national progress, the absorbing character of a practical populace in all the real industrial and commercial pursuits of life, and the debasing tendency of the habits of the aborigines who are brought in contact with it. Less than twenty years have elapsed since the words were uttered. Already that progress, from the east to the west, has surprised the most sanguine statist. The great barren of the Rocky Mountains is crossed; the shores of the Pacific are occupied with organized governments. The Indian tribes of those coasts are propelled eastward, to meet the retiring tribes from the old States fleeing west. It has been well said by Mr. Orr, of the nomadic tribes whose game has failed, that they are reduced to one of three alternatives—"either to starve, plunder, or labor." Mr. Seward believes there will be no difficulty in bringing them into the habits, customs, and pursuits of civilized men, as the Iroquois have been brought. The Hon. Chairman of the House Committee is disposed to employ a stronger means of leading the way to civilization. "Throw around him the protection of the white man's laws, and he will rise not more highly in our appreciation of him, than his appreciation of himself. When his property is despoiled, give him a court to appeal to, instead of the war-club. Let him feel that his person is secure, and that his home is 'his castle'—convince him by kindness that the white man is his friend, and that all the race are not treacherous—and the Indian will be a far nobler specimen of humanity than his former developments would indicate. Give him the rights of citizenship, when he proves himself to be capable of their exercise by industry and good deportment, and you will have converted the rude savage into an exemplary citizen."[1]

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[1] It has for a long time much exceeded this.

[2] Quite double this number, including New Mexico, California, Oregon, and Washington.

[3] First Ann. Rep. Board For. Miss. Presbyterian Church, U. S. America: 1838.

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[1] These views are strikingly in accordance with principles advanced in my report of a Census of the Six Nations to the Legislature of New York, in 1845. (Notes on the Iroquois, vide Title "Universal Suffrage," p 427.)

XV. STATISTICS AND POPULATION. E.

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XV. STATISTICS AND POPULATION. E.

SYNOPSIS OF STATISTICS: PROGRESS OF THE CENSUS, AND MEANS RECOMMENDED FOR ITS COMPLETION.

It has, from the inception of the plan, been found difficult to overcome the reluctance of the Indians to furnish their statistics. Even their gross population has been wrung from them. Exaggerated estimates of the Indian population have prevailed from the planting of the colonies. The earliest attempt to give certainty to the numbers residing between the Alleghany and the Rocky mountains was made by the French government in 1736. Returns filed in that year, in the proper bureau in Paris, enumerated sixty tribes, having an aggregate population of 16,403 warriors, which, at the rate of one warrior to every five souls, a ratio since adopted, gives 82,015 souls (Vol. III., p. 553). At the period of taking Canada, beginning with the capture of Quebec in 1759, Captain Thomas Hutchinson, a geographer for the colonies, estimated the western population of the tribes at 73,580, which, at the ratio stated, gives 14,696 warriors (Vol. III., p. 557). In 1764, when Colonel Bouquet marched against the western Indians, he computed the number of fighting men capable of being brought into the contest at 56,500, a manifest over-estimate, which is owing, in part, to the duplication of tribes by employing synonyms (Vol. III., p. 559).

In 1778, during the early part of the American Revolution, when the topic had great vitality, the number of warriors capable of being brought into the field was carefully estimated at 12,430, producing a gross population of 62,150 on the line of the frontiers. Of the number of fighting men stated, 1,760 are assigned to the six nations of Iroquois (Vol. III., p. 560). In 1806, Pike estimated the Indian tribes of the Upper Mississippi alone at 32,852 (Vol. III., p. 562). The Indian forces under British orders, in the war of 1812, were estimated in London at 9,650 fighting men, which, by the ratio heretofore assumed, supposes a gross population of 48,250 (Vol. III., p. 557).

American estimates of the force engaged in the war of this era, in the north-west and the Mississippi valley, north of the mouth of the Ohio, rate them at 9,000 warriors (Vol. III.). It is evident that this estimate excludes the Prairie tribes, few or none of whom were brought into this conflict, except a part of the Sioux, in 1812. The heavy depopulation of the Indian tribes which took place in this sanguinary war, was owing less, it is believed, to the numbers who fell in battle, than the vast destruction caused among them by camp-disease, hardships and suffering during, and particularly *after* the contest, when their condition was one of utter poverty and destitution, for they had neglected both hunting and planting. This was, indeed, the lowest point in the scale of number of those stocks and tribes who had engaged in these, to them, fruitless contests. If the period from 1812 to 1816 was a very marked one in their depopulation, that from 1816 to 1824 continued to be one of languishing, depression, and inanity. The Indian mind was broken down and sunk in despondency. The marching of armies through the country, the changes of habit, against which the most energetic chiefs had inveighed, and the flaccid state of the fur trade had rendered their vast territories worthless to a hunter population. And if, after the last named year, they again appear to rise in the scale, it is owing to the fact that whole tribes, and the fragmentary tribes, were transferred into the fertile districts of game country, and that large bodies of the wild tribes were included in the schedules, who roved over the illimitable plains next the Missouri river. Two states of society, we are assured from the days of Adam Smith, of which one is the superior and in the ascendant, cannot exist in prosperity together. And it now became evident that the Indian tribes could not be preserved without transference from the scenes of their decline, within the States and Territories, to an area over which their own laws should prevail. Georgia was the earliest to assert the incompatibility of diverse systems of policy, and the question soon found advocates throughout the Union. Stress is laid on this epoch, because it is conceived to be the nadir in our Indian history.

In 1825, when it became evident that the tribes and remnants of tribes must perish if not colonized, and the plan of transferring them west of the Mississippi was originated, the whole aboriginal population east of that stream was found to be 129,266, who owned, collectively, 77,402,318 acres of land (Vol III., p. 596). These tribes were situated in the following States and Territories:

STATES.	No. of Indians.	Acres of land.
Maine	956	92,260
Massachusetts	750	
Rhode Island	420	3,000
Connecticut	400	4,300
New York	5,143	246,675
Virginia	47	27,000
South Carolina	450	144,000
Ohio	12,150	409,501
Michigan	28,316	7,057,920
Indiana	1,073	10,104,000
Illinois	6,706	3,314,560
Indiana and Illinois	3,900	
Georgia and Alabama	20,000	
Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee	9,000	
Mississippi and Alabama	21,000	
Mississippi	3,625	53,576,176
Florida	5,000	4,032,640
Louisiana	1,313	
Missouri	6,810	44,806
Missouri and Arkansas	5,407	3,491,840
Arkansas	6,700	8,858,560
Total	129,266	77,402,318

Thus far the government had been dealing with numbers more immediately pressing on the limits of the States and Territories. In the year 1829, new and comprehensive estimates were submitted by Generals Clark and Cass of the entire Indian population of the United States, by which the total number is placed at 313,130 (Vol. III., p. 587); of this number 20,000 were east of the line of the Mississippi, north of Illinois, and west of the lakes; 94,300 west of the Mississipi and east of the Rocky mountains, not including Louisiana, Missouri, and Arkansas; 20,000 on the Rocky mountains; and 80,000 west of that range, along the line of the Pacific, between latitudes 44° and

49°. These elaborate and well-considered schedules exhibited a population of 16,093 as still residing within the area of the thirteen original States. Of the whole number of these, 1,000 were within the State of Tennessee, 1,877 in Ohio, 23,400 in Mississippi, 19,200 in Alabama, 939 in Louisiana, 4,050 in Indiana, 5,900 in Illinois, 5,031 in Missouri, 9,340 in Michigan, [1]7,200 in Arkansas, and 4,000 in Florida, making 61,997 within the new States. The changes which have taken place in these home masses of the aboriginal population will be presently noticed.

The first endeavor to procure the statistics and industrial means of an Indian tribe was made by the Legislature of New York in 1845, in relation to the six nations of Iroquois, a people who were found to be the indigenous population of the entire western part of that State (west of the present site of Albany) in 1609. They had, consequently, lived 236 years in the same general position, having contracted their limits from time to time by sale and cession, but having had, through the whole period, ample space for their agriculture, industry, and expansion. These corn-growing tribes, when Champlain marched against them, were seated at their castles in New York. They had been the means of defending their country from French encroachment during the whole colonial period.

By the principles of their confederation, their military power, and their skill in oratory and negotiation, they had acquired a high reputation. Down to the year 1776, they were the pivot on which all Indian negotiation turned. In the mean time, the Powhatanic tribes of Virginia, and the entire groups of the Algonquin stock from North Carolina to the St. Lawrence, had either been extinguished as tribes at comparatively early dates, or taken shelter in fragmentary masses in the west. During this time the area of that ancient hunting ground of the Iroquois, in New York, had been filled with the largest part of a population of [2]3,041,574, thrifty farmers, mechanics, merchants, manufacturers, and professional men. The result of the Iroquois census was found to be, contrary to general expectation, highly favorable. These tribes had, from the era of the Revolution, been surrounded by all the circumstances which usually lead to Indian depopulation, with but partial, and for the most part, recent attempts to teach them. Yet, inclusive of the estimated number of 2,006 in Canada and Wisconsin, they were found to have a total of 6,942, which is but 1,858 less than the number assigned them in 1776 (Vol. III., p. 560). Of the 3,753 residing in the State of New York, there were 746 families who cultivated 13,867 acres of land. Of these, 1,781 were males, 1,972 females. Of the males, 371 were farmers, 20 mechanics, and two professional men. The tribes raised 11,308 bushels of wheat, 45,499 bushels of Indian corn, 28,866 bushels of oats, 1,054 bushels of buckwheat, 16,681 bushels of potatoes, and 353 bushels of turnips.

There were 1,350 acres cultivated in meadow, and 6,868 bearing fruit trees. There were 948 horses, 839 sheep, 2,275 neat cattle, 3,485 hogs, 802 milch cows, and 20,341 pounds of butter made.

There were 14 school-houses and churches, and 462 children at school. Other statistics of a highly interesting character were obtained, which operated to draw attention to their condition, and led to some beneficial legislation in their behalf (Vol. I., p. 441).

Such was the state of information on this head; when, early in 1847, Congress directed the present investigation to be made. It was believed that similar information from the other tribes in the United States would produce beneficial results.

Most of the tribes of the Mississippi valley were mere hunters, some of them in the wildest state of barbarism; roaming after deer; worshipping demons; at war with each other and with the principles of the civilized world.

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[1] In 1832, the population was found to be 14,000 (Vol. III., p. 599).

[2] Census of 1850.

How many had deviated from this type of barbarism, and how far they had gone towards the industrial state, could only be conjectured. Of their statistics nothing was absolutely known beyond the Iroquois experiment.

The system of paying annuities to tribes, either to chiefs as distributing magistrates, or to the mass of heads of families, *per capita*, had proved almost equally unsatisfactory, the one by capricious and unequal distribution, and the other by regularly squandering the fund, without benefit to individuals or tribes. No data exhibited the striking difference which existed between the hunter and the semi-civilized tribes. As a general fact, it seemed that those tribes who received the largest annuities dwindled away most rapidly, and made the most equivocal strides to advance in their industry or social condition. To denote the necessity of laws to protect chattels and property, it seemed requisite to show that the Indians had chattels and property to protect.

Between a temporary wigwam and a house, a fence and cultivated fields and a forest, the raising of domestic cattle, and the pursuit of wild game, the condition of society must be widely different.

Statistical forms were therefore immediately prepared and distributed to the agents throughout the Union. The first object was to obtain details from the colonized tribes at the west, who were known to have made the greatest advances in the line of civilization, namely, the Appalachian group of the Muscogees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, and the various local bands speaking the language of the Achalaque, or Cherokee.

Difficulties have been encountered in this which were not anticipated. Whether the tribes misapprehended the object, or felt reluctance to exhibit their means, basing itself on other reasons, is unknown. These impediments to a complete analysis of their vital and industrial statistics still exist, except with respect to the Chickasaws. By tables, transmitted from the agent in 1850, they are shown to have a tribal aggregate of 4,260. Of these, 1,029 are males under the age of 18; 1,089 are females under the age of 16; 960 are males between 18 and 60; 1,182 females between 16 and 60. Eighty persons are found between the ages of 60 and 100. There are 627 persons of mixed blood. The number of deaths in a population of over 4,000 was 27. The number of deaf and dumb, 7; lunatics, 6. There were 11 orphans, 3 blind persons, and one over the age of 100. The quantity of grain raised was, 265,351 bushels of corn; 4,252 bushels of wheat; 63,917 bushels of potatoes, and 14,402 bushels of oats. There were 209 pounds of cotton picked. They possessed 5,789 horses; 14,788 neat cattle; 1,148 sheep; and 24,142 hogs. There were 193 pleasure wagons; 2,264 slaves, of African descent (Vol. IV., p. 508).

Subsequent information, derived from the pay-rolls in 1853, denotes a population of 4,715; being an increase of 455 (Vol. IV., p. 582). Agreeably to the reports of teachers, the number of horses were 5,000; neat cattle, 6,500; hogs, 100,000. They raised 220,000 bushels of grain, and cultivated 750,000 acres of land. Sixty thousand acres of this were planted in corn. They possessed 2,000 agricultural implements (Vol. IV., p. 589).

In 1805, the Chickasaws ceded to the United States 345,000 acres of land, for which they received $22,000. In 1833, they ceded 6,422,400 acres, for which they received $3,646,000 (Vol. II., p. 609). This tribe receives a permanent annuity of $3,000. It possesses an investment in State stocks, guaranteed by the United States, of $4,416 39; $3,000 are pledged to the support of orphans, and $2,000 for incompetent persons (Vol. II., p. 561). At an early day they adopted the policy of investing the proceeds of their lands in public stocks, through the agency of the United States treasury; and they are believed to be at this day, in their fiscal means and policy, very far in advance of any tribe in America.

The Choctaws, at the last returns, numbered 15,767 (Vol. IV., p. 582). They have a regular government, schools, and academies, and sustain a newspaper. Education claims a high place in the nation. They are industrious, temperate, and animated by sound principles of progress. They are raisers of the cereal grains, corn and cotton, horses and cattle. They possess mills, and substantial and good dwellings, and conduct their commercial and political affairs with efficiency and foresight. Of their moral and intellectual condition, instructive data are published in Vol. IV., p. 582, et cetera. They possess a superlative translation of the entire gospels, in a language at once terse, sonorous and expressive. If such a people should not rapidly advance, it would reverse all the teachings of history.

The Creeks retain more of the element of government by hereditary chieftainship and circles, than any of the transferred tribes, being still located in the divisions known to them in Georgia, as upper and lower Creeks. Their aggregate in 1833 was 22,664. Of these, the lower Creek towns have 14,142, existing in 3,915 families, namely: 6,555 males and 7,142 females. These families possess 445 slaves of African descent (Vol. IV., p. 581). In the upper Creek towns the aggregate is 8,522, existing in 2,448 families, viz.: 3,958 males, and 3,107 females. There are 457 negroes.

The latest returns of the Cherokees, which are derived from the pay-rolls of 1833, give an aggregate of 19,367, without denoting the sexes and ages (Vol. IV., p. 582). The number of scholars in school at the present date, derived from the report of their teachers to their several societies, is 1,100; the number of orphans in school, 114. The Methodist church reports 1,294 Cherokee Christians, and 156 colored members. The sums expended for this tribe during the Revolutionary war and the confederacy, derived from the treasury books, was $580,103 41. From 1789 to 1819, the sum was $213,311 38, and it has increased proportionally since. The whole number of acres ceded by this tribe is 24,766,400 acres (Vol. IV., p. 602). Their permanent investments are $766,490 (Vol. IV., p. 561).

Agreeably to the foregoing details of numbers, some of which are, however, a decade back, the gross aggregate of the four semi-civilized tribes is a fraction under 60,000.

There are no reliable details to compute the ratio of increase that should be added to this aggregate for the present population. It was an object of considerable interest, when these investigations were commenced, to ascertain the number of Indians brought into the Union by the annexation of Texas, and the acquisition of New Mexico and California. Texas, within the boundaries finally assigned to it, contains no monumental indicia of the fixed residence of an Indian population at former periods. It appears to have been a vast neutral hunting-ground between the tribes south of the lower part of the Rio Grande and those of the Mississippi valley. There are not known to be the remains of teocalli or tumulii along the entire sea-board coast, reaching inland to the mountains, now comprising the fastnesses of the Niuna or Comanches.

Alcedo, who bestows unlimited encomiums on the fertility of the Texas country, and the abundance of its natural resources, describes it as "inhabited by infinite nations of Indians." Mr. Burnett, the first president of the Republic of Texas, represents the Comanches as nomadic, being in a state of complete barbarism, and without even any traditions of any kind, which run back over three generations. He estimates their numbers, in 1847, to range from 10,000 to 12,000, having from 2,000 to 2,500 warriors (Vol. I., pp. 330, 331). Mr. Charles Bent, the first provincial governor of the country after its accession by the United States, states the whole number of tribes at ten, with an aggregate population of 36,950 (Vol. I., p. 245). These were reduced by Mr. Neighbors, in 1849, by further scrutiny, to 29,515 (Vol. I., p. 518).

Of the aboriginal population of New Mexico, considerable discrepancies have appeared. The Pueblo Indians of that territory constitute a distinctive feature. Governor James Calhoun reported the number of these Pueblos, in the region of the Rio Grande, at twenty, containing an aggregate of 11,130. To these were added the 7 ancient Pueblos of Moqui, estimated at 10,950 souls (Vol. I., p. 519). Dr. Ten Broeck, United States Army, states the Pueblo of Zuñi, alone, at 4,000 (Vol. IV., p. 80). Major Eaton, United States Army, estimates the Navijoes at from 2,000 to 3,000, which is half the number assumed in prior schedules (Vol. IV., p. 220). The Apaches, Lepans, Jicarillas, and other wild and predatory tribes and bands, are estimated at 36,500, making the probable Indian population of the territory, of all kinds, 58,480. Prior estimates have carried the aggregate population some 30,000 higher (Vol. I., p. 519), but, it is believed, on insufficient data, furnished by the agents.

The Indians of California have been still more vaguely represented. The earliest estimates filed in this office, since its acquisition, by persons in authority, are too extravagant to bear quotation. The numbers who were collected by the Spanish into Pueblos along the Pacific coast, so late as 1802, constituted 18 mission stations, numbering 14,931, besides 1,300 Mustees and Mulattoes (Vol. I., p. 520). After the disbanding of the Pueblos, it was impossible to distinguish between the partially reclaimed and forest and mountain tribes.

Moderate estimates have assumed the latter at 16,000 (Vol. I., p. 520). Data obtained by Mr. M'Kee, the commissioner appointed to visit the coast tribes north of San Francisco, in 1852, extending to the Klamath, and inland to Mount Shaster, denote 9,080 in that quarter (Vol. III., p. 654). Schedules, since transmitted, of the number of the Mariposa, Fresno, and Merceda Indians, denote these tribes to consist of 5,024 (Vol. IV., p. 608). It is believed that the aggregate of 48,000 exceeds rather than falls short of the entire number within the boundaries of this State.

Oregon has, from its discovery, been occupied by a multitude of small Indian tribes, creating the impression of great populousness. Nothing is more deceptive. No scrutiny sustains at all the estimates made by early explorers, without presupposing a very extraordinary decadence, which is not probable. Lewis and Clark, in 1806, stated the numbers of tribes at 39, and estimated them at 80,000 persons, living in 1,778 lodges. This estimate was repeated by General Clark, in 1829, in the otherwise carefully prepared tables submitted to the War Department by himself and General Cass, to which reference has before been made. By a message transmitted to Congress on the 1st of August, 1848, schedules were submitted of the Indians of Oregon, which exhibited great discrepancy. From a list of tribes, made by a resident of the Territory, they are placed at 47,200. Another authority, of the same date, states the aboriginal population at 29,370. In 1852, after the organization of the Territory, General Lane reports the number at 22,733, comprising 29 tribes, with an aggregate of 2,739 warriors (Vol. III., p. 521). Early in 1854, an agent at Puget's Sound, Washington Territory, reports 7 tribes as existing on those waters, who number 5,895. He estimates the entire Indian population in that part of the Territory at 12,000 souls (Vol. IV., p. 596–598). This can be regarded merely as the identity of location of numbers previously estimated in Oregon, and is a duplication of the tribes. This error of duplication is, in some measure, owing to the use of synonyms for petty tribes, which have been employed, and produced so much uncertainty and confusion from the beginning.

Utah becomes an element in these territorial estimates. The number of Indians inhabiting the Rocky Mountains was computed, in 1829, at 20,000; but from data received (Vol. IV., p. 596), it cannot be put over 12,000. The wars of these tribes with each other, taken in connection with the scant means of subsistence afforded by these bleak altitudes, tend to check their growth, and keep down population to old standards.

The entire number of Indians on the new line of frontiers acquired since the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and of the Pacific Territories, is shown to be 168,002, namely: Texas, 29,575; New Mexico, 58,480; California, 45,235; Oregon and Washington, 22,733; and Utah, 12,000. The gross numbers would, at the usual rate of computation for women and children, and old and superannuated men, give 33,600 fighting men — a truly formidable number for an army of 10,000 troops to cope with. Most of these tribes of the mountains and plains are excellent bowmen, most expert woodsmen, living on little, and moving without baggage, and, to add to their celerity of movement, many of them are mounted on the hardy wild horse.

It is the remark of a British writer on political economy, long resident in the United States, that 40 acres of land, if well cultivated, are adequate to the support of a family. — (Cooper.) Estimates were made by me, while residing in the west, that it required 8,000 acres of land, to be kept in a wilderness state, in order to support a single Indian by the chase. Consequently, a family of five persons would need 40,000 acres. At this ratio, a territory of 50,000 square miles, the average of one of our new States, would demand the rest and disuse of its entire area, to remain in the condition of undisturbed forest, in order to sustain 4,000 Indians living as hunters. Elaborate computations have been prepared by the Topographical Bureau (Vol. IV., p. 183), that the Indian territories lying between the lines of the Pacific and the Mississippi, and comprising their entire limits, consist of 1,734,595 square miles. Mr. Jefferson estimated one Indian to the square mile, on the planting of Virginia. — (Notes on Virginia, p. 152.) If the predatory nomadic bands who assume a hostile attitude on the new line of frontier, from San Antonio to Olympia, be stated at 168,000, their estimated number in the preceding pages, a fraction less than 10 square miles is assignable to every soul, or about 50 square miles to an average Indian family.

The whole number of Indians in the Union, in 1850, was placed at 400,000 (Vol. I., p. 523). Of the tribes living east of the Rocky Mountains, west of the Mississippi, and north of the boundaries of Texas and New Mexico, to the north boundaries of Kansas, no estimates make the number less than 99,000, including the four Austral, or Appalachian tribes.

It is on these tribes that the examples of our laws, industry, arts, teaching, and manners have had most effect.

It is on this line our earliest military posts and oldest Indian agencies were established. It is here that primary and manual labor schools exist. Some twenty of the tribes have more or less fully embraced agriculture, raise large stocks of cattle, live in fixed dwellings, and have adopted the civilized costume. These occupy the new Kansas and Indian Territories — four of the tribes, as before recited, numbering 60,000 persons, have adopted systems of government and written constitutions. All these tribes have been transferred from the northern, middle, or southern States (Vol. IV., p. 461). No small part of them are the descendants of tribes who occupied the area of the Union on the first planting of the colonies. Much effort and much expense has been incurred with them. They have been the subject of humanitarian and benevolent care and sympathy during two centuries. To confound them, in our policy, with the wild tribes — for a moment to suppose that they partake of the habits and feelings of the robbers, plunderers, and murderers of the bleak plains and mountains, would be the highest injustice. There are men in these reclaimed tribes who are exalted in their feelings, principles, and manners; who acknowledge the best truths of letters, arts, and Christianity, and who do honor to the highest principles of civilization.

The number of Indians in the Nebraska Territory has been computed, by competent men on the ground, to occupy 5,315 lodges, containing 52,000 souls (Vol. III., p. 629). The number of square miles possessed by these tribes is 136,700 (Vol. IV., p. 183).

Without, however, a full and complete census of the population and statistics of the various tribes, reclaimed and unreclaimed, it is impossible to separate one class from the other, or to adopt a just and comprehensive system of policy—a policy which, at the same time that it promotes the interests of the industrious and lettered tribes, does not operate to paralyze and destroy the nomades. It was this truth that laid at the foundation of these investigations. A just sympathy was felt in the national legislature for a noble but unfortunate race, who were flying before the circle of civilization. It is believed that this policy should be faithfully carried out, notwithstanding the impediments thrown in the way by the tribes themselves, or by the inherent difficulties of the task. Statistics are the very highest test of advancing civilization in the science of government, and it is not to be expected that tribes, newly awakened from the sleep of barbarism, should at once appreciate and desire them.

These are not, however, the only impediments. Some further legislation is required. When it is made imperatively the duty of the Indian agents to procure the statistics, they will be furnished. Such proper expenses as are incurred thereby should be met. With regard to the publication, it should be continued, and extended to all the topics belonging to it. Nothing more is required, and nothing less would complete it. The principles of the census should be persevered in and pushed through. The objections of the Indians are futile, and founded on entire error; such information, by indicating their means and true condition, will enable the government to act understandingly in the premises. The plan of the inquiry is founded on the highest principles of the age. The desiderata already collected are unexhausted; and while efforts are directed to the acquisition of additional facts to analyze their industrial and fiscal means, other efforts should not be omitted to exhibit their intellectual and moral traits, their history and ethnography. To secure the latter ends, the occasion should by no means be neglected to procure a complete comparative lexicon of the Indian languages: no one step could be taken tending so directly and effectively to unravel the complicated thread of their origin and history.

Mr. Jefferson expressed this opinion seventy-three years ago.—(Notes on Virginia, p. 163).

The whole object is one of enlarged humanities. Its completion is conceived to be due, not only to the aborigines, as our predecessors in the occupation of the continent, to which their footsteps have been providentially led, but as a cosmic element in the history of the human race, alike interesting to Europe as America.

To us, they have been a peculiar people, indomitably bent on false principles, to whom the nomadic life has seemed to embrace compensations for every other means of human happiness. And, while they have been a proverb, a reproach, a by-word, little would it appear to conflict with the mysterious workings of Providence, if, in the progress of history, future times should be able to recognise, under this dark, bitter, and hopeless guise of misery and degradation, the vestiges of a people who once, in a peculiar manner, enjoyed the beaming light of the divine countenance.

To the details brought forward in the prior reports, the following tables, carefully compiled from official data, are now added. New forms for the agents have been prepared for the tribes at large, the results and digests of which will be published for the sixth volume, together with generalizations respecting the history, condition, and prospects of the tribes.

TABLE I.

INDIAN TRIBES OF THE PACIFIC COAST.

Traders' names of Tribes.	Indian names of Tribes.	Generally reside.	Men.	Women.	Children.		Slaves.		Canoes.	Guns.	Houses.	Language.	Remarks.
					Boys.	Girls.	Males.	Females.					
NASS INDIANS......	Kit ha teen.......	Nass river, from entr'ce upwards, in the order they are put down....	182	109	126	103	.....	.....	121	.....	.....	Chim sy an.....	Generally trade at Fort Simpson.
	Kit a hon.........		117	111	97	104	.....	.....	111	.....	.....	"	
	Ke toon ok shelk		146	118	48	69	.....	.....	40	.....	.....	"	
	Kin a wa lax......		98	100	43	32	4	8	52	21	32	"	
CHIMSYANS	Kis pa cha laidy..	Chatham's Sound, from Portland Canal to Port Essington, (into which Skeena Riv. discharges,) both main land and the neighboring islands...	116	150	99	71	4	7	104	40	104	"	Trade at Ft. Simpson, and generally reside at no great distance from the Fort.
	Kit lan............		129	134	75	76	6	4	157	29	29	"	
	Kee ches..........		71	75	43	80	1	.....	71	20	23	"	
	Keen ath toix.....		63	74	43	39	2	2	62	20	12	"	
	Kit will coits......		64	73	41	36	10	8	73	23	15	"	
	Kitch a claith.....		31	36	20	28	1	.....	34	14	8	"	
	Kel ut sah.........		104	85	50	58	4	1	125	28	32	"	
	Ken chen Kieg...		87	68	48	62	4	4	74	48	19	"	
	Ket an dou........		54	70	35	43	8	2	49	8	11	"	
	Ket wilk ci pa....		18	13	11	3	.....	.....	13	4	4	"	
SKEENA INDIANS..	Kee chum a kar lo	Lower part of Skeena River..	59	23	35	28	1	1	.....	.....	10	"	Trade at Ft. Simpson, and with the Chimsyans. May be counted as part of Chimsyan t'be.
	Kit se lai so......		82	47	29	31	3	2	.....	.....	20	"	
SABASSAS INDIANS	Keek heat la.......	Canal de Principe......	239	179	160	120	15	20	.....	.....	.....	"	Frequent Fort Simpson and Fort M'Laughlin.
	Kil ca tah.........	Entrance of Gardener's Canal..	63	66	20	22	14	9	.....	.....	.....	"	
	Kit ta maat........	North arm of Gardener's Canal..	80	75	24	18	14	11	.....	.....	.....	"	
	Kit lope............	South arm of Gardener's Canal..	66	60	26	20	7	8	.....	.....	.....	"	
	Nees lous..........	Canal d'la Reido.......	26	27	13	14	8	5	.....	.....	.....	"	
MILBANK SOUND INDIANS...........	Onie le toch......	Milbank Sound...	467	454	119	166	22	22	483	174	46	Ha eelb zuk or Baloballa....	Trade at Fort M'Laughlin.
	Weitle toch.......												
	Kok wai y toch...												
	Ees tey toch......	Cascade Canal..........	112	81	39	46	1	2	105	36	8	"	They visit Fort M'Laughlin, but not frequently.
	Kuimuchquitoch	Dean's Canal..........	66	59	44	51	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	"	

TABLE I. [CONTINUED.]

INDIAN TRIBES OF THE PACIFIC COAST.

Traders' names of Tribes.	Indian names of Tribes.	Generally reside.	Men.	Women.	Children.		Slaves.		Canoes.	Guns.	Houses.	Language.	Remarks.
					Boys.	Girls.	Males.	Females.					
MILBANK SOUND INDIANS...........	Bella hoo la.......	Entrance Salmon River of Sir A. M'Kenzie......	94	89	57	49	.....	.....	.....	.....	13	Ha eelb zuk or Baloballa....	They visit Fort M'Laughlin, but not frequently.
	Gua shit la........	River's Canal...........	36	41	19	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	"	
	Nalal se moch....	Smith's Inlet............	161	168	87	93	.....	.....	.....	.....	30	"	
	Wee ke moch.....	Calvert's Island.........	71	69	29	36	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	"	
QUEEN CHARLOTTE SOUND, AND NEIGHBORHOOD..	Na wee tco........	About Queen Charlotte's Sound..........	90	100	99	91	18	12	100	90	15	Qua colth.	A few of these tribes used occasionally to visit Ft. M'Laughlin, but they generally traded with the steamer, or other vessels, that visit Queen Charlotte's Sound, and never see any establishment.
	Qua colth.		300	350	320	400	28	22	260	50	30	All of these Tribes are said to speak the same language, or only a provincial difference ...	
	Quee ha Qua colt		400	500	500	590	24	36	460	70	40		
	Mar ma li la cal la		400	500	500	590	18	22	500	120	40		
	Clow et sus........		500	600	650	700	17	23	600	130	50		
	Mur til par........		500	600	650	700	19	21	600	120	50		
	Nim kish..........		400	500	500	590	16	24	460	70	40		
	We wark ka.......		330	400	500	630	48	62	260	50	30		
	We wark kum....		330	400	500	630	45	55	260	500	30		
	Clal lu e is........		450	500	650	700	12	18	500	100	40		
	Cum que kis......		50	70	100	100	8	12	40	30	10		
	Lack que lib la...		50	70	100	100	9	11	40	30	10		
	Cle Huse..........		500	600	650	700	23	17	600	100	50		
	Soi it inu..........		200	230	250	270	24	16	140	100	20		
	Quick sut i nut...		200	230	250	270	22	28	140	80	20		
	A qua mish.		200	230	250	270	20	30	140	70	20		
	Cle li Kit te......		200	230	250	270	24	26	140	80	20		
	Nar kock tau......		400	500	500	590	16	24	500	100	40		
	Qua i nu...........		200	250	270	280	17	23	200	70	20		
	Ex e ni nuth......		300	400	500	630	46	54	260	50	30		
	Te nuckt tau......		200	230	250	270	22	18	400	100	20		
	O i Cle la.........		180	200	210	230	12	18	200	80	20		
	Ne cul ta..........	Johnson's Straits.......	330	400	500	630	45	55	260	50	30		
	Quie ha Ne cub ta	" entrance	330	400	500	630	48	52	260	50	30		
	Co moux...........	" south...	330	400	500	630	44	56	260	50	30		
	Qua ne.............	Cape Scott..............	50	60	70	4	6	50	10	60	10	"	
	Ucle nu............	Scott's Island..........	20	15	20	.....	.....	30	4	6	4	"	

	Kus ke mu........	Outside Vancouver's Island.... South of C. Scott.	330	400	500	600	44	56	260	50	30	"	
	Quat si nu.........		330	400	500	600	47	53	260	30	30	"	
Chilcat, several tribes	Chilcat............	Lynn's Canal...........	267	116	71	66	42	36	.....	.....	.....	Klen ee kate...	Trade at Sitka, Tacco, and Stikeen.
Cross Sound Indians	Huna cow.........	Cross Sound............	258	234	108	88	40	54	.....	.....	.....	"	
Auke....................	Auke...............	N. of entr'nce Tako Riv.	72	61	35	31	2	2	.....	.....	.....	"	
Tako, Samdan and Sitka Indians..	Tako, Samdan and Sitka............	Tako and Sitka Rivers, and S. of it, on main land.	127	116	71	66	59	60	.....	....	.....	"	
Hootsinoo............	Hootsinoo.........	Hood's Bay.............	274	248	85	76	40	41	.....	.....	.....	"	
Hanaga................	Hanaga............	....	82	80	29	27	27	24	.....	.....	.....	"	
Kake....................	Kake..............	....	169	106	70	64	24	20	.....	.....	.....	"	
Stikeen Indians..	Sick naa hutty....	Stikeen River.....	31	24	30	27	2	4	38	17	8	"	Trade generally at Stikeen, but frequently visit Ft. Simpson, Tacco, and Sitka. They are said not to be so numerous as the Chimsyans.
	Ta ee tee tan......		88	29	16	9	8	4	48	36	4	"	
	Kaas ka qua tee..		59	41	10	6	6	13	.....	19	4	"	
	Kook a tee.........		137	67	36	32	2		63	49	9	"	
	Naa nee aa ghee..		83	117	60	46	32	52	85	76	15	"	
	Tal qua tee........		52	51	27	33	2	4	52	35	6	"	
	Kick sa tee........		51	21	21	18	4	4	34	19	5	"	
	Kaadg ett ee......		61	60	40	19	4	8	42	38	8	"	
Pt. Stuart Indians.	A he alt............	Port Stuart.............	50	45	42	49	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	"	Trade at Ft. Simpson, but occasionally visit Stikeen.
Tongass Indians.....	Kee tah hon neet	S. ent'ce Clarence Str's	85	90	60	65	6	9	.....	.....	18	"	
Cape Fox "	Lugh se le.........	Cape Fox..............	45	50	39	43	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	"	
Ky gargey.........	You ah noe........	S. side of Prince of Wales' Archipelago............	68	70	44	52	.....	.....	.....	.....	18	Hai dai.........	Frequent Fort Simpson, Stikeen, Tacco, and Sitka.
	Cliet ass............		98	105	102	112	.....	.....	.....	.....	26	"	
	Qui a han less.....		30	35	42	41	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	"	
	Hou a guan.......		117	121	113	107	.....	.....	.....	.....	27	"	
	Shou a gan........		53	61	54	61	.....	.....	.....	.....	14	"	
	Chat chee nie......		65	62	59	63	.....	.....	.....	.....	18	"	
Queen Charlotte's Islands Indians...........	Lu lan na.........	Queen Charlotte's Islands, beginning at N. island; north end, and passing round by the eastward.....	80	76	69	71	.....	.....	.....		20	"	Most of these people frequent Ft. Simpson, but several of them never see any establishment.
	Nigh tan...........		70	69	72	69	.....	.....	.....	.....	15	"	
	Massetta...........		630	650	589	604	.....	.....	.....	.....	160	"	
	Ne coon............		24	27	29	42	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	"	
	A se guang........		34	31	27	28	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	"	
	Skitt de gates.....		191	182	176	189	.....	.....	.....	.....	48	"	
	Cum sha was......		80	74	63	69	.....	.....	.....	.....	20	"	
	Skee dans..........		115	121	98	105	.....	.....	.....	.....	30	"	
	Quee ah............		87	79	68	74	.....	.....	.....	.....	20	"	
	Cloo................		169	164	105	107	.....	.....	.....	.....	40	"	
	Kish a win.........		80	74	85	90	.....	.....	.....	.....	18	"	
	Kow welth.........		181	146	145	139	.....	.....	.....	.....	35	"	
	Too.................		45	49	50	52	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	"	
		Total	15160	16171	15859	17004	1146	1375	10150	3240	1887		

TABLE II.

INDIAN POPULATION OF WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

TRIBES.	Men.	Women and Children.	Lodges.	Tribal Strength.	Position.	Remarks.	Grand Geographical Divisions.
Salish, or Flatheads	...	...	60	350	St. Mary's River	Have 1000 cattle; 16 log-houses.	East of the Cascade Mountains.
Cootenays, or Flatbows	...	...	...	400			“ “
Pend d'Oreilles, Upper and Lower	...	...	100	700	Clark's Fork	Killed 800 deer in 1854	“ “
Cour d'Alenes	...	...	70	500	Cour d'Alene River		“ “
Spokanes	...	...	...	600	Columbia Val., Oregon		“ “
Säaptins, or Nez Perces	...	...	...	1,700	“	Kooskooskie and Snake Rivs., which see	“ “
Pelouses	40	62	59	500	“		“ “
Walla-wallas	...	...	...	300	“		“ “
Dalles Bands	...	...	...	200	“		“ “
Cascades	...	...	...	36	“		“ “
Klikatats	...	...	...	300	“		“ “
Yakamas	...	...	...	600	“		“ “
Okinakanes	...	...	...	550	“		“ “
Colvilles	...	...	...	500	“		“ “
Tintinapain	...	...	...	75	“	Base of Cowlitz Mountains	West of the Cascade Mountains.
Cowlitz and Upper Chihalis	...	...	...	165	Cowlitz River	Tribes united by intermarriages	“ “
Ehihalis	...	...	...	300	Grey's Harbor, &c.		“ “
Upper Chinooks	...	...	...	200	Columbia River	Mixed with Cowlitz and Klikatats.	“ “
Lower Chinooks	32	34	...	66	“	Mixed with Chebalis and Cowlitz.	“ “
Lower Chinooks, Shoalwater Bay	...	...	50	50		“ “ “	“ “
Quinaîlee	...	...	...	500	Grey's Harbor, north.		Pacific Coast.

Cape Flattery	...	...	...	150	Straits of Fuca	Sklallam's	Pacific Coast.
Port Townsend	67	88	...	155		Kahtais	"
Port Discovery	24	26	...	50		Kaquaiths	"
New Dungeness	79	91	...	170		Stehllums	"
False Dungeness, &c	...	...	...	475			"
Chima Kum	...	...	...	70			"
Töanhooch	123	109	...	245	Hod's Canal		"
Shokomish	...	...	...	200	"	Upper end	"
Case's Inlet, &c	19	21	...	40	Puget's Sound		"
Carr's Inlet	14	13	...	27	"		"
Hammersly's Inlet	11	12	...	23	"		"
Totten's Inlet	2	1	...	3	"		"
Eld's Inlet	22	23	...	45	"		"
Budd's Inlet	...	...	...	20	"		"
South Bay	...	...	...	12	"		"
Nisqually River	84	100	...	184	"		"
Steilacoomish	...	...	...	25	Stalacoom Creek	Puget's Sound	"
Puyyallopamish	...	...	...	100	Puyallop River	"	"
Loquamish	215	270	...	485	Hood's Reef	"	"
Vashou's Island	16	15	...	33			"
Dwamish	89	73	...	162	Dwamish River		"
Dwamish	71	30	...	101	Dwamish Lake		"
Dwamish	...	...	...	8	White River		"
Dwamish	...	...	...	50	Green River		"
Main White River	...	...	...	30			"
Whitby's Island	161	138	...	350		Sinabomish River	"
Sinabomish River	...	...	...	300		Four bands	"
South Fork of Sinabomish	...	...	...	195			"
Stoluchwamish	...	...	...	200			"
Kikialis	...	...	...	75			"
Skagit river, and branches	...	...	...	600			"
Northern end of Whitby's Island, &c	...	...	...	300	Canoe passage	Three bands	"
Samish	...	...	...	150	Bellingham's Bay		"
Nooksaak	...	...	...	450			"
Nummi River	...	...	...	450			"
Shimiahmoo	...	...	...	250	Summi Point, &c. to Frazier's Riv., near lat. 49°		"
Total	1069	1003	339	14,915			

TABLE III.

TRIBES OF OREGON TERRITORY.

TRIBES.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total Population.	Position.	North or South of the Columbia River.	East or West of the Cascade Mountains.	Remarks.
Chinnooks	......	......	......	10	....	...	W.	This tribe is believed to be, at this time, nearly all N. of the Columbia, and are so counted in Table II.
Clatsops	37	34	......	71	Near mouth of the Columbia.	S.	W.	They are estimated at 200 by L. and C., in 1806.
Tillamooks	......	......	......	150	....	S.	W.	
Clackamas	19	20	40	79	Clackama River	S.	W.	
Callipooyas	......	......	......	560	Willamette Valley	S.	W.	Southern Oregon.
Mollales	40	60	23	123	" "	S.	W.	
Umpquas	67	104	72	243	Umpqua River, W. Valley	S.	W.	
TOTOTINS OF PORT ORFORD DISTRICT, viz:								
Nasomah	18	20	21	59	Pacific shore	S.	W.	
Chocreleatan	30	40	35	105	"	S.	W.	
Quatomah	53	45	45	140	"	S.	W.	
Cosutheutun	9	9	9	27	"	S.	W.	

Euquachee	24	41	37	102	"	S.	W.	These bands are thus classified, and their census reported by J. S. Parish, the agent. (Vide Ann. Report for 1855, p. 286.)
Yahshute	39	45	36	120	"	S.	W.	
Chetlessentun	16	15	20	51	"	S.	W.	
Wishtenatin	18	26	22	66	"	S.	W.	
Cheattee	117	83	41	241	"	S.	W.	
Tototin	39	47	34	120	"	S.	W.	
Mackanotin	53	58	34	145	"	S.	W.	
Shistacoostee	......	61	39	100	"	S.	W.	
Rogue River Indians	135	150	111	332	Rogue River Valley	S.	W.	Southern Oregon.*
Klamaths	......	......	......	150	Klamath Lake, and vicinity	S.	W.	Plioc, Toqua and Coast Lakes. Ext. S. bound'y Oregon.
Wascopams	64	103	92	241		S.	E.	
Des Chutes	95	115	90	300	Falls River	...	E.	
Cascades	......	......	......	80		S.	E.	
Wascos	......	......	......	300	Mission Indians	S.	E.	
Utillas	......	......	......	200	Utila River	S.	E.	
Cayuses	38	48	40	126	John Day's River	S.	E.	Murdered Dr. Whitman, in 1837.
Walla-wallas	52	40	38	130	Walla-walla River	S.	E.	
Säaptins, or Nez Perces	......	......	......	180	Salmon and Clear-water Rivers	...	E.	The great part of this tribe is in Washington Territory, where they are counted.
SHOSHONES, viz:								
Lewis River Snakes	......	......	......	1,000	Lewis River, &c.	...	S. E.	This tribe occupies the summit of the Rocky mountains.
Bonnacks	......	......	......	500		...	S. E.	
Root Diggers	......	......	......	100		...	S. E.	Extend into Utah Territory and Rocky mountains.
Total	......	......	......	6,068				

* These tribes appear to be of Umpqua origin. They are returned by the agent at 537, of which twenty-five per cent should be now deducted. (Ann. Rep., 1855, p. 294.)

TABLE IV.

INDIAN TRIBES OF NEBRASKA TERRITORY.

TRIBES.	Position.	No. of Lodges.	No. of Fighting-men.	Gross Population.	General Remarks.
Shoshones	Northern slope of the Rocky Mountains	50	50	500	These tribes are driven before the Blackfeet. They are encountered in small parties. For vocab. of the Niuni, or Comanches, see Vol. II., p. 494.
Blackfeet	North of the Missouri	1,200	2,400	9,000	For this language, see Vol. II., p. 494.
Assinaboines	North and east of the Missouri	600	1,200	5,000	This tribe is largely in Hudson Bay Territory. It is estimated at 1500 lodges.
Upsarokas, or Crows	Valley of the Yellowstone	400	900	4,500	Language deemed peculiar, but we have no vocabulary.
Yankton Sioux	Jacques River	300	700	3,000	
Yanktonas	West of Yanktons	350	800	3,300	
Broulè Sioux	Platte River and Valley	400	1,000	4,000	
Blackfeet Sioux	Sheyen River	450	1,100	4,500	Speak the Sioux language.
Tetons, viz:					
Minikonga	Black Hills, and heads of Sheyen and Platte	270	250	1,000	These tribes speak the Sioux or Dacotah languages.
Onkpapah	" " " "	320	300	3,000	
Ogeelala	" " " "	400	350	3,200	
Sansarcs	" " " "	250	200	600	
Cheyennes	West of the Black Hills	300	700	2,500	For this language, see Vol. III., p. 446.
Arickarees	Fort Clark and vicinity	250	300	1,500	
Minetarees, or Gros Ventres	Banks of Missouri, 75 m. above Ft. Clark	120	100	700	
Mandans	Missouri, 5 m. above Arickaree village	30	....	300	Dwell in a single village of clay lodges. For this language, vide Vol. III., p. 446.
Omahas*	West bank of Missouri, below the Nebraska	200	....	810	
Otoes*	" " " "	120	....	500	
Missourias*	" " " "	110	....	450	
	Totals	6,200	9,760	48,360	

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* Treaties were made with these tribes in 1854. By these, the Omahas cede all their country to the United States, excepting that lying north of a line drawn due west from the main channel of the Missouri, due east of where the Ayoway river disembogues out of the bluff to the western boundary of their country. If on examination, this tract should not be suitable to their wants, they may select, not to exceed 300,000 acres, from the land they now cede to the United States. The Otoes and Missourias cede all their country to the United States, excepting a reserve in the south-western corner of their country, to be 10 miles wide, and 25 miles long.

TABLE V.

TRIBES OF KANSAS, INDIGENOUS AND REMOVED FROM THE OLD STATES.

TRIBES.	Indigenous.	Removed from old States.	Gross Population.	Present Position	N. or S. of lat. 37°.	States from which the removal was made.	Language.	Remarks.
Quappas	314		314	Neosho River	S.			Called Kapahas by De Soto, in 1542.
Osages	4,941		4,941	Arkansas and its northern tributaries	N.			Washbashas.
Kanzas *	1,600		1,600	Sources of the Neosho	N.			The Kaws of the fur trade, a French nickname.
Pawnees †	7,000		7,000	Nomedio, bet. Arkansas and Platte, ab. long. 99°.	N.			Apanina of De Soto.
Arapahoes ‡	3,500		3,500		N.		Voc. Vol. III., p. 446 to 459.	None of this tribe have been included in the estimates for Utah or Nebraska, and they are accounted for here.
Amalgamated Senecas and Shawnees *		† 273	273	Neosho River	S.	Ohio		Put at 320, Vol. IV., p. 590.
Senecas *		† 177	177	“	S.	“		Originally from New York.
Miamies *		† 500	500	Source of Osage River	N.	Indiana	Voc. Vol. II., p.470 to 481.	This tribe has declined in numbers.
Piankashaws and Weas *		† 250	250	“ “	N.	“		These bands are of the Miami stock.
Peorias and Kaskaskias *		† 200	200	“ “	N.	Illinois		These Indians are the remains of the ancient Illinois.
Ottowas		† 300	300	“ “	N.	Ohio		These Indians were removed from the Miami of the lakes.
Chippewas		† 230	230	“ “	N.	Michigan	Voc. Vol. II., p.458 to 467.	From near Detroit and Lake St. Clair.
Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi *		† 1,600	1,600	Osage River	N.	Iowa		Once lived at Prairie du Chien.
Sacs and Foxes of the Missouri		† 1,800	1,800	Wolf Riv. of the Missouri	N.	Missouri		Kanzas Territory.
Shawnees *		† 1,600	1,600	Osage and Wacherara Riv	N.	Ohio		“
Wyandots		† 687	687	Kanzas River	N.	“		Hurons of the French.
Pottawattamies		† 3,200	3,200	Kanzas and Missouri	N.	Illinois		Kanzas Territory.
Kickapoos *		† 650	650	Kanzas River, west of the Delawares	N.	Missouri		This tribe is believed to be the mysterious “ Miscotins of the French.
Iowas		† 1,114	1,114	W. banks of the Missouri.	N.	Iowa		Kanzas Territory.
Delawares *		† 1,500	1,500	Kanzas River	N.	Ohio, Ind'na, Missouri	Voc. Vol. II., p.470 to 481.	Originally from Pennsylvania.
Munceys, Christian Indians §		† 250	250	“	N.	Ohio, Wisconsin, Canada		Kanzas Territory.
Stockbridges §			207		N.			The Stockbridges were originally from Massachusetts.
Totals	7,355	13,481	30,893					

TABLE V. (CONTINUED.)

* With these tribes treaties were made in 1854, of which the following is a synopsis:—

The Iowas to have a reserve, beginning at the mouth of the Great Nemaha; thence down the Missouri to Noland's Creek; thence one mile due south; thence due west to the south fork of the Nemaha; thence down that stream to the Nemaha; thence down the Nemaha to the place of beginning.

The Sacs and Foxes to have a reserve of 32,000 acres, to be selected in one tract, in the western part of the country ceded to the United States by treaty of 1854. If suitable lands cannot be found within the limits ceded, they may select from land west and north of it, but south of the Great Nemaha.

The Kickapoos cede all their country to the United States, excepting 150,000 acres, to be selected by them in the western part of the lands they now cede; or they may extend their location west of the western boundary of their lands, north of the Delaware outlet, and south of the Great Nemaha.

The Delawares cede all their country to the United States, excepting a reserve bounded as follows:—Beginning at a point on the northern boundary of the Kansas Half-Breed Tract, 40 miles west of the western boundary of the Wyandots; thence due north 10 miles; thence in an easterly direction to a point on the south bank of Big Island Creek, which shall also be on the bank of the Missouri; thence to the north-west corner of the Wyandots; thence along the western boundary of the Wyandots to the Kansas River; thence along that river, and boundaries of the Kansas Half-Breed Tract, to the place of beginning.

The Shawnees cede all their country to the United States, excepting 200,000 acres, to be selected by them, between the Missouri State line and a parallel thereto, 30 miles distant; providing those Shawnees now residing west of said parallel may, if they choose, select 200 acres for each individual west of said parallel, to include their improvement. These selections to be included in the 200,000 acres. No citizen is allowed to settle on the land west of the western boundary of Missouri, and east of a line parallel thereto and 30 miles distant, until the Shawnees have made their selection.

The Piankashaws, Weas, Peorias and Kaskaskias cede all their country to the United States, excepting 160 acres to each individual, amounting to 41,440 acres. Also, two sections to be held as common property, and one section to the American Indian Mission Association. No citizen allowed to settle on their lands until they have made their selections.

The Miamies cede all their country to the United States, excepting 70,000 acres, and one section for school purposes. Citizens not allowed to settle on their lands until they have made their selections.

The Kansas Half-Breed Tract extends from the eastern boundary of the Pottawattamies, along the Kansas River 24 miles, and one mile wide.

The lands ceded by the Iowas, Piankashaws, Weas, Peorias, Kaskaskias and Delawares, east of the Outlet, to be sold to the highest bidder and the proceeds paid to the Indians; that portion not sold may be entered for a term of three years, at $1 25 per acre, after which Congress may reduce the price.

† These are the returns of 1850. The present population will be given in Vol. VI., for which means are in progress.

‡ This tribe call themselves the Tattoed People, from the custom of pricking their breasts. There are two distinct bands; one called the Ner-mon-sin-nan-see, or Southern Band—and the other the Mountain Band. They reside on the summit dividing the waters of the Missouri and Colorado Rivers.

§ These bands, being of kindred blood, have been furnished lands by the Delawares.

TABLE VI.

A STATEMENT DESIGNATING THE INDIAN TRIBES IN NEBRASKA AND KANSAS TERRITORIES, WITH WHOM TREATIES HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATED DURING THE YEARS 1854 AND 1855.

And showing, as nearly as can be ascertained, the quantity of land acquired of each Tribe, the quantity reserved by each, and the consideration agreed to be given for the acquisition.

Name of Tribe.	Where located.	Date of Treaty.	No. acres acquired.	No. of acres reserved.	Consideration.	Remarks.
Omahas	Nebraska	March 16, 1854.	*5,776,000	300,000	$881,000	The number of acres stated as acquired is an approximate estimate. An additional consideration to that stated is given of a grist and saw-mill, and miller for ten years; a blacksmith shop, tools, and smith, and an experienced farmer for the same period.
Ottoes and Missourias.	Nebraska	March 15, 1854.	*2,840,000	160,000	405,000	Number of acres stated as acquired is an approximate estimate. The same additional considerations are provided as in the case of the Omahas.
Ioways	Kansas	May 17, 1854	†95,200	32,800	Proceeds of sale after deducting costs thereof.	Their reserve is defined by boundaries, and estimated to contain 32,000 acres; and 800 acres are reserved for special purposes.
Sacs and Foxes of Missouri.	Kansas	May 18, 1854	†95,360	32,800	48,000	These have a right to select their reservation in the western part of the country ceded, or outside of the cession, and 800 acres in addition to the 32,000 acres are reserved for special purposes.
Kickapoos	Kansas	May 18, 1854	†618,000	150,000	300,000	An additional sum to that stated of $20,000 is to be paid for removing and subsisting themselves, and a fair compensation for the improvements on the lands ceded.
Delawares	Kansas	May 6, 1854	"outlet," 1,000,000 — balance of cession, 538,500.	275,000	10,000, and the proceeds of sale of the 538,500 acres, after deducting costs thereof.	Their reserve has been defined by boundaries, and is approximately estimated to contain 275,000 acres. The "outlet" for which the sum of $10,000 is to be paid, is estimated by the Commissioner of Indian affairs to contain 1,000,000 acres; but by Capt. S. Eastman, and in an estimate of Isaac McCoy, it is stated at 1,318,000. The remainder of their cession, estimated at 538,500 acres, is to be sold for their benefit.
Shawnees	Kansas	May 10, 1854	† 1,400,000	200,000	829,000	It is stipulated that $27,000 additional to the sum stated, shall be paid for the loss of certain property, &c.
Piankeshaws **Weas** **Peorias** **Kaskaskias**	Kansas	May 30, 1854.	†204,640	47,840	Proceeds of sale of the cession after deducting costs thereof.	Ten sections of the quantity stated as reserved, are for the common property of the Tribe, and one section for missionary purposes.
Miamies	Kansas	June 5, 1854	†299,360	70,640	200,000	The whole of the Miami lands are estimated to contain not more than 370,000 acres, of which 70,000 are reserved to the Indians, and 640 for special purposes.
Wyandots	Kansas	Jan. 31, 1855	………	………	………	By this Treaty the United States acquired no land. The principal object thereof is to accord to the Wyandots the privilege of becoming citizens of the United States, and, as a consequence, to subdivide and assign their lands to them in severalty.

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*Original Indian title extinguished.

† Cessions from lands guaranteed to them in perpetuity by former treaties.

TABLE VII.

TRIBES OF UTAH TERRITORY.

Tribes and Bands.	Gross Population.	Lodges.	Remarks.
Utahs at large	2,000	300	
Pi-Utahs, roving	500	75	
Uwinty Utahs	700	100	
Utahs of Sampitch Valley	1,400	200	
Utahs of Carson Valley	700	100	
Utahs of Lake Sevier, and Walker River	400	70	
Navahoes and Utahs of Grand River	2,100	300	Green River assumes the name of Grand River before receiving that of the Colorado.
Shoshonees, or Snakes proper	1,000	150	
Diggers on Humbolt River	500	50	
Eutahs of New Mexico	450	50	
Totals	8,550	1,395	

Part of the Crows and Arapahoes must, periodically, fall within the lines of this Territory.

* * *

TABLE VIII.

SEMI-CIVILIZED TRIBES COMPOSING THE APPALACHIAN GROUP OF THE CHOCTAWS, CHICKASAWS, CHEROKEES AND CREEKS.

Tribes.	Gross Population.	Date of Census.	Authority.	Proposed legal name or title.	Remarks.
Choctaw	15,767	1853.	Off. Rep., Vol. IV., p. 582.	Chacta	Slaves uncounted.
Chickasaw	4,715	1853.	" " "	Chickasa	"
Cherokee*	17,530	1852.	" " p. 588.	Chalakee.	"
Creek, or Muscogee, viz:					
Upper Creeks	14,142	1833.	Census, Vol. IV., p. 578	Muskogee	Including 445 African slaves.†
Lower Creeks	8,522	1833.	" " p. 581		Including 557 African slaves.
Seminoles	1,500	1837.			Originally Creeks.
Total	62,176				

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* By the census of 1850, there is shown to be 710 persons of this tribe living in Hayward County, North Carolina, possessing 15,960 acres of land, of which 1,440 are improved, who are estimated to own property to the value of $15,376.

† A singular feature in those semi-civilized tribes appears to be this, that the possession of slaves has enabled the Indian first to overcome his aversion to labor. The Senecas, and other Iroquois, have, however, overcome this aversion without slaves.

TABLE IX.

Comparative View of Indian Treaties, Wars, and Expenditures attending the Initiation of the System of Removal of the Tribes from the precincts of the old States, during the period between March 4, 1829, *and September* 12, 1838. (No. 1.)

Name of Tribe.	Date of Ratification by the Senate.	Estimated quantity of land acquired.	Probable value to the United States.	Estimated expense of carrying each treaty into effect, including land and money.
Winnebagoes	Jan. 2, 1830	2,530,000	$3,162,500	$749,800
Chippewas, Ottowas, and Pottawattamies	"	4,160,000	5,200,000	390,601
Delawares	"	5,760	7,200	3,000
Sacs, Foxes, Sioux and others	Feb. 24, 1831	16,256,000	20,320,000	317,732
Choctaws	"	7,796,000	9,745,000	22,928,529
Senecas	March 24, 1831.	40,000	50,000	163,400
Creeks	April 4, 1832	5,128,000	6,410,000	15,809,080
Senecas and Shawnees	April 6, 1832	39,680	49,600	111,600
Shawnees	"	92,800	116,000	162,500
Ottawas	"	49,917	62,396	47,500
Wyandots	"	16,000	20,000	24,400
Menomonees	July 9, 1832	3,000,000	3,750,000	285,687
Pottawattamies of the Prairie	Jan. 21, 1833	1,536,000	1,920,000	460,346
Pottawattamies of the Wabash	"	2,626,560	3,283,200	658,412
Pottawattamies of Indiana	"	737,000	921,250	406,121
Shawnees and Delawares	Feb. 12, 1833	199,680	249,600	50,950
Kaskaskias and Peorias	"	1,920	2,400	155,780
Kickapoos	Feb. 13, 1833	2,048,000	2,560,000	1,132,100
Appalachicolas	"	5,120	6,400	13,000
Piankashaws and Weas	Feb. 12, 1833	160,000	200,000	214,062
Winnebagoes	Feb. 13, 1833	2,816,000	3,520,000	2,945,482
Sacs and Foxes	"	5,760,000	7,200,000	736,924
Ottawas	March 22, 1833.	32,000	40,000	32,640
Seminoles	April 12, 1834.	4,032,640	5,040,800	295,500
Quapaws	"	96,000	120,000	254,076
Chippewas, Ottawas and Pottawattamies	Feb. 21, 1835	5,104,960	6,381,200	7,624,289
Pottawattamies	March 16, 1835.	1,280	1,600	1,600
Band of Pottawattamies	"	2,560	3,200	2,560
" "	"	1,280	1,600	800
" "	"	3,840	4,800	2,400
Caddoes	Feb. 2, 1836	1,000,000	1,250,000	86,800
Four bands of Pottawattamies	May 25, 1836	6,400	8,000	6,559
Two bands of Pottawattamies.	"	1,920	2,400	2,079
" "	"	23,040	28,800	23,040
Ottawas and Chippewas	May 27, 1836	13,734,000	17,167,500	2,309,451
Band of Pottawattamies	June 4, 1836	2,560	3,200	2,719
" "	"	2,560	3,200	2,719
Three bands of Pottawattamies	Feb. 18, 1837	14,080	7,600	14,080
Menomonees	Feb. 15, 1837	4,184,320	5,230,400	620,110
Three bands of Pottawattamies	Feb. 18, 1837	6,400	8,000	8,000
Band of Pottawattamies	Feb. 16, 1837	2,560	3,200	3,200
Pottawattamies of the Wabash	Feb. 18, 1837	26,880	33,600	33,600
Carried forward	....	83,283,607	$104,104,646	$59,433,228

TABLE IX. (CONTINUED.)

Name of Tribe.	Date of Ratification by the Senate.	Estimated quantity of land acquired.	Probable value to the United States.	Estimated expense of carrying each treaty into effect, including land and money.
Brought forward...............	....	83,283,697	$104,104,646	$59,433,228
Sacs and Foxes........................	Feb. 27, 1837...	256,000	320,000	195,998
Miamies	Oct. 12, 1837...	208,000	260,000	208,000
Chippewas of the Mississippi........	June 15, 1838..	7,000,000	8,750,000	870,000
Sioux of the Mississippi.............	"	5,000,000	6,250,000	991,000
Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi..	Feb. 21, 1838...	1,250,000	1,562,500	37,000
Winnebagoes............................	June 15, 1838..	5,000,000	6,250,000	1,500,000
Cherokees...............................	May 23, 1836...	7,882,240	* 9,852,800	6,824,279
Totals..............................	....	109,879,937	$137,349,946	$70,059,505†

No. 2.

COST OF LATE INDIAN WARS. (*Compiled from Public Documents.*)

Estimated Cost of the War of 1832, commonly called the Black Hawk War.

Specific appropriations..	$1,089,000
Estimated expenses caused by the war, but not specifically appropriated........................	911,000
Total..	$2,000,000

Estimated Cost of the Creek and Seminole Wars.

Specific appropriations..	$15,613,000
Estimated expenses caused by these wars, but not specifically appropriated..................	4,387,000
Total..	$20,000,000

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* Includes lands in Georgia, Tennessee, and North Carolina; and, although no money will come into the treasury from their sale, yet it is but proper to include their value in this statement, as the extinction of the Indian title was in discharge of obligations incurred by the United States for valuable considerations.

The President took the sense of the Senate, at the session of 1834-35, in regard to the sum which should be given the Cherokees, he having expressed a willingness to go as far as that body would, in satisfying that nation. The Senate agreed upon $5,000,000, in which the President acquiesced, though believing it to be too much. Six hundred thousand dollars ($600,000) were added to the consideration in making the treaty, for objects which, it was alleged, the Senate had not intended to include in the $5,000,000. In this the President also acquiesced At the late session of Congress, $1,147,000 were added; this, with the expense of agents, &c., and some small sums which the treaty provided, should be paid by the United States, swelling the consideration to the amount stated. This last sum ($1,147,000) was reported by the two chairmen of the two Indian Committees (Messrs. White and Bell), though the latter thought it was not enough, and, in his individual capacity, moved an addition of $2,000,000; which was not agreed to, nor was the proposition of Mr. Everett, to give them upwards of $5,000,000 in addition.

† Of this sum, $29,583,255 were in money, or its equivalent. The remainder, $40,476,250, is the estimated value of more than 30,000,000 of acres of land, which have been granted to the emigrating tribes. It is impracticable to separate that portion of the sum of $29,583,255, which has been appropriated, from that which will fall due in future, and will be hereafter called for. It is believed, however, that not less than $25,000,000 have been appropriated by Congress, leaving for objects unaccomplished and unappropriated not more than $4,000,000 to $5,000,000.

The treaties in which it is provided that the nett proceeds of the lands shall be paid to the Indians, such as the Shawnese treaty of 1831, the Chickasaw of 1834, and that with the Chippewas of Saginaw of 1837, are not included. In all these, however, advances were made by the United States, reimbursable from the sales. The amount of these would probably be $300,000, and, of course, swelled the appropriations that amount. Some of these advances have been returned, and some not.

TABLE X.

GROSS AREA, VALUE AND RELATIVE POPULATION OF THE INDIAN TERRITORIES.

TERRITORIES.	No. of Square Miles.	Acres.	Indian Population.	Value, at 3 cts. per Acre.
Colonized tribes between the Red River and the Missouri River	187,174	119,789,440	62,176	$3,593,683 20
Minnesota Territory	141,839	70,746,960	....	2,122,408 80
Oregon and Washington Territories	341,463	214,296,320	20,983	6,428,889 60
Kanzas Territory	136,700	87,288,000	....	261,864 00
New Mexico	210,774	134,895,360	....	4,046,860 80
Nebraska, estimated area of the so-called North-western Territory	528,725	338,384,000	48,360	10,151,520 00
Utah	187,023	109,694,720	....	3,290,841 60
Totals	1,733,698	1,075,094,800	131,519	$29,896,068 00

Granting, that one-half of this area is worth little, or nothing, for agricultural purposes, and that the other half comprises first, second and third-rate land, the usufruct right to which, on the part of the Indians, may be put at 7 cents per acre, still the estimate would more than stand good.

The proceeds of the lands of the Kanzas and Nebraska tribe are amply adequate to educate the tribes, to provide them with cattle and other stock, and agricultural implements, and pay for the services of persons to teach them agriculture and the arts.

The plan of paying them anything but the interest of their funds, in annuities, is so destructive in its effects, that it is to be hoped that this illusory system will be abandoned. By its continuance, they are surrounded with influences which tend to keep them in the hunter state, and leave them, essentially, in the hands of persons who thrive by the Indian trade.

TABLE XI.

STATISTICS OF EDUCATION AND CHRISTIANITY.

Education and Missionary Boards, or Churches, of the United States.		Date of institution.	Central seat of Board, Church, or Mission.	No. of Teachers, and Assistants, of all kinds, Ecclesiastical and Lay.	No. of Indian Scholars in School.	No. of Indians converted to Christianity.	No. of Native Teachers, Helps, or Evangelists.	No. of willing listeners to the Gospel, not recorded as professed Christians.	Residuary mass, still under the native priesthood.	Remarks.
Order of their institution, or compliance with Matt. xxiii 19.	Names of Associations acting in the premises.									
	I. ERA. *Under the Roman Catholic Church, as organized at the period of the Reformation.*									
A.[1]	Roman Catholic Church of the United States..................	1776.	Baltimore......	20	385	1,000	12	......	500,000[12]	From 1500 to 1776.[13] Date here is merely historical.
	II. ERA. *Protestant Missions.*									
I.[2]	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.	1699.	London.........	......	......	......	...	......		
II.[3]	Society of the United Moravian Brethren......................	1735.	Bethlehem, Pa.	7	60	200	2	......		
III.[4]	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions......	1810.	Boston..........	38	718	1,669	10	......		
IV.[5]	Baptist Board of Foreign Missions..............................	1814.	"	16	178	113	14	......		
V.[6]	Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society........................	....	New York.... .	42	556	1,278	30	......		
VI.[7]	Protestant Episcopal Board of Missions.........................	1825.	"	6	53	......	1	500		About 22 or 23 scholars annually, to 1837.
VII.[8]	Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church of the U. S...	1831.	"	14	534	208	5	2,675		
VIII.[9]	Baptist Home Missionary Society...............................	....	"	6	30	6	1	......		
IX.[10]	American Indian Missionary Association........................	1842.	Louisville, Ky.	20	165	1,300	14	......		
X.[11]	American [Evangelical] Missionary Association	1846.	Albany..... ...	3	20	12	1	......		
	Totals...	......	....	172	2,696	5,786	78	3,175	500,000	

TABLE XI. (CONTINUED.)

[1] The returns from this Church are believed to be imperfect. "Our chief Indian Missions in the United States," observes Archbishop Kenrick, in a letter of July 5th, 1855, "are intrusted to two Bishops, with the title of Vicars Apostolic. One of them, the Right Rev. Frederick Baraga, an Austrian by birth, has labored above twenty years among them, and published a grammar and dictionary in their tongue. He resides at Sault St. Marie, in Upper Michigan. At La Pointe, in Wisconsin, there is a school. The Right Rev. J. B. Miege, an Italian, is charged with the Missions of the Indian territory, east of the Rocky Mountains. At Pottawattamie, Kanzas, there is a Mission, in which Indian and English are alternately used. At St. Joseph's Chapel, near Shungawn Creek, the sermon is in Indian, as also on Mission Creek." Other details are given, denoting a wide field of operation, and much activity, with the number of scholars taught; but not stating, except in the case of the Menomonies, the number of Christians.

[2] This Society bore "the heat and burden of the day," in the American Missionary field, for a long period. Under its patronage the Apostolic Eliot, and his compeers of Massachusetts, Edwards and Brainerd, achieved their labors among the tribes. It is not known that this venerable association now supports any laborer in the United States, and it is merely named in its historical order.

[3] This Society established a Mission at Shicomico, in Southern New York, in 1740, among the Mahicans. In 1741, the Count Zinzendorf made purchases on the Lehigh, in Pennsylvania, and founded a Mission at Shemoken, on the Susquehanna, among the Delawares. It has been difficult to obtain details of its present operations.

[4] The American Board was organized in 1810, obtained a charter in 1812, and sent its first missionaries to India in a cartel, during the war. The principal details introduced into this table are drawn from its last Annual Report.

[5] From the "Missionary Magazine, published by the American Baptist Missionary Union, July, 1855.

[6] Principal facts in a communication, Mission Rooms of the Methodist Episcopal Church, June 29th, 1855.

[7] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1847. Newcomb's Indian Missions.

[8] Eighteenth Report, New York, May, 1855. Communication from Rev. Leighton Wilson, Corresponding Secretary, June 28th, 1855.

[9] This Association but recently commenced its labors in the field. Mr. Hill observes: "Our labors among the Indians are of recent date. Two or three Pueblos in New Mexico have been converted and baptized. Among these Pueblos and Navajos of New Mexico there is much interest taken in the teaching and preaching of our missionaries."

[10] The Baptists of the West make their principal efforts to ameliorate the condition of the Indian tribes through this institution. Its location at Louisville is well chosen, and the results of their labors have been eminently successful.

[11] Of the efforts and present state of this Association, no recent accounts have been met.

[12] This total is set down as probably comprehending the whole mass. As the whole number of the Israelites at the Exodus was estimated at 600,000 (Exodus xii. 37), this fact may be appealed to by Christians, to denote that God often places his finger at comparatively small numbers, when the population of the globe is estimated. Could the population of the globe, then, have been less than 30,000,000?

[13] Materials are not possessed, to fill up this era.

⁂ Facts are solicited, to perfect this Table. It will be revised and reproduced in 1857.

TABLE XII.

PROGRESSIVE ASPECTS OF THE SEMI-CIVILIZED INDIAN TRIBES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Ethnological Group.	Tribes who have adopted Civilization and Christianity.	Organization of Families.		Houses.	Males, of all ages.	Females, of all ages.	No. of marriages during the year.	Children.	Gross Population.	Form of Government.
		No. Heads.	Servants.							
Algonquin.	Mahicans, of Stockbridge[1]	......	......	......	....	....	...	....	475	Ruling Chiefs, and Councils.
	Brothertons[2]	......	......	......	....	....	...	....	250	State laws.
Iroquois ...	Oneidas, of New York[3]	31	......	......	71	86	4	....	157	Ruling Chiefs, and State laws.
	Onondagas[4]	56	......	......	173	195	5	....	368	" "
	Senecas[5]	538	......	......	1,207	1,335	6	....	2,542	Elective Chiefs, and Councils
	Tuscaroras[6]	53	......	......	148	164	3	....	312	Hereditary Chiefs, and State laws.
	Cayugas[7]	20	......	......	56	58	10	....	114	Elective Chiefs, with laws.
Apalachian	Choctas[8]	......	......	......	3,816	4,172	...	7,779	15,767	Written Constitution, elective Assembly, and Judiciary.
	Chickasas[9]	......	......	......	1,122	1,117	...	2,476	4,715	Constitution, Legislature, and Judiciary.
	Creeks, or Muscogulges.[10]	6,363	1,002	......	10,513	10,294	...	....	22,664	Hereditary Chiefs, and local laws.
	Cherokees[11]	......	......	......	4,187	4,523	...	9,657	17,367	Constitution, House of Rep., and Executive Chief.
Iroquois ...	Oneidas, of Wisconsin[12]	150	......	178	329	395	...	....	722	Local Chiefs, and State laws.
	St. Regis Indians[13]	48	......	......	126	134	...	....	260	" "
Algonquin....	Christian Indians[14]	......	......	......	....	....	...	....	200	Teachers of the United Brethren.
	Totals	7,259	1,002	178	21,748	22,473	28	19,912	65,913	

TABLE XII. (CONTINUED.)

PROGRESSIVE ASPECTS OF THE SEMI-CIVILIZED INDIAN TRIBES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Ethnological Group.	Tribes who have adopted Civilization and Christianity.	Results of Agricultural Industry and Grazing.								
		No. of Acres Tilled.	Bushels of Grain, of every kind, raised.	No. Fruit Trees Cultivated.	No. of Horses.	No. of Neat Cattle.	Milch Cows.	Sheep.	Farming Utensils, of every kind.	Hogs.
Algonquin.........	Mahicans, of Stockbridge[1]........	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
	Brothertons[2]........................	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Iroquois...........	Oneidas, of New York[3]...........	421	2,749	44	17	50	28	....	8	46
	Onondagas[4]...........................	2,046	8,164	640	64	189	82	49	17	327
	Senecas[5]..............................	8,416	44,722	4,332	625	1,547	500	575	280	2,248
	Tuscaroras[6].........................	2,079	13,272	1,574	153	336	98	215	59	596
	Cayugas[7]..............................	316	4,029	278	39	63	43	40	17	109
Apalachian........	Choctas[8]...........................	750,000	220,000	....	5,000	4,000	2,500	....	2,000	100,000
	Chickasas[9]........................									
	Creeks, or Muscogulges[10]........	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
	Cherokees[11]...........................	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Iroquois...........	Oneidas, of Wisconsin[12]...........	70,000[15]	....	....	104	491	181	5	253	561
	St. Regis Indians[13].................	591	1,266	....	50	90	42	....	....	112
Algonquin...........	Christian Indians[14].................	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
	Totals..........	833,869	304,202	6,868	6,052	6,766	3,474	884	2,634	103,999

TABLE XII. (CONTINUED.)

[1] This tribe is the residuary mass of the bands of Indians who were so long the objects of missionary labor, and teachers supported in America by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It was to this particular tribe of Mahicans, living on the sources of the Housatonic, in Massachusetts, that the theologian, Jonathan Edwards, was accredited.

[2] Several Mahicans, Narragansetts, Pequots, Nanticokes, &c., emigrated to the Oneida country, after the Revolutionary War, under the guidance of Sampson Occum. They were assigned lands, by the Oneidas, in the Oriskany Valley; and finding their dialectic differences of speech an obstacle, it was agreed to drop them entirely, and use the English. This was the origin of the Brothertons. They numbered 250 souls, in 1791; but we have no recent statistics. Having been admitted as citizens, by Wisconsin, they are merged in the white population of their county (Calumet).

[3] The Oneidas had, soon after the preaching of Kirkland, divided into a Christian and a Pagan party. About 1822, a large division of the tribe migrated to the vicinity of Green Bay, in Wisconsin, where they have been under the care of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Those remaining near Oneida Castle, in New York, have adopted the manners and customs of the whites. They have purchased farms, cultivate grain and esculents, raise cattle, and promise, successfully, to sustain the transit from the hunter to the civil state.

[4] This tribe, who are concentrated on their Reservation, in the Onondaga Valley, near Syracuse, are cultivators of the soil. They raise grain, cattle, horses, sheep, and exhibit evidences of marked advances in arts and industry. The Legislature of New York makes annual appropriations for the support of schools among them.

[5] This tribe has, from the earliest notices, been the most populous of the Iroquois cantons. By the New York census of 1855, it is shown that they have made such advances in agriculture, grazing, arts, and in education, as quite settles the problem of their reclamation. Of a gross population of 2500 souls, an average of seventeen bushels of grain is raised by each person, of both sexes, old and young, and two acres of land are tilled. There is one milch cow, and one sheep, two neat-cattle, one hog, about one horse, and nearly two growing fruit trees, to every five souls.

[6] This tribe, consisting of 300 souls, cultivate 2000 acres of land, raised 13,000 bushels of grain, have 1500 fruit trees, and possess 98 milch cows, 336 neat cattle, 150 horses, and 215 sheep.

[7] The Cayugas lost their lands by the Revolutionary War, and fled to Canada. It is shown that 114 of the number have taken shelter with the Senecas, and are following their example in agriculture.

[8] [9] The Choctaws and Chickasaws would seem, to all observation, to have reached that state of advance in agriculture, arts, commerce, government, education, Christianity, and manners, where they are prepared to assume the duties of citizenship, and to be admitted as territorial elements in the Union.

[10] The Creeks began their advance in agriculture under M'Gillivray, Mackintosh, and the Scottish element of intermixture, more than three-quarters of a century since. The great influence attained by particular families has had a tendency to cherish a kind of aristocratic feeling and influence.

[11] Nothing would seem to be wanting, for the highest national advancement of the Cherokees, but to throw themselves, as an integral mass, under the guarantee of the State Rights' principle, into the Union.

[12] The state of the Wisconsin Oneidas is believed to be every way prosperous.

[13] The St. Regis Indians are Iroquois, of various cantons, who embraced the Catholic religion.

[14] There are no recent reports of these Indians. They consist of Delawares and Munsees, in charge of the Moravians.

[15] Entire area possessed.—Annual Report, 1847, p. 44. Other items.—Annual Report, 1845, p. 59.

XVI. BIOGRAPHY. B

[2D PAPER, TITLE XVI.]

TITLE XVI.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, BIOGRAPHY.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE XVI.

TITLE XVI., LET. A., VOL. IV. [1st Paper.]

A. A Sketch of Indian Biography.
    1. Logan...................... Cayuga Tribe.

TITLE XVI., LET. B., VOL. V. [2d Paper.]

Skenandoah	Oneida Tribe.
Occum	Mahican “
Adario	Wyandot “
Waub Ojeeg	Chippewa “
Peshkewah	Miami “
Waubunsee	Pottawattamie Tribe.

BIOGRAPHY.

SKENANDOAH.

As we must, to a great extent, judge of tribes by the prominent men they produce, it is to be regretted that our sources of information are so scanty. Years roll away with such rapidity, that the age has scarcely time or inclination to inquire into the lives of many worthy and estimable men, who have performed honorable parts in the transactions of the day, if they have not shed lustre on the times in which they lived. The memories of the civilized dead are, however, enshrined, to a greater or less extent, in the history and literature of their country. But it is different, when we turn our view to the simple children of the forest, who have no letters, no books, and no monuments, unless we regard as such the frail grave-stick that marks, for a few years, the spot where they are buried; and the traditions of their red cotemporaries, who seemed fated to hasten the time of joining their ancestors in the land of spirits.

Skenandoah early evinced the most active character as a hunter. Wise in the observation of the habits of animals, and skilful to track them in the forest, his agility was compared to that of the deer; and this is the idea embraced in the name of *Skenandoah*. In his person he was tall, brawny, erect and dignified. His countenance was rather light for an Indian; his eye was gray; his lips, very pleasing and expressive; his voice sonorous; and his whole air noble and commanding. In his youth he had been a brave and intrepid warrior. In his riper years he was one of the ablest counsellors. He possessed a strong and vigorous mind. He never gave way to violent passion. He calmly weighed every subject that was presented to him, and generally preserved a blandness of manner, which, without lowering his dignity, was very captivating.

Few men have appeared among the aboriginal race, who are as well entitled to respect as Skenandoah. Few men, in the narrow sphere of Indian action, have passed through such varied scenes; and still fewer have been spared to abide so many years on the earth, for he was a hundred and ten years of age when he died. If so, he must have been born in the early part of the reign of Queen Anne, witnessing, in the course of his long life, the reign of the line of Guelphs from the First to the Third GEORGE, when the colonies assumed independence, and living on to the end of the third Presidential octad, for he died at the close of Mr. Madison's term. In the revolutionary contest, his tribe (the Oneidas) and himself joined the colonists, and rendered essential services to the American arms; while the Mohawks, and other members of the celebrated and powerful Iroquois league, cast their lot with the cause of the mother-country, and, under the leadership of Brant, hung like a pestilence around the armies and settlements of the frontiers.

Agreeably to traditions, he was born of Oneida parentage, at Conostoga, in the quasi Iroquois military colony which that confederacy maintained, for the purpose of surveillance over the southern tribes, on the banks of the Susquehannah. It is believed that he left this stream, and returned to the Oneida tribe, at Oneida Castle, in western New York, after the tragical events which mark the history of that place. At Oneida Castle we soon hear of him as a ruling chief. In this capacity he was, from an early date, recognized, among the delegates and ambassadors of his tribe, at official convocations. In 1755, he was present at a treaty at Albany. Like most of his tribe, he had, after the conclusion of the ceremonies, indulged freely in the use of ardent spirits. At night he was excessively drunk, and found himself in the streets in the morning, stripped of every ornament and piece of clothing. His pride revolted at this degradation. He saw, in the clearest light, the evils which threatened his tribe from this destructive practice, and he resolved, from that moment, never more to indulge in it. This resolution he firmly kept, for more than half a century, to the day of his death; and it was, doubtless, one of the leading causes of his advancement among the counsellors of his tribe.

Skenandoah possessed a strong sense of justice, and exerted himself to control the wild, predatory character of the young men, who, in those early days, sometimes committed depredations on the property of the frontier settlers. First in the line of early settlements, that began to stretch from the Mohawk beyond the present site of Utica, were Whitestown, Middle settlement, and Clinton, on the Oriskany. At the latter place, a party of young, lawless, and hungry Oneidas killed a cow in the woods, the flesh of which they consumed, and carefully buried the bones, to hide all trace of the act. The frontiersmen of those days were, however, but little behind the Indians in the knowledge of signs. The iniquity was found out, and reported to Skenandoah, at Oneida Castle. It was confessed by the guilty, and the chief, who had some cattle, offered, of them, to make restitution. He had several cattle, but one in particular, a fine milch cow, by which he set great store. This was the animal pitched upon by the Clinton men. The chief heard their decision with dismay. But he restrained giving vent to his regret, only saying: "Oh, you acute people, you are, indeed, judges of cattle."

If his sense of private rights was vivid, his benevolence of character was equally strong from the earliest periods of frontier warfare. Fierce he may himself have been in war, where Indian was the victim of Indian, but he quailed under the massacre of women and children by a stealthy foe, particularly when that foe was a white man who had become the leader of savages. The following narrative was related by the chief himself to Mr. Williams.[1]

"In 1758, the Chevalier de Belstrié headed a party of French and Indians, three hundred strong, from Oswegatchie, to attack Herkimer on the Mohawk river. It so happened that one of the Oneida Indians, who was then on a hunt, fell in with a Caughnawahga, who disclosed to him the object of the expedition, and advised him to alarm the Oneidas and the people of Herkimer. The Oneida immediately fled to his canton with the intelligence. But in the council held on the occasion, no one would volunteer to go to Herkimer, as it was supposed that between the two places the country was already infested by the enemy's scouts. But Skenandoah volunteered, and without delay was on his way through the pathless wilderness. Being a 'swift runner,' as was said by one of his cotemporaries, he reached the place of his destination in a short time. On his arrival, he informed the proper persons of the alarming news which had reached the Oneidas, and that he had come on purpose to communicate the same to the people of Herkimer. But unfortunately the intelligence was discredited by many; though the few particular friends Skenandoah had among those Germans adhered to his advice. These moved immediately down the river for safety. As for the rest, who gave but partial credit for his report, they made little preparation for self-defence. No sentinels were posted in the village; nor scouts sent out to ascertain the truth of the alarming intelligence which had reached them. This might easily have been done, as they were notified of the route the enemy were taking to approach the place. Skenandoah was somewhat chagrined to find his advice neglected by most of the people. He determined to remain, although at the peril of his life, to behold the destruction of the village. For this purpose he crossed the Mohawk, and took his station on the eastern bank, in the most favorable spot, affording him a full view of the devoted dwellings. Two nights did he lodge in the grove of thick pines, to see his prediction fulfilled. 'All this time,' said he, 'I was in distress for the people and children, on account of the overwhelming storm which was about to fall upon them. Sleep had departed from me. On the third day, in the morning, as I expected, the tremendous whoops assailed my ears. I arose and stood up. I saw the Indians and the French troops descend from the hill. When they approached the village, their firing was lively; and when they were in the village, there were heavy volleys from the French troops, the voices of whose officers I could hear distinctly, as well as those of the commanders of the Indians. The resistance of the inhabitants was feeble indeed. They were taken by surprise, excepting those who had taken warning by my communication. In the midst of the fray, I was horribly struck with the shrieks of women and children. I could plainly see that men were pursued here and there by the French soldiery and Indians, and thrown down and scalped. Although to me the sight was imperfect, yet I was moved to pity and compassion for the people of Herkimer. Before I left my hiding-place, the village was enveloped in flames. With a heavy heart I returned to Oneida.'"

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[1] Rev. Eleazar Williams (the reputed Louis XVII.), from whose letter to me of January 3d, 1855, it is quoted.

The Oneida canton has, from the discovery, held a high reputation. Speaking one of the softest of the Iroquois dialects, the Oneidas were also men of greater amenity of manners than others of that fierce and notable savage republic, which had achieved its power alone by war. They were noted not less for their friendly manners than the wisdom of their counsels. And they ever held a permanent place in the counsels of the confederacy. Skenandoah was preëminently a just representative of the nation. When the English determined to establish Fort Stanwix in the Oneida dominions, the measure had his assent. In every point of view, it was one of public benefit; for while it gave the means of regulating the irregularities of the fur trade, it interposed a check to the advance of the predatory parties of French and Indians, who for so many years poured down upon this country, making the Mohawk valley literally an aceldema.

If the ever wise and cautious policy of Sir William Johnson dictated this measure, the calm judgment and foresight of Skenandoah approved it. He had often uttered his voice in the council hall of the Royal Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the baronial residence at Johnstown; and it was from the knowledge thus acquired of his character that he rose to the eminence he occupied at Oneida Castle during the larger part of the reigns of George II. and George III.

When the contest arose between the colonies and the mother country, his long habits of association with the English authorities, and his feelings, would have naturally carried him to the side of the crown, had not other views of life and reflections of duty and happiness made impressions on his mind. He was, naturally, a benevolent man; and as years advanced, and war and the chase presented less vivid attractions to his mind, he was pleased to see the increasing attention paid by his tribe to the cultivation of fields, and the raising of cattle. Nothing had so direct a tendency on this disposition as the appearance of Mr. Samuel Kirkland in the Oneida country as a teacher and missionary. This took place in 1764.[1] Oneida Castle, the ancient seat of the Oneidas, is some five-and-thirty miles west of Herkimer, which was at that time the utmost point of the frontier of white settlements; and the only road to it was the winding Indian paths through the deep forest which then covered the whole country. To announce the doctrine of Christianity could not have been an entirely new or unheard-of task to this eminent man; for the Oneidas and other Iroquois tribes had, by their delegates, often visited the chief towns and cities on the lower Mohawk and the Hudson.[1] Even from the days of Megolopenensis, its precepts had been declared; and a church founded at Dianderoga,[2] which had received a set of communion-service from Queen Anne, is a proof that the colonies had not been deaf to the claims of the aborigines. But Mr. Kirkland came into the midst of the wilderness to press home its duties on them; to declare that there was no plurality of Gods adapted to particular races or countries; to show the applicability of its principles alike to red and white men, irrespective of their positions on the globe; and to demonstrate that their adoption was the only mode of rendering them permanently prosperous and happy. One of the peculiar hardships of the missionary enterprizes at that day was, the means of sustenance. Like other cantons of the Iroquois, they raised Indian corn, but often not in sufficient quantities to last over till the new crop came. He counselled them to rely more on agriculture. The chief at once acknowledged the excellency of the advice to enlarge their fields, and to cultivate esculents and vegetables. In the end he embraced Christianity. To gain Skenandoah was, in fact, to gain the Oneida tribe; and he adhered to its tenets and forms with stability of character. He continued steadfastly to honor his profession till he descended to the grave, and took his place, at his own request, beside the remains of his venerated teacher, on the banks of the Oriskany, at Clinton.

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[1] Sparks's life of Kirkland, Vol. XV.

The willing ear which Skenandoah leant to moral truths, appeared to pave the way to the enlargement of his mind on other subjects. It is known that Mr. Kirkland was a personal acquaintance and friend of Washington; and he often bore his counsels to the Indians. These were, to maintain a neutrality in the contest, and to pursue the ordinary means of civilized nations to secure comfort, and happiness. It has ever been one of the hardest and most unsuccessful tasks to repress the insatiate passion of the Indian for war; for it ever seems to them the only path to honorable distinction. The Mohawks, who had been the peculiar recipients of royal favor at Johnson Hall, rushed into the contest with sharpened hatchets. The Senecas, who covered the country from the lake at Geneva, the ancient Canadagia, to the banks of the Niagara, followed them. The Cayugas, the Onondagas, and a portion of the Tuscaroras, adopted the same policy. All the western tribes, indeed, took up the tomahawk for the royal cause. Tribes who had lived in war for uncounted generations, and who had sucked in its fascinating doctrines with their mothers' milk, looked coldly down on the counsels of peace, and could hardly fail to suspect that the ardour of our pacific counsels arose, in part, from the weakness of our position, hedged in on one side by the armies and fleets of one of the most powerful nations, and on the other by hordes of infuriated Red Men.

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[1] That these visiting Indians occasionally became listeners, is shown by the anecdote recorded by Dr. Franklin, Vol. IV., p. 342.

[2] About the junction of Schoharie creek.

Skenandoah was not led astray by such impression. The accuracy with which he was furnished with intelligence respecting the causes and progress of the contest, placed him in a position to judge calmly and correctly. From the beginning he espoused the American cause. When the struggle assumed, perhaps, its lowest aspect, in 1777, the Oneidas offered the struggling colonies 250 men. They were not accepted for service in the field, but employed under the conduct of Skenandoah, and a chief called Lewis, as scouts and messengers. As such, they were usefully employed during the war, rendering signal service in announcing the progress of the enemy from Canada, under Sir John Johnson, previous to and during the seizure of Fort Stanwix.[1]

In the winter of 1780, he and two others undertook a long and tedious journey to Niagara, under pretence of relieving the sufferings of those Oneidas who were prisoners at that place. They were bearers of a friendly letter from the Oneida chiefs to the commandant of that fortress. Mr. Dean, the United States' interpreter, has stated that this journey was undertaken by the advice of Governor Clinton, General Schuyler, and the commandant at Fort Stanwix, who supplied them with necessaries for the journey. Although the nature of their mission was not discovered, yet they were suspected, and taken prisoners at Niagara. They were confined there three months, in irons. They were released from their confinement, after having made a strong promise to the commandant of the post, to remain with the British during the war; to which promise two among them, of whom Skenandoah was one, adhered strictly, not returning to their nation until after the peace, in 1782. To carry out the original design of their visit to that post, one of the three, with the approbation of his two friends, said he would attempt to return to his tribe, and go to Albany with the intelligence he had obtained of the enemy's strength and position, which were examined with an Indian's eye. "There is no honor, nor justice in the war," said Skenandoah; "we are false prisoners! We came here, as far as they knew, on a friendly mission; but they took us as enemies, without any information concerning us, and have treated us as such. Let us carry out our plan."[2]

In a notice of him published by the family of Mr. Kirkland, in 1816, full testimony is borne to his fidelity in the cause of the colonies during the Revolution.

Skenandoah's person was tall and brawny, but well made: his countenance was intelligent, and beamed with all the indigenous dignity of an Indian chief. In his youth he was a brave and intrepid warrior, and in his riper years he was one of the ablest counsellors among the North American tribes. He possessed a strong and vigorous mind; and though terrible as the tornado in war, he was bland and mild in peace. With the cunning of the fox, the hungry perseverance of the wolf, and the agility of the mountain cat, he watched and repelled Canadian invasions. His vigilance once preserved from massacre the inhabitants of the infant settlement at German flats.

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[1] See the author's "Considerations on the Siege of Fort Stanwix."

[2] Rev. Eleazer Williams (the reputed Louis XVII.).

His influence brought his tribe to our assistance, in the war of the Revolution. How many of the living and the dead have been saved from the tomahawk and scalping-knife, by his friendly aid, is not known; but individuals and villages have expressed gratitude for his benevolent interpositions; and among the Indian tribes he was distinguished by the appellation of the "*White man's friend.*" The preceding anecdote of his friendly warning to the people of Herkimer, on the threatened invasion of De Belstre, is an evidence of this.

Although he could speak but little English, and in his extreme old age was blind, yet his company was sought. In conversation he was highly decorous, evincing ease and dignity of manner, and that he had profited by mingling with civilized and polished society in his earlier days.

Mr. Kirkland, who first went into the Indian country, in 1764, regarded him as one of the most extraordinary men in all the Six Nations. With the rest of his people, he had believed in the Iroquois polytheism, at the head of which was placed a benevolent god, with an antagonistical deity, of great power. The doctrine which struck at the root of this system, and elevated in its place a theology resting on the principles of pure truth and virtue, holding out rewards to the virtuous, and punishments to the wicked, commended itself to his understanding.

So strong was this attachment of the Indian chief to Mr. Kirkland, that he often expressed a desire, and obtained from the family a promise, that he should be buried near the minister, his spiritual father (whom he survived several years), that, as he said, "he might cling to the skirts of his garments, and go up with him at the great resurrection." When he died, in 1816, aged 110 years, through arrangements made by Mr. Kirkland's family, his remains were conveyed to Clinton, where a funeral service was held in the church, and his body deposited as he desired. The Christian and the Indian hero now sleep side by side, in their quiet graves, in an orchard, of Mr. Kirkland's homestead. A monument has been erected to the chief at Hamilton College.

Skenandoah lived more than twenty years after the close of the war, and the triumph of the colonies. Its successful issue appears to have had the same effect on him, as it appears to have had on all the old soldiers of the Revolution. It would seem, by producing a pleasing serenity of mind, to have lengthened out their lives, for they all lived to a very old age. The chief saw the wisdom of his policy in one respect, which he had, probably, never anticipated. All the land of the other cantons was legally confiscated; but the Oneidas retained theirs in full. He saw the vast forests of the ancient Iroquois dominion settled with an industrious population. The plough was driven through valleys where he had before chased the deer; cattle, horses and sheep covered the banks of those beautiful lakes that once could boast little beyond the Indian canoe. What had been predicted by his teacher, Kirkland, now rose before his eyes, not in a vision, but in living towns, villages, and cities. It was not a dream interpreted, but a vision realized. Literally, "the wilderness blossomed as the rose." He also saw his venerated pastor descend to the tomb before him, and he longed to rejoin him in eternity. Of this he often spoke, as the dearest wish of his heart. He became blind, it is believed, after passing his hundredth year, and he waited with patience and calmness for his change. The writer saw him but once—it was at the period after he had become blind. It was in 1810. He was living in his ordinary cottage at the Butternut Grove, at the Castle. His appearance was most venerable and dignified. He was tall, of stalwart frame, erect, bald, and sightless. There were several persons of the party, all of whom were anxious to see him, and some of whom had come from a great distance. To me, he embodied the idea of a Grecian philosopher — grave, dignified and mild. He rose as the party entered, and in reply to some common-place remarks, he alluded to the Master of Life, who had permitted him to remain so many years on the earth. He expressed a perfect acquiescence in His will, and said he would soon take his place in the earth — using a gesticulation — where all men must go.

Four years after this interview he was visited by Mr. Williams. "I went out about two miles to his cottage, to have an interview with him. I found that he was in bed; and when it was intimated to him that a chief of the Seven Nations of Canada had come to make him a visit, he would not receive me in his bed, but would get up. Accordingly, his apparel was brought to him, and, with the assistance of his granddaughter, he was soon dressed. I observed, while he was standing up, that he was tall, not less than six feet. He was then blind, and had but little hair on the back part of his head, which was white as snow. When company entered into the room, he received them with much dignity and grace. His conversation with them was very interesting; and although, at the time, his age was said to be about one hundred, yet his mind was strong, and showed no indication of being impaired. He was full of anecdote."

Visits of honor of this kind were frequently made to him. Simple and temperate in his habits, he had outlived all his red cotemperaries. The whole immediately surrounding country regarded him with deep interest, honoring him, not only from his long and useful life among his people — not only as one who had so long stood steady in his belief of the truths of Christianity, and the maxims of industry — but as an Indian patriot, who had stood by the country in the darkest hours of its great national struggle. It was on one of these occasions, when his visitors were gathered before him, and the thoughts of other days came strongly upon him, that he uttered these words: —

"I am an aged hemlock. The winds of a hundred winters have whistled through my branches. I am dead at the top. The generation to which I belonged have run their course, and left me. Why I live, the Great Good Spirit only knows. Pray to my Jesus, that I may have patience to await my appointed time to die."

That event, for which the chief had waited with such philosophic hope, came on the

11th of March, 1816. He died at Oneida Castle, aged 110. A runner was immediately despatched to Mrs. Kirkland, at Clinton, under whose directions, and by whose means, the corpse was brought to that place for burial. It was taken to the meeting-house. A funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Backus, and the faculty of Hamilton College, generally, together with a large assemblage of students of the College, and citizens, attended the service, and accompanied the corpse to the grave. The brief memorial before quoted testifies:

"From attachment to Mr. Kirkland, he had always expressed a strong desire to be buried near his minister and father, that he might (to use his own expression) '*go up with him at the grand resurrection.*'

Honored chief! His prayer was answered; he was cheerful and resigned to the last. For several years he kept his dress for the grave prepared. Once and again, he came to Clinton to die; longing that his soul might be with Christ, and his body in the narrow house, near his beloved Christian teacher."

While the ambitious look principally to sculptured monuments and niches in the temple of earthly fame — SKENANDOAH, in the spirit of the only real nobility, stood with his loins girded, waiting the coming of his Saviour.

The green hillock that covers his dust will be more respected than pyramids, mausolea and pantheons. His simple "turf, and stone" will be viewed with veneration, when the tawdry ornaments of human apotheosis awaken only pity.

To Skenando — a grateful people pays
The meed of sober worth, and honest praise.
Fame stoops, her chaplet on his grave to fling —
For he was truly warrior, hero, king.
Thrice honored — when the western world arose
To arms, her foës became the Sachem's foes:
Firm in her cause abode he to the end,
Earning the title of the "White man's friend."
Nor this alone — his voice to stone and clod,
Sank mute, he worshipped only God;
Clung close to social life in act, and breath,
And made his bed, with Christians, in his death.

When the life of Skenandoah is compared with that of other aboriginal chieftains who are celebrated in American annals, especially after the decisive act of his renouncement of the use of ardent spirits, in his forty-seventh year, his principles will be seen to be of an exalted character. And this rose to a higher moral tone, when he embraced the doctrines and practice of Christianity. From Sparks's Life of Mr. Kirkland, it is perceived that this event must have happened about 1767, the first period of his success among the Oneidas. (Vol. XV., p. 207.) For upwards of forty-nine years, he secured the testimony of his spiritual teacher, to his orderly Christian walk.

Logan told a tale of misery, which was the most touching burst of eloquence, and it appealed to every heart. It is the brief and graphic picture of this personality which gives it all its force. Garrangula, in his bold address to the Governor-General of Canada, spoke the tone of elevated irony, of a Demosthenes.

Canassatego was flushed with the arrogance of success which had crowned the Iroquois confederacy, and hurled keen reproaches upon a conquered people. Pontiac spoke like a lord who had legions at command, and whose will was law. The keen sarcasms of Red Jacket were aimed at the false pretences and short-coming aims of civilization. There was no allusion to God, in all of this. But when Skenandoah rises to speak of the years of his life, in which he outmeasures a century, his soul is lifted up to the great Author of heaven and earth, whom, in his early years, he had dimly recognized in the symbols of the elements — he is led at once to recognize this being as the Christian's God, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and at this sublime moment rises into one of the peculiar objects of His care. Most men fear death, but Skenandoah courted it. The moral dignity of the position resembles that of Socrates. The Grecian sage has commanded the plaudits of the world, by taking the poisoned cup that deprived him of life. But Skenandoah took this cup without compulsion.

OCCUM.

(Plate XXXV.)

Occum, a Mahican, was the first pupil who, about the middle of the eighteenth century, attended Mr. Wheelock's school for Indian youth, at Lebanon, where he received the rudiments of a good English education. He lived in Mr. Wheelock's family, and was confirmed in the principles of Christianity, which he had before embraced. He was baptized by the name of Sampson, agreeably to the quaint taste of the pilgrim clergy for names from the Old Testament, as if he was expected to pull down the strongholds of Satan. Evincing steady moral habits and assiduity in his studies and deportment, he was prepared to go out as a teacher and evangelist among his countrymen — a labor which he first began in Suffolk county, on Long Island, where affiliated bands of this stock resided. He kept a school, for some years, for the band, at Montauk. He was afterwards ordained by the Presbytery to preach the gospel, and became an efficient means of introducing Christianity to the Indian bands located at separate places in New England and New York. He was pronounced to be an excellent preacher in his native tongue, and judged to be peculiarly fitted to teach and edify his Indian brethren, who, when they beheld one of their own number, speaking their own language, and teaching the same truths which they had listened to doubtingly from the white man's lips, were disarmed of their opposition. He also preached to English congregations at New York, Boston, and other populous places, where he excited good attention, and became instrumental in the general conversion of the Indian race.

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Occum was the first Indian minister of the gospel who ever visited England. This took place in parts of the years 1755–56, when he took passage for London, in company with the Rev. Mr. Whitaker, in order, by personal appeals, to solicit funds for the support of Mr. Wheelock's Indian school. This mission to the father-land of, not only the pilgrims of New England, but of the whole anglo-Saxon race, whose advent in America was a general pilgrimage of faith, and hope, was eminently successful. To hear the voice of a Mahican holding forth in a London chapel, with his peculiar physiognomy and manner, created a deep sensation, and he was listened to with the same curiosity in the interior towns. The result was a substantial contribution for Mr. Wheelock's school; and the creation of an interest in England in western education, which is understood to have been one of the inducements which led to the granting of a royal charter for Dartmouth College, one of the fundamental endowments of which embraces the education of Indian youth.

"Occum was looked upon," observes Sparks, "as a wonder in England. He was the first Indian preacher from North America that had been seen in the Old World. Wherever he went, crowds gathered around him; and it has been the lot of few speakers to address audiences so large. A North American Indian in a pulpit, eloquently preaching the English tongue, was a phenomenon too nearly miraculous to pass unseen or unheard. It was said, moreover, that he exhibited in his person and character a practical example of what might be done with Indians, when fairly brought under the influence of instruction.

All this was highly favorable to the great ends of the mission; and in a few months a subscription was obtained and money paid to the amount of nearly ten thousand pounds. The king (George II.) gave two hundred pounds, and several gentlemen one hundred each. The money was deposited in the hands of trustees in England, and drawn out as occasion required. With this addition to his resources, Dr. Wheelock began to think of enlarging the plan of his school, and removing nearer to the frontiers, both to diminish the expense of living, and to be near the Indians. After examining several situations, he selected Hanover, then almost a wilderness, to which place he removed in 1770, cut away the trees, and erected the institution, which he called DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, in honor of Lord Dartmouth, who had manifested great zeal and liberality in collecting the Indian fund in England."—*Life of Ledyard, Amer. Biog., new series, Vol. XV., p.* 17.

About 1786, Mr. Occum went to the country of the Oneidas, in western New York, taking with him several Indians of kindred blood, who clung to him as their leader. He obtained a cession of fertile land from the Oneida tribe, which became a place of refuge of the Indians, chiefly of the Mahicans of the sea-coasts of New England, and a few Nanticokes, Narragansetts and Pequots. Differences existing in their dialects, they agreed to drop the native language altogether, and adopt the English, taking the name of Brothertons. Mr. Occum was their first pastor, and continued to devote himself to their interests till age incapacitated him, and younger laborers stepped in. During his old age, he went to live with the Massachusetts Mahicans, who were settled at New Stockbridge, in the Oneida Creek valley, where he died in July, 1792. His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, the celebrated missionary to the Oneida nation. His age, judging from the period of his life at which he probably went on the mission to England, was about sixty-six.

It is expressly stated by the New England clergy, to whom we are indebted for these notices, that his Christian and ministerial character were well approved, and that he was deemed to possess a peculiar fluency and aptness in teaching the Indians, over whom he exercised a happy influence. It is inferable, but not distinctly said, that the first or early period of his ministry formed the one of his most active usefulness; but his whole life after his conversion, is to be regarded as a triumphant evidence of the power and endurance of gospel truth in the Indian heart. Nor am I aware that we have a superior, if an equal, instance of an individual of the pure Indian blood having been ordained to the ministry who has left behind him so excellent a testimony of consistent usefulness. His instrumentality, through the exertions of Mr. Wheelock, in the matter of Dartmoth College, has already been mentioned. The foundation of the tribe of the Brothertons is a work due to his enterprize, foresight, and exertions. It is to his education and knowledge, as far as it went, of English literature, that we must ascribe the wise advice to the Mahican refugees to drop their own and adopt the English language. For it is the result of the most obvious principles, that it is easier to acquire a new language which has a literature, than to create one (and that by mere translations) for a barbarous language. Our philological missionaries should remember this.

The practical working of this new plan of organization for an Indian community, whose institutions had melted away before the power of civilization, was excellent. The Brothertons continued to dwell together at their first location in Oneida county till they had well advanced in elementary education and the arts. At this period of their history, they sent delegates to Wisconsin, to procure a cession of territory from the indigenous Indians of Fox river of that state, on the borders of Winnebago lake. Having disposed of their possessions in Oneida county, they in due time migrated to that location, where they now reside. By an act of Congress, the Brothertons of Wisconsin were admitted to all the rights of citizens of the United States. They were also admitted, by a State act, to the rights of citizens of Wisconsin. The problem of their triple emancipation from barbarism, idleness, and political defranchisement, is thus completely worked out; and worked out in a practical way, in which the experience and wisdom of Occum and his clerical teachers of the olden time had predicted it could only be done.[1] The energy and earnestness of prayer of these old divines, that a remnant of the outcasts of Israel (if these were indeed such) might be saved, was not lost, but *rather* answered in the best and only practicable time of its accomplishment.

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[1] It is stated that the number of this tribe was 250 in 1791; only five years after which, it was reduced, probably by epidemic diseases, to 150. The defects in the Wisconsin census for 1850, renders it impracticable to give the present statistics.

These sketches of Occum were commenced with the view of bringing to remembrance worthy deeds done by an educated Indian convert to Christianity. Occum was a man of the full blood, who enjoyed early and full opportunities of instruction. His example was regarded as a triumph of the gospel; and he is far the brightest instance of a reclaimed native known in New England or the English colonies after the era of Eliot. But although the commencement of his career was brilliant, it is known that during his latter years his life passed under a cloud, which led many into doubts on the efficacy of the gospel on the native mind. Mr. Sparks observes:

"There was never a more idle scheme of philanthropy than that of converting a savage into a civilized man. No one attempt, it is believed, has ever proved successful. Even Sampson Occum, before his death, relapsed into some of the worst habits of his tribe; and no North American Indian of unmixed blood, whatever pains may have been taken with his education, has ever been known to adopt the manners of civilized men, or to pass his life among them." (Amer. Biog., Vol. XV., p. 91.) We have no biographies, I believe, this side of the Bible, which set in array a man's faults beside his virtues. "It was not conceived necessary to digress or deny the fact that Noah got drunk. To write a life and a eulogy are two things."

This opinion of the learned biographer is too strongly drawn. If there were not several examples of success, that of Skenandoah could be cited.

ADARIO.

The expulsion of the Wyandots from the valley of the St. Lawrence by the fury of the Iroquois, about the middle of the seventeenth century, is one of the most important events in the history of the northern Indians. This event brought that ancient tribe into the basin of Lake Huron, which derives its name from their residence upon its principal islands. Michilimackinac, by its mural cliffs and rocky barriers, offered an eligible retreat to the fugitive tribes, while its fruitful, decomposing calcarious soil, offered them the means of cultivating extensive gardens. The vestiges of these cover large areas of its interior, sheltered, as it were, in these elevated positions above the waters of the lake from the winds, and from the gaze of their infuriated enemies. But from this position they were eventually driven by the war-canoes of the conquering confederacy of the Six Nations. They were then induced to flee to the western shore of Lake Superior.

While this tribe had established their council-fire on the island which bore the name of Ticonderoga, in their dialect Adario was the leading chief and counsellor in their transactions. He was an able, brave, and politic chief, possessing an uncommon degree of energy and decision of character, united to a keen foresight. Much of the Wyandot history might be thrown about his life, but we must restrict ourselves to a sketch.

The Wyandots having been dispossessed of their ancient possessions on the St. Lawrence by their relatives, the Six Nations, owing to their alliance with the French, and the hostilities of these nations having been continued against the French settlements, it became the policy of the Wyandots to avail themselves of this hostility, and keep up this cause of irritation, to draw the vengeance of the French against the Iroquois. French they were at heart when expelled from the St. Lawrence, and French they exhibited themselves in policy. To this end it was their object to keep the English from participating in the fur trade of the north-west. In both these objects Adario took an active part.

In 1687, the English of the province of New York resolved to avail themselves of a recent alliance between the two crowns, to attempt a participation in the fur trade of the upper lakes. They persuaded the Iroquois to set free a number of Wyandot captives to guide them through the lakes, and open an intercourse with their people. Owing to the high price and scarcity of goods, this plan was favored by Adario and his people, and also by the Ottowas and Pottowattamies, but the enterprise failed. Major M'Gregory, who led the party, was intercepted by a large body of French from Mackinac, and the whole party captured, and their goods distributed gratuitously to the Indians. The lake Indians, who had, covertly, countenanced this attempt, were thrown back entirely on the French trade, and subjected to suspicions which made them uneasy in their councils, and anxious to do away with the suspicions entertained of their fidelity by the French. To this end Adario marched a party of 100 men from Mackinac against the Iroquois. Stopping at Fort Cadarackui to get some intelligence which might guide him, the commandant informed him that the Governor of Canada, Denonville, was in hopes of concluding a peace with the Six Nations, and expected their ambassadors at Montreal in a few days. He therefore advised the chief to return. Did such a peace take place, Adario perceived that it would leave the Iroquois to push the war against his nation, which had already been driven from the banks of the St. Lawrence to Lake Huron. He dissembled his fears, however, before the commandant, and left the fort, not for the purpose of returning home, but to waylay the Iroquois delegates at a portage on the river where he knew they must pass. He did not wait over four or five days, when the deputies arrived, guarded by forty young warriors, who were all surprised, and either killed or taken prisoners. His next object was to shift the blame of the act on the Governor of Canada, by whom, he told his prisoners, he had been informed of their intention to pass this way, and he was thus prepared to lie in wait for them. They were much surprised at this apparent act of perfidy, informing him at the same time, that they were truly and indeed on a message of peace. Adario affected to grow mad with rage against Denonville, declaring that he would some time be revenged on him for making him a tool, in committing so horrid a treachery. Then looking steadfastly on the prisoners, among whom was Dekanefora, the head chief of the Onondaga tribe, "Go," said he, "my brothers, I untie your bonds, and send you home again, although our nations be at war. The French Governor has made me commit so black an action, that I shall never be easy after it, until the Five Nations have taken full revenge." The ambassadors were so well persuaded of the perfect truth of his declarations, that they replied in the most friendly terms, and said the way was open to their concluding a peace between their respective tribes, at any time. He then dismissed his prisoners, with presents of arms, powder and ball, keeping but a single man (an adopted Shawnee) to supply the place of the only man he had lost in the engagement. By one bold effort he thus blew up the fire of discord between the French and their enemies, at the moment it was about to expire, and laid the foundation of a peace with his own nation. Adario delivered his slave to the French, on reaching Mackinac, who, to keep up the old enmity between the Wyandots and the Five Nations, ordered him to be shot. On this Adario called up an Iroquois prisoner who was a witness of this scene, and who had long been detained among them, and told him to escape to his own country, and give an account of the cruelty of the French, from whom it was not in his power to save a prisoner he had himself taken.

This increased the rage of the Five Nations to such a pitch, that when Mons. Denonville sent a message to disown the act of Adario, they put no faith in it, but burned for revenge. Nor was it long before the French felt the effects of their rage. On the 26th of July, 1688, they landed with 1200 men on the upper end of the island of Montreal, and carried destruction wherever they went. Houses were burned, plantations sacked, and men, women and children massacred. Above a thousand of the French inhabitants were killed, and twenty-six carried away prisoners, most of whom were burned alive. In October, of the same year, they renewed their incursion, sweeping over the lower part of the islend as they had previously done the upper. The consequences of these inroads were most disastrous to the French, who were reduced to the lowest point of political despondency. They burned their two vessels on Cadarackui Lake, abandoned the fort, and returned to Montreal. The news spread far and wide among the Indians of the upper lakes, who, seeing the fortunes of the French on the wane, made treaties with the English, and thus opened the way for their merchandize into the lakes.

Such were the consequences of a single enterprise, shrewdly planned, and resolutely executed. The fame of its author spread abroad, and he was everywhere regarded as a man of address, courage and abilities. And it is from this time, that the ancient feud between the Wyandots and their kindred, the Five Nations, began to cool. A few years after, they settled on the straits of Detroit, where they so long, and up to the close of the late war (1814), exercised a commanding influence among the lake tribes, as keepers of the general council-fire of the nations.

The time of Adario's exploits, and the height of his fame, coincided with the service of Lahontan in Canada, who, in his long drawn-out "conference," has put into this chief's mouth his principal arguments against the Christian religion, and his defence of the Indian notions of religion and the Deity.

WAUB OJEEG.

Centuries have elapsed since hostilities commenced between the Chippewas and Sioux. They lived on terms of amity so long as the abundance of game rendered precise limits an object of little consequence; and whilst their leaders saw no cause to apprehend that they were, at a future day, to become rivals, the Sioux felt little uneasiness at the inroads made by the Chippewas into those remote and woody borders of their extensive hunting-grounds, which stretch around the head of Lake Superior. The Sioux had few inducements to penetrate far towards the north, while the fertility and mildness of the Mississippi plains, and the facility of procuring food, operated to confine their villages to the banks of that river. But when their aboriginal neighbors in that quarter, who had arrived from the east, began to sally from their inhospitable woods into the plains, in quest of larger animals, which, at certain seasons, quit the forests altogether, and when their number and power began to make them formidable, a strong jealousy arose. Hostilities once commenced, there is nothing in the institutions of Indian society that would induce them to preserve any connected details of its impelling causes. Nor should we feel surprised that the original causes of enmity have been nearly forgotten, when we reflect that every season has been supplying fresh fuel to the flame, and newer causes of excitement.

When the earliest French traders and teachers reached the waters of Lake Superior, about the year 1650 to 1654, they found these two tribes already in a state of hostility; and Marest, one of their first missionaries who ventured to proceed inland, from the vicinity of Chegoimiegon, lost his life by falling, it is supposed, into the hands of the Sioux.

The Chippewas, who established their council-fire, and seat of government, on the island at La Pointe Chegoimiegon — shortened, in modern days, to La Pointe — had other enemies to encounter, besides the Sioux. The Outagamis, or Foxes, who were also emigrants from the east, had fixed themselves in the valley of Fox River, and had extended themselves to the series of lakes about the sources of the Wisconsin and Chippewa Rivers. Between the Outagamis and the Sioux a good understanding existed, which had been so cultivated, that mutual aid was expected to be given, in cases of emergency. Through this alliance the Chippewas were well received, on their first appearance at Chegoimiegon, for they are affiliated by language and early history with the Foxes. During this early period, offices of civility were exchanged, and visits and intermarriages took place. The Chippewas were, in fact, seated on the borders of the Outagami lands, and the three tribes lived in a state of friendship. But when causes of dissension arose between the Chippewas and Sioux, the Outagamis, agreeably to the reputation given them by the French, were found to be treacherous. They secretly sided with the Sioux against the Chippewas. A war between the Chippewas and the Foxes was the consequence, in the course of which the latter were driven from the rice-lakes and the intermediate hunting-grounds around Lac du Flambeau, and confined to the lower waters of the Wisconsin.

This war still existed when Waub Ojeeg came on the stage of action. He was born at Chegoimiegon, a few years prior to the capture of Quebec. Mamongizida, his father, was the ruling chief of that place by right of descent, bearing the Totem of the Adik, or American species of reindeer. He had ever been, together with his tribe, firmly attached to the French. His family traditions affirmed that he had visited Montcalm at Quebec, and carried a speech from him to his nation. For two years after the massacre of Michilimackinac, in 1763, there had been no trader allowed by the English to enter Lake Superior. He visited Sir William Johnson, to request that they might be allowed traders, and received from his hands a gorget and a belt of wampum. Traditions of what is preserved in the Indian lodge, as marks of respect shown by the European race, may be repeated as indicating how a considerate and well-balanced policy is calculated to affect the Indian mind, and lead it forward, in its advances, to arts and civilization.

It has been remarked, that the Mongizeda Totem had been attached closely to the cause of the French. That cause fell with the capture of Quebec, while Waub Ojeeg was still bound in his Indian cradle; and he grew up to manhood, with warm and vivid ideas of the English supremacy. The British flag then flew triumphantly from the walls of Quebec to Michilimackinac and the country of the Illinois. As soon as he reached the threshold of his entrance to authority, he welcomed the English traders who came with their ventures of goods to Chegoimiegon, or who pursued their way to the sources of the Mississippi.

Brought up in a lodge which had, for generations, produced able hunters and warriors, he was early noted as an efficient hunter, and brave warrior. To enter on the war-path is one of the first ambitions of Indian youth; and he had scarce reached the crisis of wearing a three-point blanket, when he joined his father's war-parties against the Outagamis and the Sioux. To boast of these exploits, to sing his war-song, and to strike the post — as the phrase is — is an event tantamount, in its relative importance, to a bacchalaureate address, or a literary oration at the recurrence of a patriotic anniversary.

Let no man suppose that the art of Indian warfare is not cherished and taught in all the leading institutions of Indian life. Waub Ojeeg was early regarded as a successful leader of war-parties, and the nation looked to him to defend, if not to enlarge their borders against the Sioux. During a period of twenty years, beginning about 1770, he was the ruling and governing spirit of his tribe. Both as a hunter and warrior he was unexcelled. His step had a lightness and energy which betokened great activity in the chase. He had a piercing black eye. He stood six feet six inches in his moccasins. He was spare and rather lightly built, but possessed a degree of strength, united to activity, which left him few competitors in Indian circles. He was seven times a leader against the Outagamis and Sioux. He had received three wounds in battle — one in his thigh, another in his right shoulder, and a third in his right side and breast, being a glancing shot.

His parties were all made up of volunteers. The first consisted of forty men, the latter of three hundred. The latter was made up from the whole southern coasts of Lake Superior, extending to St. Mary's. It was the result of an elaborate effort, preached up at war-dances and assemblies. They ascended the Muskigo, or Mauvais River, crossing the portage, from its source into the Namakagon branch of the St. Croix, and thence down the main channel. They proceeded cautiously, and were six days in the descent before they found the enemy. The Sioux and their allies, the Outagamis, had determined, at the same time, on an expedition up the St. Croix against the Chippewas. They were both profoundly ignorant of each other's movements. They encountered each other, unwittingly, at the Falls of the St. Croix. It was early in the morning, and a fog prevailed. It was a discovery of the scouts of each party. The Foxes fired first. A skirmish ensued. Waub Ojeeg soon arrived with his whole party, and a general and bloody battle commenced. Neither party knew the other's strength, and both fought with desperation. At length the Sioux and Foxes, who found themselves outnumbered, fled. This battle decided the possession of the St. Croix valley. The Chippewas ever afterwards claimed it to the head of the Lake at its foot; and this limit was, with little question, yielded to them, at the treaty of boundaries at Prairie du Chien, in 1825.

The war-song which Waub Ojeeg composed for this expedition, and which he chanted in its formation, so impressed his countrymen, that the words have been preserved and repeated in modern times. John Johnston, Esq., an Irish gentleman, struck with its heroic strain, made the following version, from these verbal traditions, more than forty years ago:[1]

On that day, when our heroes lay low, lay low,
On that day, when our heroes lay low —
I fought by their side, and thought, ere I died,
Just vengeance to take on the foe, the foe —
Just vengeance to take on the foe.

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[1] Found among his private papers.

On that day, when our chieftains lay dead, lay dead,
On that day, when our chieftains lay dead —
I fought hand to hand, at the head of my band,
And here, on my breast, have I bled, have I bled —
And here, on my breast, have I bled.

Our chiefs shall return no more, no more,
Our chiefs shall return no more —
Nor their brethren of war, who can show scar for scar,
Like women their fates shall deplore, deplore —
Like women their fates shall deplore.

Five winters in hunting, we'll spend, we'll spend,
Five winters in hunting, we'll spend —
Till our youth, grown to men, we'll to war lead again,
And our days like our fathers will end, will end —
And our days like our fathers will end.

This chief, in one of his hunting excursions, once had a singular contest with a moose. He had gone out from his hunting-lodge, early in the morning, to set martin traps. Having set about forty, he was returning to his lodge, when he encountered a large moose in his path, who seemed inclined to give him battle. As he was armed only with a small hatchet and knife, he tried to avoid him. But the animal came towards him in a furious manner. He took shelter behind a tree, shifting his place from tree to tree, as the enraged animal pressed upon him. At length, as he fled, he picked up a pole, and quickly unloosing his moccasin-strings, tied his knife to the end of it. He then placed himself in a favorable position behind a tree, and as the moose came up, he stabbed him several times in the throat and breast. At length the animal fell. He then cut out the tongue as a trophy of his victory, and returning to his lodge, related his singular adventure, describing the spot. They immediately went for the carcase. They found the snow trampled down over a wide circle, sprinkled with blood, and looking like a battle field. The animal was one of uncommon size.

Waub Ojeeg died in his family lodge, at Chegoimiegon, surrounded by his children and relatives, in 1793.

PESHKEWAH.

In the Indian war in the west, which took place in the early part of Washington's first term, the Miamis were the principal central power. Occupying, with their confederates, the valleys of the Wabash and the Miamis of the Lakes, they stretched, like an impassable line, between Lake Erie and the lower Ohio. They were a complete bar to the enterprize and settlement of the west. The outrages they, in connection with the Shawnees and Delawares, committed, and the threatening aspect they assumed, led eventually to the march, at separate periods, of Colonel Harmer and General St. Clair. Both these were defeated in successive seasons, carrying dismay and terror to the exposed frontiers. These defeats were essentially the work of the celebrated chief, Little Turtle, a man of extraordinary energy, courage, and foresight. This chain to the advance of settlements was finally broken by the third federal army, led by General Wayne, who defeated the combined enemy in a general battle at the rapids of the Maumee, and brought the Indians to terms at the treaty of Greenville in 1793.

From this date the Miamis have remained at peace with the United States, finally realizing, from the sale of their fertile lands on the banks of the Wabash, ten thousand times as much as all the avails of their furs could have, under any possible supposition, been worth. After the death of Little Turtle, who had been their counsellor, leader, and war-captain, ante and post-revolutionary, the chieftainship, being in the female line, fell into the hands of Peshkewah, or the Lynx, a man better known on the frontiers as John B. Richardville. Inheriting French blood, of the metif cast, from the father's side, he was a man well adapted to conduct the affairs of the Miamis during this peculiar period. Putting forth high powers as the governor of a numerous tribe, who had a reputation for their warlike qualities, and with a strong feeling of self-interest, he secured the best terms in every negotiation, enriching greatly both his tribe and himself.

Agreeably to tradition, Peshkewah was born on the St. Mary's, Indiana, some few miles from Fort Wayne, about 1761. This was locally the period of the Pontiac war, in which the western tribes followed the lead of that energetic and intrepid Algonquin, in resisting the transfer of authority from the French to the English power. He was too young for any agency in this war, and the event has no further connection with the man than as it introduced him and his people to a new phasis of history. Braddock had been defeated in 1755. Quebec surrendered in '59; and by the treaty which followed, France forever struck her flag in Canada. The long struggle was over—a struggle commencing, at least, as far back as the days of Champlain, in 1709. A hundred and fifty years of battles, forays, and blood, in which Indian scalping-parties, led on sometimes by French officers, performed no small part, and inflicted agonies on the settlements. The double sacrifice of the deaths of Wolfe and Montcalm, on the plains of Abraham, was certainly an offering to peace worthy of such a result. The Indians, who loved the French, did not and would not look peacefully on such a transfer of sovereignty. And the efforts of Pontiac to embody this feeling, and lead it forth, only proved his power among the Indians, but was a decided failure. The English flag was successfully hoisted at Detroit, at Michilimackinac, and finally at Pittsburg, Vincennes, and Kaskaskia. But these results did not follow without a struggle, which roused up the whole body of the western tribes. A new era had now opened. France had lost Canada, and Great Britain assumed the power which she had so long wielded among the Indian tribes. , But France had left an element in the land, which could not be extracted by a treaty. The French population had extensively intermarried with the Indian females; and the whole line of frontiers was composed almost entirely of this metif population. The influence of the Indian trade, that lever of power, was in their hands. They were almost exclusively acquainted with the Indian languages, and no negotiation could be acccomplished without their aid. Thus England, from the fall of Quebec to the outbreak of the American revolution, may be said to have worked on the frontiers with French hands.

This is not the only great truth that belongs to this subject. But America has also been obliged to employ the same influence among the Indian population up to the present day. It was this condition of things that gave Peshkewah, and all of his class who were similarly situated, such influence on the frontiers. We can but allude to this period and these influences in calling attention to the man.

Within a dozen years of that time, the war of the American Revolution broke out, and the colonists found the western Indians as ready to take up the hatchet against them, as they formerly were against the English. In this feeling, as it was common to his tribe, together with others, Peshkewah naturally participated. As he was but nineteen at the close of the revolutionary war, he could have taken but little part in it. He was present and assisted at Harmer's defeat, in 1790. This action was fought about one mile below the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's rivers. Harmer attempted to cross the Maumee at a ford, a movement which had been anticipated by the Indians, who lay in ambush on the opposite bank, and poured in so deadly a fire, that no exertions of the American commander to rally his troops could force them across. A very severe slaughter ensued, in which 183 men, including 10 officers, were killed, besides the wounded; and it is said the blood of the slain crimsoned the river for many miles below.

Circumstances early brought young Peshkewah into notice; his mother being a chieftainess, he becaim the leading chief. His talents were rather those of the civilian than the warrior. He was kind and humane to prisoners while the war lasted, and as soon as peace was restored, he became a worthy citizen, and enjoyed the confidence of the whites to the fullest extent. He spoke both the French and English languages as well as his native tongue; and for a long series of years, his house, which was eligibly situated on the banks of the St. Mary's, about four miles from Fort Wayne, was known as the abode of hospitality, where his friends and strangers were received with open hands.

To these generous qualities he united a disposition strictly honest, a capacity for the transaction of business, far above the ordinary class of aboriginal chiefs and rulers; and a diligence and forecast in the acquisition and the husbanding of his property, which were as remarkable. In the negotiations of this tribe with the United States Goverment for the cession of the Miami lands, he was the leading and guiding spirit of his tribe; and it is but justice to his memory to say, that he secured the best terms.

These lands embraced the sources of the Wabash and the Miamis of the Lakes, and they are not exceeded in point of fertility and beauty of scenery by any in the Western States.

Peshkewah, at the time of his death, is believed to have been the most wealthy man of the native race in America, the estimate of his property exceeding a million of dollars. A large part of this was in the best selected lands, reserved out of the original cessions of his tribe, and other real estate. He left nearly $200,000 in specie. This is the chief of whom it was said, on the occasion of the Government's feeling the general pressure for coin to meet its Indian annuities in 1837–'38, that he offered to loan the Disbursing Agent the amount required for his tribe, at a moderate interest. He made a will, bequeathing his property to his children and relatives with even-handed justice. He had expressed a desire to prolong his life, but finding that the time of his departure drew nigh, he resigned himself with perfect composure. He remarked that it was ordered by the Great Spirit that all men must once die, and he was ready and felt willing to obey the mandate. He died on the 13th of August, 1841, aged 80, within a few miles of the place where he was born; and it is a proof of his peaceful and domestic habits, that, with very few exceptions, his whole life had been passed upon the native domain of his tribe. His remains were deposited with religious ceremonies in the Catholic burial-ground of Fort Wayne.

WAUBUNSEE.

It is not only the "lights," but also the "shadows," of savage life that we require, in order to properly appreciate the tribes.

The year 1812 was noted as the acme of the outburst of every malignant feeling which appears to have been in the heart of the western Indians. The black reverse of the American arms at Detroit—Hull's surrender—the horrid massacre of the retiring American garrison of Chicago, who were butchered like so many cattle on the sandy shores of Lake Michigan—the wild howl of the tribes along the whole frontiers—came like the fierce rushing of a tornado, which threatens to destroy entire villages. Among the elements of this tornado was the wild sasaguon, or war-whoop of Waubunsee. He was a Pottawattamie war-chief of some note at Chicago, distinguished for his ferocious and brutal character. He had been one of the actors in the sanguinary massacre of 1812, near the mouth of the Konamic. He often freely indulged in liquor; and when thus excited, exhibited the flushed visage of a dæmon. On one occasion, two of his wives, or rather female slaves, had a dispute. One of them went, in her excited state of feeling, to Waubunsee, and told him that the other ill-treated his children. He ordered the accused to come before him. He told her to lie down on her back on the ground. He then directed the other, (her accuser,) to take a tomahawk and despatch her. She instantly split open her skull. "There," said the savage, "let the crows eat her." He left her unburied, but was afterwards persuaded to direct the murderess to bury her. She dug the grave so shallow, that the wolves pulled out the body that night, and partly devoured it.

This chief had the reputation of being a brave and efficient warrior. There are no anecdotes of him, however, which redeem his character from the reproaches of cruelty and deep revenge. Having lost a friend, on one occasion, in a war-party against the Osages, he waited many years to take revenge. At length, hearing that a delegation of Osages had visited one of our western posts, he immediately proceeded to the place, and had a cold, formal interview. The Osages, suspecting him, asked permission to sleep in the fort. Waubunsee succeeded, at midnight, in creeping through an embrasure, when, stealthily making his way to the sleeping Osages, he scalped one of the number, and retired, undiscovered. Mounting a fleet horse, held by a companion, as soon as he leaped from the fort, he effected a safe retreat.

He united with his tribe in the sales of their lands, and migrated with them, in 1838, to Council Bluffs, on the Missouri.

XVII. LITERATURE OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES. C.

[3D PAPER, TITLE XVII.]

TITLE XVII.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, LITERATURE OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE XVII.

TITLE XIV., LET. A., VOL. III. [1st Paper.]

1. Plan of a System of Geographical Names, derived from the Aboriginal Languages.
2. Indian Nomenclature; being a Critical Dictionary of Indian Names in the History, Geography, and Mythology of the United States. A.

TITLE XIV., LET. B., VOL. IV. [2d Paper.]

1. A Bibliographical Catalogue of Books,—Translations of the Scriptures, and other Publications into the Indian Tongues of the United States. With brief Critical Notices.
2. Indian Nomenclature; being a Critical Dictionary of Indian Names in the History, Geography, and Mythology of the United States. B.

TITLE XVII., LET. C., VOL. V. [3d Paper.]

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(*i*) Indian Etymology.
(*j*) Some data respecting the Principles of the Chippewa and Mahican Languages, in a series of Letters written during the period from 1822 to 1827.
(*k*) Names based on the Indian Vocabularies, suggested for new subdivisions of the public domain.

LITERATURE OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES.

(a) A LIST OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS INCORPORATED INTO THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, OR EMPLOYED BY APPROVED WRITERS.

The discovery of America brought into the commerce of the world many products, before unknown, and introduced a number of new terms into use. Natural history was enriched by the discovery of several species or varieties of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and plants; while commerce added to its terms the name of many valuable dye-woods, drugs, gums, grains, extracts, and medicines. Without the additional terms thus brought into our vocabulary, it would be impossible to find popular words to designate the moose, tapir, alpaca, opossum, raccoon, condor, or canieu, and various other species; or to denote the maize, the potatoe, or tobacco-plant, the cochineal insect, the mahogany tree, and other productions.

There were some artificial structures and fabrics of the natives which required appropriate names, such as wigwam, canoe, and tomahawk. The terms cacique, sachem, sagamore, powwow, constituted another class of terms, which were at once adopted. It would not seem that the number of these terms, in current use by British and American writers, was so great, till the topic be inquired into. Most of these names were recorded, by Spanish, English or French writers, with peculiarities of orthography which it is now impossible, were it desirable, to alter.

Were the writings of travellers, popular essayists, or imaginative authors to be gleaned, the list of words, it is apprehended, would be greatly swelled. A similar result would attend researches into the introduction of terms into the language, from parts of the East Indies, which have been supposed to furnish ancient original seats of a portion of our tribes. But few terms have been taken from this source.

The Indian geographical names do not come within the scope of this inquiry. The only topic noticed, in connection with them, is the formation of English adjectives from aboriginal roots. But a single verb, the French term of salutation, has been adopted, with very characteristic changes, it is true, by the Indians, and is reproduced here, from the volumes of travellers. I have introduced the verb, for the crowning act of Indian bravery and achievement, the war-cry, which, it is apprehended, would be often employed by writers, were it at hand.

Small as the object here attempted is, much time, learning and research would be required to complete it. Little more, indeed, is intended, by these memoranda, than to lay the foundation of future inquiries.

Achióte, *s.* The name of the Caribs for the tree producing the anotta.

Adirondac, *ad.* An Indian geographical adjective.

Adátic, *s.* An aboriginal monument; a grave-stick, or post, marked with hieroglyphics. (Al. Res.)

Agim, *s.* A snow-shoe. (Mackenzie.)

Alabamean, *ad.* A geographical adjective, based on the Indian term, Alabama.

Alleghanian, *ad.* Of, or relative to the Alleghany Mountains. (Irving.)

Alim, *s.* A dog used in sacrifice by the Indian priesthood. (Lescarbot.)

Alligátor, *s.* A large American reptile.

Algic, *adj.* Relating to a genus of Indian tribes.

Almena, *s.* An East Indian weight, of about two pounds.

Algónquin, *adj.* Comprising a genus of American tribes.

Alpáca, *s.* A species of native Peruvian sheep.

Anótta, *s.* The seed of a West Indian and South American tree, yielding a dye.

Appalàchian, *ad.* A geographical adjective.

Apowa, *s.* A sacred Indian dream, or vision. (Oneota.)

Aztic, *ad.* Relating to the Aztec tribes of Mexico.

Ázian, *s.* An Indian loin, or breech-cloth. (Al. Res.)

B.

Bamboo, *s.* An ancient East Indian word.

Balza, *s.* A South American Indian raft. The word may be derived from the Spanish Balsilla, or Balsa.

Banyan, *s.* An Indian fig — a large tree, the word being in use before the discovery of America.

Bashaba, *s.* A sagamore of sagamores, or imperial chief, in the New England tribes. (Whittier.)

Bozho, *v.* An Indian term for good-day. Derived by the Indians from the French *Bon jour*, and employed in this form by travellers.

Boshcadosh, *s.* The mammoth. (Al. Res.)

Betel, *s.* A plant, the leaves of which are chewed by the native Peruvians, having an intoxicating quality.

C.

Cabeca, *s.* A fine East Indian silk.

Cacao, *s.* The Chocolate tree; written, also, Coco.

Cacique, *s.* An Indian chief, or magistrate.

Cactus, *s.* A plant first found in the tropical latitudes of America.

Cainca, *s.* A Brazilian shrub, yielding the caincic.

Cáiman, *s.* The name of the South American Indians for the crocodile or alligator.

Cálumet, *s.* A large Indian pipe for smoking tobacco, employed on ceremonial occasions.

Canieu, *s.* A species of falcon; the war-eagle of the Algonquins.

Canella, *s.* A buff-colored bark, from the West Indies.

Canica, *s.* A Cuban spice; a kind of cinnamon.

Canoe, *s.* An Indian light boat, which is generally made of the bark of the betula papyracea, by the northern tribes. The term is derived from the Carib.

Caoutchouc, *s.* Gum-elastic, or India Rubber; the juice of a South American tree.

Carcajo, *s.* A wolverine.

Caribbean, *adj.* A geographical adjective.

Cassava, *s.* A South American plant; the manioc.

Cheman, *s.* A canoe. (Long's Expeditions.)

Chemócoman, *s.* The Indian name for an American.

Chica, *s.* A fermented liquor made by the Peruvians from Indian corn.

Cholulan, *ad.* Relating to the pyramid of Cholula.

Chocolate, *s.* A preparation from the cocoa-nut.

Chunkyard, *s.* An arena, or circus, in which prisoners were formerly burnt at the state, in the Creek nation. (C. Swan; Adair.)

Coca, *s.* The Erythroxylon Cocas. A Peruvian shrub, the leaves of which are chewed by the natives. It is thought to resemble the betel nut of India. (Tschudi.)

Cochineal, *s.* A Mexican insect, introduced into England about 1523, as a scarlet dye.

Coco, *s.* The Chocolate nut and tree.

Condor, *s.* The great vulture of the Andes.

Copal, *s.* The inspissated juice of a Mexican tree; the rhus capellinum.

Cougar, *s.* A catamount or panther.

D.

Dewan, *s.* An East Indian officer of finance.

E.

Equa, *s.* An Indian female. (Al. Res.)

G.

Guáiacum, *s.* A medical substance, obtained from a tree in the West Indies.

Guanico, *s.* A wool-bearing quadruped of the Andes. See **Llama**.

Guava, *s.* A jelly made from the fruit of the psidium pomiferum, of the West Indies.

H.

Hheve, *s.* A Brazilian tree, yielding the caoutchouc.

Hackmatac, *s.* An American forest tree.

Hobomoc, *s.* The name for an evil spirit by the early tribes of New England. (Miss Sedgwick.)

Hocco, *s.* A large bird, of black plumage, of the Orinoco. (Humboldt.)

I.

Illinois, *adj.* A geographical adjective, of Indian origin; denotes the traits of a genus of Indian tribes residing in Upper Louisiana. It is founded on the term Illini.

Inca, *s.* An Indian emperor, king, or ruling chief of consolidated tribes.

Indigo, *s.* A plant of the West and East Indies.

Indian, *s.* A native of North America; also an inhabitant of India.

Indian, *adj.* Like an Indian; of the nature or character of an Indian.

Iroquois, *adj.* A geographical adjective, of Indian origin, denoting a type of tribes called the Six Nations. It is founded on the approbatory exclamations, "Yoe! Hauh!"

Itascan, *adj.* Relative to the summit bearing Itasca Lake, in which the Mississippi River rises.

J.

Jaguar, *s.* A South American tiger.

Jossakeed, *s.* An Indian prophet, or powwow. (Al. Res.)

K.

Kinnikinnik, *s.* A plant used by the North American Indians as a substitute for tobacco; the uva ursi.

Kintekoy, *s.* A nocturnal feast, or orgie, of the ancient Manhattanese; a word often heard in the southern, or old counties of New York.

Kluneólux, *s.* An evil spirit in the Iroquois pantheon. (Notes on the Iroquois.)

L.

Llâma, *s.* A Peruvian quadruped.

M.

Mackaw, *s.* An ancient East Indian word, applied to a bird and a tree. (Worcester.)

Machinato, *s.* A term for the Great Evil Spirit. (Oneota; Elizabeth Oakes Smith.)

Maize, *s.* Indian corn. (From the Carib.)

Mamátwa, *s.* The cat-bird. (C. F. Hoffmann.)

Manito, *s.* The Algonquin name for God.

Manioc, *s.* An edible root, prepared and used as bread by the Brazilian Indians.

Mango, *s.* A West Indian fruit.

Manitee, *s.* The sea-cow.

Mahogany, *s.* A tree of tropical America.

Meda, *s.* An Indian professor of mystical medicine. (Oneota.)

Metass, *s.* An Indian stocking, or leggin.

Mexic, *adj.* Relating to Mexico. (Mackenzie.)

Mingo, *s.* An Indian king, or chief, of highest authority.

Mink, *s.* An American water-rat.

Mississippian, *adj.* Of, or relating to the Mississippi River.

Missourian, *adj.* Of, or relating to the Missouri River.

Moccasin, *s.* An Indian shoe.

Mococ, *s.* An Indian box, or chest. (Al. Res.)

Mohoc, *s.* Dr. Johnson placed this word in his dictionary, to signify "a barbarous Indian, or ruffian."

Mohicanic, *adj.* Relating to the people, or country, of the ancient Mahicans.

Moose, *s.* The largest species of American deer.

Monómin, *s.* The zizania pelustres, or wild rice-plant.

Muckawiss, *s.* The whipporwill. (Pike's Expedition.)

Muskelunge, *s.* A large and delicious species of lake pike.

N.

Neo, *s.* Iroquois name for God. (Notes on the Iroquois.)

NISHINÀBA, *s.* An Indian. This term is taken from a pretty general popular usage in the West.

NOKO, *s.* A grandmother. (Al. Res.)

NOPAL, *s.* A Mexican plant — the cactus opuntia.

O.

ONIOTIC, *adj.* Relating to Oneidas, or Oneotas.

OPOSSUM, *s.* An American marsupial quadruped.

OWAYNEO, *s.* God. (Smith's Captivity.) This term is based on Neo.

P.

PANISEE, *s.* A synonym for powwow. (Whittier.)

PAPAW, *s.* An American fruit.

PAPOOS, *s.* An Indian child, in the old languages of the Mahican and Narragansett.

PECAN, *s.* A nut borne by a peculiar species of American forest tree.

PEÄG, *s.* A sea-shell found along the North Atlantic coast, prized by the Indians. (Brodhead.)

PEMBINA, *s.* The fruit of the service tree; the shad-berry.

PEMMICAN, *s.* Jerked buffalo meat, mixed with tallow. (Mackenzie.)

PERSIMMON, *s.* A native fruit.

PIKININI, *s.* The Carib term for a child.

PIMENTO, *s.* A plant of the West Indies; the myrtus pimento.

POSKUNDIMO, *s.* The evening grosbec, a species discovered by Mr. Schoolcraft, in 1824.

POTATO, *s.* First found in Cuba. Discovered by Raleigh, in Virginia, in 1584.

POWWOW, *s.* An Indian priest.

POWHETÁNIC, *adj.* A geographical adjective for the territory formerly under the jurisdiction of Powhatan.

Q.

QUISQUIS, *s.* An extinct monster. (Cusic's Hist. Six Nations.

QUIPPA, *s.* Knotted cords, of various colors, used by the ancient Peruvians to keep time and accounts. (Robertson.)

R.

RACCOON, *s.* A small North American quadruped, first found in Virginia.

S.

SACHEM, *s.* A civil chief and counsellor

SAGAMORE, *s.* A sacerdotal chief.

SAGANOSH, *s.* Englishman.

SAMP, *s.* A preparation from dried Indian sweet corn.

SASÀQUA, *v. a.* To whoop the war-whoop. The Indians have many whoops denoting definite acts. When a war-party returns to the precincts of its village, they halt, and prepare their friends and families, by sounding the *Chiquondum.* This is a deep and hollow tone, uttered near the ground. The number of times it is repeated denotes the number of scalps taken. If scalps have been lost, the sound is varied. Joy and sorrow have various utterances. The verb Sassaqua is converted into a substantive by the inflection *on.*

SEAWAN, *s.* A species of wampum, anciently used as coin. (Heckewelder.)

SISCOVET, *s.* A fatty species of trout, found in Lake Superior.

SQUAW, *a.* An Indian female, in the prevalent ancient New England dialects.

SUCCATASH, *s.* An Indian dish of green corn, cut from the cob, and green beans.

T.

TÁCONIC, *adj.* An Indian geographical adjective.

TÁMERACK, *s.* The American species of larch.

TAPEÓCA, *s.* A preparation from the Cassava.

TAPIR, *s.* An American pachydermatous animal, resembling a hog.

TEOCALLI, *s.* The Toltec name for their chief place of worship. It is formed from *Teotl*, God, and *calli*, a house. (Clavigero.)

TOBACCO, *s.* This plant appears first to have been brought to Europe from the island of Tobago.

TOLTECAN, *adj.* Relating to Toltecs.

TOLU, *s.* A brown balsam, extracted from a tropical American tree.

TOMAHAWK, *s.* A small axe, manufactured for the Indians. The word is of Mahican origin.

TOMTOM, *s.* An Indian drum.

TOMATO, *s.* The solanum lycopersicum.

TOTEM, *s.* An aboriginal armorial device, denoting clanship. (Al. Res; Oneota.)

TOTEMIC, *adj.* Relating to Totems.

TSKLELEI, *s.* A small and beautiful bird, supposed, by the Indians, to be the carrier of social intelligence. (Davis.)

TUCKAHO, *s.* An edible root used by the Virginia Indians.

Tulibee, *s.* A small white fish or herring. The Corregonus arteda, of Agassiz; Adonibec, of the Chippewas, i. e., Wet-mouth. (Perrault.)

Turmeric, *s.* A yellow dye, from the East Indies.

U.

Ugh, *inter.* An exclamation of disappointed surprise. (Cooper.)

Ussama, *s.* Tobacco. (Al. Res.)

V.

Vatipa, *s.* The name of the Aricores, a barbarous nation of the River Marañon, for the Great Spirit, who is represented to be a dæmon. (Alcedo.)

[**Vesperic**], *adj.* Relating to the Indian tribes of the United States. (Vide prior pages of this work.)

W.

Wabinò, *s.* A member of a nocturnal orgie, or Indian society. (Notes to Outwa.)

Wampum, *s.* A species of elongated artificial bead, much valued by Indians, made from the shell of the sea clam.

Wigwam, *s.* An Indian house, or dwelling.

Windigo, *s.* A giant. (Al. Res.)

Y.

Yagaso, *s.* An extinct monster. (Cusic.)

Zamang, *s.* A South American forest tree. (Humboldt.)

Zhigowac, *s.* A root of stringent properties, which is believed, by the Indians, to impart bravery, and the power of endurance, to warriors.

(b) PHILOSOPHY OF UTTERANCE.

Unwritten languages change rapidly. We are instructed in the mode of changes in the Indian languages, by the following recent examples in civil life. An unlettered man, an Englishman by birth, who kept a livery stable, and who was, incomparably, a better judge of horse-flesh than of orthography, transmitted a bill to a customer, which, after naming Mr. Such-a-one Dr. to Mr. Such-a-one, contained these two items:

Anosafada
Takinonimome.

The cuniform, or the phonetic alphabet, were easier decyphered than this bill of English notation of an uneducated man. By separating the syllables of these agglutinated phrases, and restoring the aspirate *h* where it was dropped, and the peculiar terminal sound of *g* in participles, the sentences may be read thus:

An horse, half a day, . . *so much.*
Taking on him home, . . *so much.*

In a monosyllabic and simply constructed language, like the English, we should not suspect it of philological sinuosities. To those who lay great stress on the sounds of radicles, without scrutinizing closely the history of the language, the following example is suggestive:

Par,	A supposed radix.
Par-son,	A preacher.
Par-rot,	A bird.
Par-snips,	A root.
Par-ody,	A ludicrous imitation.
Par-ity,	Equality.
Par-cel,	A package.
Par-take,	To share.
Par-ry,	To push aside.
Par-ty,	A body of men.
Par-ly,	To talk or negotiate.
Par-asol,	A lady's umbrella.

Par-ish, ...	A local district.
Par-don, ...	A reprieve.
Par-e, ...	To cut away superficially.
Par-ent, ...	A father or mother.
Par-ticle, ...	A minute portion.
Par-tridge, ...	A bird.
Par-tial, &c., &c., &c.	

But when these radices are taken from homogeneous languages, like the Indian, which admit, at the same time, the principle of word-building, the etymon preserves an exact parallel with the sound. Thus, *os*, in the Algonquin, signifies a father. Put the letter *n* before it, and *a* after it, the meaning is, my father; put *k* before it, with the same terminal, and the sense is, thy father; but take away both the *n* and *k*, and the meaning is, his or her father. This process, by adding pronominal or tensal inflections, can be carried on as far as the personal distinctions reach. There is another class of words based on this root. *Os-sin* is a pebble, or small, smooth stone, having the same radix. *Ossipee* signifies river of smooth pebbles, being a compound from *ossin*, a pebble, and *sipee*, a river. *Ossinee* appears as an adjective prefix, meaning pebbly, as in *Ossinewudjo*, stony mountain. *Os-ti-gwan* is a man's head, or skull, and may have originally had allusion to the shape of the cranium.

The following are the forms for the expression, 'my father,' which occur in three characteristic and well known languages:

Pater mi (Latin.)	my father.
Âbi (Hebrew.)	" "
Nòsa (Chippewa.)	" "

The letter N, in this latter term, is the alphabetical sign of the personal pronoun, I. The terminal *a* is an animate formative, in a large class of words of this language. A trait which seems surprising in a pollysyllabic language, is, that both nouns and verbs so frequently have monosyllabic roots. The infinitive of the verb is found to be almost uniformly so. The following class of words, in daily use, will demonstrate this:

Pöz, . . .	To embark.	Nawzh, . .	Get him.
Nim, . . .	To dance.	Meezh, . .	Give him.
Paup, . . .	To laugh.	Peezh, . . .	Bring him.
Mow, . . .	To cry.	Kauzh, . .	Hide him.
Puk, . . .	To strike.	Boatsh, . .	In spite.
Saug, . . .	To love.	Waub, . . .	Look.
Oomb, . . .	To lift.	Isht, ...	Stop, hear.

Nouns.

Auk,	A tree.	Tshees,	A turnip.
Ais,	A shell.	Wauzh,	A burrow.
Möz,	A moose.	Kön,	Snow.
Kaug,	A porcupine.	Mizh,	A bush.
Mong,	A loon.	Mö,	Excrement.
Meen,	A berry.	Wauk,	A fish-roe.

Adjectives.

Taas,	Flat.	Nuh?	What?
Wau,	White.	Hoh!	Thanks!
Mis,	Red.	Sai!	Shame!
Min,	Good.	Cheeg,	By.
Muk,	Black.	Neeh,	Two.
Aih,	Yes	Shong,	Nine.
Kau,	No.	Kwaitch,	Ten, &c.

By adding the long sound of *e* to these terms, they are converted into the third person of the indicative. The genitive and accusative appear to be made, in the Chippewa, by the inflection *ng* after a vowel; but this may be uncertain in a language imperfect in its forms. But the principal case is their eternal inflection in *ing*, which is an ablative.

Language, among unlettered nations, is preserved wholly by tradition. A word, and the meaning it conveys, are both oral and traditionary. What the father and mother utter to their children as the names for acts and things, is early and deeply impressed upon their memories. The words and phrases in which they shape and express thought, if it be but the thought of hunters and nomades, becomes the living vocabulary; but it is a vocabulary, subject, in a peculiar manner, to changes of sound and accent, arising from accidental and progressive causes. The vowel sounds are most exposed to imitations, running through the whole scale of utterance, from broad and long, to short, and mixed, and diphthongal, till one sound slides imperceptibly into another, and original identity is lost. What is easily uttered, is easily changed. Hence consonants are more permanent. *A* is transmuted to *e*, *e* to *i*, *i* to *o*, *o* to *u*; and, as will be denoted, either of these independent sounds of the scale, in several families of languages, is turned into any other. Consonantal sounds are more fixed and permanent, only because they are more difficult of utterance. They yield chiefly in the liquids and labials. But even here, by a long course of use, unsustained by writing or letters, the barriers of original sound are, at last, either broken down by the strong power of their association with the vowels, or so changed, and become so obscured, as to leave but feeble traces, after centuries have passed.

Language is thus changed into dialects, and dialects, after the people speaking them, have been long separated by geographical causes, develope themselves at length, in new languages, by a cause of reproduction which bears analogy, on the laws of utterance, to the elementary changes in physics. They are wholly the result of time and accident. No people who ever existed could or would take the trouble to invent and adopt a new language at once. The highest degree of civilization is inadequate to such an effort. How then should barbarians effect it? Indeed, the very change is the result of want of thought, and of system, in the barbarian, and carelessness of enunciation and change of accent. As the parent language declines, others are erected on its ruins. There are still, however, some principles to trace exact affinities, both in sound and structure; the latter, especially, often furnishes a clue, where the articulation has been most changed and debased.

That this system of elementary changes, and corrupting influences, has been very great, among the erratic tribes of the continent, may be admitted. But those who expect the Indian languages to equal the Latin and Greek, in precision of thought, and appropriateness of expression, as Mr. Duponceau has intimated on the examples of the Delawares furnished by Mr. Heckewelder,[1] must look to some other source than the Chippewa to verify their theories. The Delaware language may, indeed, as it is an older type of the same generic language, preserve a fuller and more perfect vocabulary, and it abounds, indeed, in the liquid sound of the letter *l*, which the other lacks. But there is no reason to believe that its principles of inflection are radically different.

Translations into the Chippewa evince the organization of a syntax. I have found that the essential sense and meaning of the Book of Genesis can be conveyed in it, but not without a repetitious method, which is very remarkable, as if the two-fold affirmation of a thing was essential to its being understood. As is the case, and, I believe, in all uncultivated languages, where the pronouns are usually repeated after the nouns, as if we should say, John, his book, his — instead of John's book; or, Adario, the chief, he spoke, instead of Adario spoke, it is required that a perfect concordance shall exist between the tense of the verb and the tense of the pronoun.

I have loved him, . . . *Ningee* (I have) *saugeeaubun.* (Love him have.)

In this sentence, *gee* denotes the tense of the pronoun, and *bun* the corresponding tense of the verb.

Pronouns are employed in the same sentence conjointly with the nouns which they represent.

Ogeemau-kee maujau, . . .	The chief, *he* is gone.
Sheegud-kee takoushin, . . .	Sheegud, *he* has arrived.

To denote the power of the two languages, I have translated the English version of the first three verses of Genesis i. into Chippewa, and then re-translated the latter literally, and in the order of thought, into English.

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[1] War's Hist. Com. Amer. Philo. Society, Vol. I., p. 415.

1. Wyaishkud Geezha Monedo ögee[1] özhetöan[1] geezhig, gya akkee.
In the beginning, Merciful Spirit — he made sky and earth.

2. Gya dush ningood, akkee, izzhenaug wassenöbun peshishegwaubun, gya mukkuddaywaubun inaugwudobun ogidebeeg — Geezho Monedo dush öjeetshaugeoun ogidebeeg kepiminee eezhauwan.
And then earth that was formed — empty, or without anything in it, was. And blackness was on the waters. Merciful Spirit then, his shadow (ghost) on the waters, above them, moved.

3. Appee dush. Geezha Monedo, ökedood, tah! wassayau. Ke wyaussä dush.
At that time, Merciful Spirit, said: Let there be light! and light was.

The remaining verses, which are omitted, for the want of space, are equally instructive in the precise meaning and order of thought, and teach how the Scriptures should be translated.

Ideas appear first to have been excited, in the Indian mind, by objects of sight, or things. Next, by wants, or fears. Hence, substantives are first in order, or the eldest class of words. And when utterance was to be given to acts, or wishes, the names of things were used as fundamental forms of verbs. This mode was observed to be in progress on the discovery of America, whenever a new substance, or animal, was introduced; and it may be observed as the existing mode by which the Indian languages expand. When *os* was applied to father, it was the natural process of the cumulative dialects to add *ne* for *my*, and *ke* for *thy*, which were soon contracted into the letters *n* and *k*, making *my father*, and *thy father* — or, by adding the inflection *ama*, to imply, *there is father* — and so on; and the word soon became a verb for things, as well as persons, as *I, he, you, fathers, it*, &c. The sound of *a*, as heard in the English *aa*, and the diphthong *ai*, in *maid*, denotes the intense act of the verb, in most cases, in the Chippewa. In their evidently ancient word *chemán*, a canoe, the verb to paddle is *chema*, that is, to canoe. In the term, to sweep, and all verbs similarly constructed, the verb is made from the noun, by dropping the two final letters of the terminal syllable. Thus, *jesidiegun*, a broom, becomes *jesidiegai*, to sweep, or, rather, to broom. So, in *páshkizzigun*, a gun, or musket, or rifle, *páskizzegai* is, to fire, or, rather, to gun. This appears to be the genius of their word-making. As the noun can be enlarged for meaning, to almost any extent, within the power of utterance, so the verb enlarges correspondingly, till the language becomes overloaded with pollysyllabic words.

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[1] The letter ö, in both these words, stands for the third person.

In the Chippewa, *izzi* is a personal substantive inflection to a class of compounds commencing with a verb. Hence, from *pimaud,* to live, or living, cames *pimaudizzi,* the manner of a person's life. By prefixing pronouns to this term, and adding the inflection *win,* a new substance is formed. The term *Wabishkizzi,* is the characteristic description for a European or White man. Of this term, *waub* means white — *ish,* man (this, by the way, is, perhaps, incidentally, but precisely the Hebrew term for man) — and *izzi,* the objective person.[1]

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[1] The following list of words has been transmitted to us, giving us singular examples of the growth of a jargon of Indian words in Oregon and Washington, mixed with English, French and Spanish. It is generally called the *Chinook Jargon.*

Aalloyma	Another or different.
Abba	Well, then, or if that is the case.
Aekik	A fish-hook.
Aetshoot	Bear.
Ahyak	Quick.
Akaepooit	Needle.
Alke	Afterwards.
Alta	At present.
Ats	Sister.
Annah	Exclamation of astonishment.
Ankuty	Long ago.
Appola	A roast of anything.
Boston	American.
Chaco	Come.
Chee	New.
Chickaman	Metals of all kinds.
Chickaman shoes	Horse shoes.
Chick chick	A wagon or cart.
Chitch	Grandmother.
Chuck	Water.
Coat	A woman's gown.
Clayl stone	Coal.
Cockshut	Fight, break, injure, &c
Cold olally	Cranberries.
Cold Illihe	Winter.
Cold	A year.
Comb	Comb.
Delate	Straight.
Dly	Dry.
Dly tupso	Hay.
Elp	First.
Elitee	Slave.
Ena	Beaver.
Enpooy	Lice.
Etlinwill	Ribs.
Glass	A looking-glass or window
Gleece pire	Candle.
Halo	None.
Hachr or House	A house.
Halluck Laport	Open the door
Hee-hee lema	Gamble.
Hee-hee	Laugh.
Henkerchim	Handkerchief.
Hoey-hoey	Exchange.
How	Listen, attend.
Hrowlkult	Stubborn, determined.
Hyass Sunday	Christmas and 4th of July.
Hyass	Large or very.
Hy-you	Plenty.
Innunde	Across.
Ikt stick	A yard.
Ikta	What.
Ikpooy Laport	Shut the door.
Illihe	Land.
Ipsoot	Secret.
Iscum	Take.
Itka mika tikke	What do you want.
Kabbage	Cabbage.
Kakwa	The same.
Kalidon	Lead or shot.
Kamox	A dog.
Kamoosuck	Beads.
Kanim	Canoe or boat.
Kapo	A relation.
Kapswalla	Steal.
Kapo	Coat.
Kapitt	Finish, Stop.
Kapitt wawa	Hold your tongue.
Kar	Where.
Kata	Why, or what is the matter
Katsuck	Midway, between.
Kettle	A pot.
Ke-whaap	A hole.
Keekwully coat	A petticoat.
Keekwully Sickilox	Drawers.
Keekwully	Deep, beneath.
Killapie	Return or capsize.

Kimta	Behind.
Kinoose	Tobacco.
King George	English, Scotch, or Irish.
Kla-howya	How are you, or poor, pitiful.
Klack	Untie.
Klackan	A fence, field.
Klemenwhit	False.
Klemen saplel	Flour.
Klip	Deep.
Klakecce	Stars.
Klakany	Out of doors.
Klakster	Who.
Klapp	To find.
Klapite	Thread.
Klasker	They.
Klatawa	Go.
Klayl	Black.
Klawa	Slow.
Kloch-kloch	Oysters.
Klootchman	Woman.
Klosh	Good.
Klonass	Dont know.
Kolan	Ear.
Konaway	All.
Konsick	How much.
Koory kuitan	A race horse.
Koory	Run.
Koppa	From, towards, &c.
Kooy-kooy	Finger rings.
Kow	Tie.
Kquttilt	To collapse.
Kuifan	A horse.
Kultis	Nothing, or gratis.
Kulla-kulla	Birds.
Kull	Tough, hard.
Kull-kull stick	Oak.
Kumtux	Understand.
Kushaw	A hog.
Labiscuit	Biscuit.
Labreed	Bridle.
Lachaise	Chair.
Lacassett	A trunk.
Lake	Lake.
Lakutchee	Clams.
Laleem	File.
Lalopa	Ribbons.
Lamuto	Sheep.
Lapell	Spade.
Lapiosge	Hoe.
Laport	Door.
Lapushmo	Saddle blanket.
Laplash stick	Cedar.
Laplash	A shingle or plank.
Lapeep	Pipe.
Laposh	Mouth.
Lapooelle	Frying pan.
Lapiaege	A trap or snare.
Laqueen	A saw.
Lareh	Barley.
Lesack	A bag.
Laselle	Saddle.
Latable	A table.
Lawoolitch	A bottle.
Laween	Oats.
Lay-lay	A long time.
Lazy	Slow or lazy.
Leereme	Cream color.
Leeock	Rooster.
Leeda	Teeth.
Ledowo	Turnips.
Leglow	Nail.
Legum stick	Pine.
Lehash	An ax.
Lice	Rice.
Lejob	Devil.
Lekarrot	Carrots.
Leklee	Keys.
Leky	Spotted or piebald.
Lelo	Wolf.
Lelang	Tongue.
Lemaei	An old woman.
Lemule or Hyas kolon	Mule.
Lema	The hand.
Lemoro	Wild.
Leprate	Priest.
Lepied	Foot.
Lepole	Hen.
Lepla	A plate.
Lupulla	The back.
Lepoosh	Peas.
Lesap	Egg.
Lesonion	Onions.
Lesibro	Spurs.
Lesway	Silk.
Leshawl	A shawl.
Letete	Head.
Lolo	To carry.
Lope	Rope.
Lum	Rum.
Luckwulla	A nut.
Machlany	Towards the land.
Makook house	A store.
Makook	Buy or sell.
Mamook Chaco	Bring.

Malaequa	Musquito.
Mamook ipsoot	To conceal.
Man moos-moos	An ox.
Man	Man.
Mauk	Duck.
Meziker	You. plural.
Mercie	Thanks.
Memoloose	Kill.
Mika	You.
Miami	Down the stream, below.
Midlight	Sit down, put down, or stay.
Midwhit	Stand up, get up or move.
Moon	Moon.
Moola	Saw mill.
Moos-moos	A cow.
Molass	Molasses.
Mowitch	Deer.
Moosum	Sleep.
Moolack or Moos	Elk.
Momook	Work.
Musatchy	Bad.
Musket	A gun.
Muck-muck	Anything good to eat.
Nanitch	Look, to see
Nesika	We.
Newhâ	How is it.
Nika	I.
Ninamox	Otter.
Nowitka	Yes.
Oihe	Sandwich Islander.
Okoak	This or that.
Oloman	An old man, or worn out.
Olally	Berries.
Olo	Hungry or thirsty.
Olikhiyou	Seal.
Oluck	Snake.
Opootch	Tail.
Opkan	A basket.
Opsu	A knife.
Oskan	A cup.
Ou	Brother.
Owaykeet	A road.
P	And.
Paper	Paper, books, &c.
Patle	Full.
Patlamb	Drunk.
Patlatch	Give.
Pechuck	Green.
Pekope	White.
Perseee	Blanket.
Pesioux	French.
Pisheck	Bad, exhausted.
Pill	Red.
Pilton	Fool.
Pithick	Thick.
Pilpil	Blood.
Pillom	A broom.
Pill olally	Strawberries.
Pire-chuck	Ardent spirits of any kind.
Pire olally	Ripe berries.
Pire saplel	Bread.
Pish-pish	Cat.
Poolatly	Powder.
Poolakly	Night.
Pooh	Shoot.
Quass	Fear, afraid.
Quanice	Whale.
Quitchaddy	Rabbit.
Quicco	Porpoise.
Quis-quis	A straw mat.
Quonisum	Always.
Sale	Cotton or calico.
Salmon or Sallo-wack	Salmon.
Saplel	Wheat.
Seeah-hoose	Face.
Seeapoose	Cap.
Seepy	Crooked.
Sharty	Sing.
Shetsham	Swim.
Shirt	Shirt.
Sick	Unwell, ill, sick, &c.
Sickilox	Pantaloons.
Sick tum tum	Regret, sorrow.
Sitkum	Middle or half.
Sitlii	Stirrup.
Sitkum sun	Noon.
Six	Friend.
Siya	Distance.
Skad	Mole.
Skakairk	Hawk.
Skin shoes	Moccasins.
Skokum	Strong.
Skullapeen	A rifle.
Skubbyyou	Skunk.
Skudzo	A squirrel.
Sil-sil	Buttons.
Silux	Angry.
Smockmock	Grouse.
Snass	Rain.
Snow	Snow.
Soap	Soap.
Sockally Tybee	The Almighty.
Sockally	High.
Soolee	Mouse.

Sow wash	Indian. (Savage.)
Spose	If.
Staetejay	An island.
Stick shoes	Shoes.
Sunday	Sunday.
Sun	Day.
Sugwa	Sugar.
Swaawa	Panther.
Tanass Salmon	Trout.
Tanass Moos-moos	A calf.
Tanass man	A boy.
Tanass Lakutchee	Mussels.
Tanass Musket	A pistol.
Tance	Dance.
Tanass Klootchman	A girl.
Tanass	A child, and anything small.
Tamanawus	Witchcraft.
Tee-owitt	Leg.
Tenas sun	Morning.
Tenas Poolakly	Sunset or dusk.
Tickaerchy	Altho'.
Till	Heavy or tired.
Tin-tin	Music.
Tikke	Want, desire, &c.
Tootosh	Milk.
Tootosh Glece	Butter.
Tolo	Wine.
Tumolitch	A barrel.
Tum-tum	Heart.
Tumalla	To-morrow.
Tupsu	Grass or straw.
Tyhee	Chief.
Tzae	Sweet.
Wagh	To spill.
Wake ikta nika tikke	I do not want anything.
Wake	No.
Wakeskokum	Weak.
Wakekonscick	Never.
Wake nika kumtux	I do not understand.
Warm Illihe	Summer.
Wapito	Potatoes.
Waugh-waugh	Owl.
Wawa	Language, to speak.
Whaah	Exclamation of astonishment.
Wicht	Also.
Yachoot	Belly.
Yakwa	Here.
Yaksoot	Hair.
Yakolla	Eagle.
Yaka	He.
Yawa	There.
Yoolkut	Long.
Zum zeeahhoose	Paint the face.
Zum	Write.

Ikt	1.
Mox	2.
Klone	3.
Lockot	4.
Quinum	5.
Tahum	6.
Sinimox	7.
Sotkin	8.
Quies	9.
Tatilum	10.
Tatilum pi ikt	11.
Tatilum pi mox	12.
Tatilum-tatilum or Ikt-Takamonak	100.
Ikt hyass Takamonak	1000.

(c) COMPARISONS OF THE LANGUAGES OF THE ANCIENT PAMPTICOS OF N. CAROLINA WITH THE ALGONQUIN LANGUAGE; AND OF THE ANCIENT WACCOA, OF THAT STATE, AND THE CATAWBA, OF S. CAROLINA.

ENGLISH.	TUSKERURO. (LAWSON.)	WACCOA. (LAWSON.)
A bag	Uttaqua	Ekoocromon.
A bowl	Ortse	Cotsoo.
A box	Oounoo	Yopoonitsa.
A boy	Wariaugh	....
A button	Tic-hah	Rummissauwoune.
A cable	Utquichra	....
A cake basket	Ooneck	....
A child	Woccanookne	....
A comb	Oonnquitchra	Sackettoome posswa.
A cow	Ous-sarunt	Noppinjure.
A crab	Bouare-cou	Wunneau.
A creek	Wackena	....
A cubit length	Kihoosocca	Ishewounaup.
A dog	Cheeth	Tauh-he.
A duck	Sooeau	Welka.
A f—t	Uttena	Pautgau.
A fish hook	Oos-skinna	....
A flea	Nauocq	....
Afraid	Werricaana	Reheshiwau.
A goose	Au-hoohaha	Auhaun.
A gourd or bottle	Utchaawa	Wattape.
A head	Ootaure	Poppe.
A horse	A hots	Yenwetoa.
A Jews' harp	Ooratsa	Wottiyau.
A king	Teethha	Roamore.
A lazy fellow	Wattattoo watse	Tontaunete.
A little while ago	Kakoowa	Yauka.
Alligator	Utsererauk	Monwittetau.
All the Indians are drunk	Connaugh jost twane	Nonnupper.
A louse	Cheecq	Eppesyau.
A man	Entequos	....
A mat	Ooyethne	Soppepepor.
A mortar	Ootic caugh-ne	Yosso.

ENGLISH.	TUSKERURO. (LAWSON.)	WACCOA. (LAWSON.)
An eel	Cuhn-na	
Angry	Cotcheroore	Roocheha.
A path	Wauh-hauhne	Yauh.
A pestel	Tac-caugh-ne	Migau.
A possum	Che-ra	
A rat	Rusquiane	Wittou.
A reed	Cauna	Weekwonne.
A river	Ahunt wackena	
A rope	Utsera	Trauhe.
A rundlet	Oohunawa	Ynpyupseunne.
A snake	Us-quauh-ne	Yau-hauk.
A spoon	Oughquere	Cotsau.
A star	Uttwiraratse	Wattapi untakeer.
A stick	Chinqua	
A swan	Oorhast	Atter.
A thief or rogue	Katichhei	
A t—d	Utquera	Pulawa.
A tobacco pipe	Oosquaana	Intom.
A turkey	Coona	Yauta.
Basket	Ooyaura	Rookeppa.
Bear skin	Oochehara	Ourka.
Bread	Ootocnare	Ikettau.
Breeches	Wahunshe	Roveyaukitte.
Broth	Ook-hoo	
Brother	Caunotka	Yenrauhe.
Buckskin	Ocques	Rookau.
Corn	Oonaha	Cose.
Day	Ootauh-ne	
Day	Wauwix-hook	Waukhawaly.
Dead	Whaharia	Caure.
Don't lose it	Oon est nonne it quost	
Dressed skin	Cotcoo	Rauhau.
Ears	Ooethnat	
Englishman is thirsty	Ouk wockaninniwock	
Fat	Ootsaure	Tendare.
Fawn skin	Ottea	Wisto.
Feathers	Oosnooqua	Soppe.
Fish	Cunshe	Yacunne.
Fishing	Ootosne	Weetipsa.
Fox skin	Che-chou	Hannatockore.
Give it me	Cotshau	Mothei.
Go you	Its warko	Yuppa me.
Hair	Oowaara	Summe.

ENGLISH.	TUSKERURO. (LAWSON.)	WACCOA. (LAWSON.)
Hard or heavy	Waucots ne	Itte teraugh.
Have you got anything to eat	Utta-ana-wox	Noccoo erate.
Hickory nut	Rootau	Nimmia.
Hominy	Cotquerre	Roocauwa.
House	Otnouse	Ouke.
How far	Untateawa	....
How many	Ut-tewots	Tontarinte.
I	Ee	....
I am sick	Connauwox	Waurepa.
I forget it	Merrauka	....
Infant	Utserosta	....
I remember it	Oonutsauka	Aucummato.
I will sell you goods very cheap	Wausthanocka	Nau hou hoore-ene.
Let it alone	Tnotsaurauweek	Sauhau.
Light wood	Kakoo	Sek.
Mad	Cofferunte	Rockaumne.
Mink	Chac-kauene	Soccon.
Moss	Auoona hau	Itto.
Night	Oosottoo	Yantoha.
North-west wind	Hothooka	....
Now	Kahunk	....
Old man	Occooahawa	....
Old woman	Cusquerre	Zicau.
Otter	Chaunoc	Wetkes.
Panther skin	Caunerex	Wattau.
Peaches	Roo-ooe	Yonne.
Pease	Saugh-he	Coosauk.
Potatoes	Untone	Wauk.
Raccoon skin	Roo-sotto	Auher.
Rain	Untuck	Yawowa.
Raw skin undressed	Ootahawa	Teep.
Small ropes	Utsera utquichra	....
Smoke	Oo-teighne	Too-she.
Snow	Acaunque	Wawawa.
Soft	Utsawanne	Roosomme.
Squirrel skin	Soft	Yehau.
Stockings	Oowifsera	Rooesoo-possoo.
Stockings	Way haushe	....
Sun or moon	Heita	Wittapare.
Swine	Watsquerre	Nommewarraupan.
That's all	Utchat	Cuttaune.
There	Ka	....
Thou	Eets	....

ENGLISH.	TUSKERURO. (LAWSON.)	WACCOA. (LAWSON.)
To-day	Kawa	
To-morrow	Jureha	Kittape.
Walnuts	Rootau-ooe	
Wife	Ratcocca	Zecauau.
Wild-cat skin	Cauhauweana	
Will you go along with me	Untahah	Quauke.
Wind	Hoonoch	Yuncor.
Wolf	Squarrena	Tire kiro.
Woman	Con-noowa	
Wood	Ouyunkque	Yonne.
Yesterday	Ooufotto	Yottoha.
Young man	Quottis	
	Oonave	
	Oosare	
	Oosha	
	Auhuntwood	

ENGLISH.	TUSKERURO.	PAMPTICOUGH.	WACCOA.
Acorns	Kooawa		Roosomme.
A flap	Ouk haure	Rappatoc	Rhoocyau.
A hoe	Wauche-wocnox	Rosh-shocquon	Rooe-pau.
A kettle	Oowaiana		
A pine tree	Heigta	Oonossa	Hooheh.
A pot	Ocnock		
Awl or needle	Oose-waure	Moc-cose	Wonsh-shee.
Axe	Au-nuka	Tomma-hick	Tau-unta winnik.
Belt	Oona-teste	Maaohone	Weekau.
Black, or blue	Caw-hunshe	Mow-cottowosh	Yah-testea.
Blankets	Oorewa	Mattosh	Roo-iune.
Coat	Ouswox Kawhitchra	Taus-won	Rummissau.
Eight	Nec-kara	Nau-haush-shoo	Nupsau.
Eleven	Unche scauwha		Tonne hauk pea.
Englishman	Nickrerurok	Tosh-shome	Wintsohore.
Fire	Utchar	Tinda	Yau.
Five	Ouch-whe	Umperren	Webtau.
Flints	Ou-negh-ra	Hinds	Matt-teer.
Four	Untoc	Tau-ooner	Punnum-punne.
Gun	Auk-noc	Gau hoop top	Wittape.

ENGLISH.	TUSKERURO.	PAMPTICOUGH.	WACCOA.
Gun-lock	Oo-teste	Gun-tock-seike	Noonkosso.
Gunpowder	Ou-kn	Pungue	Rooeyam.
Hat	Trossa	Mottau-quahan	Intome-posswa.
Hundred	Youch se		
Indians	Unqua	Nuppin	Yauh-he.
Knife	Oosocke nauh	Rig-cosq	Wee.
Nine	Wearah	Pach-ic-conk	Weihere.
One	Unche	Weembot	Tonne.
Paint	Quaunt	Chuwon	Whooyeonne.
Peak	Chu-teche	Ronoak	Erroco.
Red	Cohoo-red	Mish-cosh	Yauta.
Roanoak	Nauh hourcot	Mis-kis-su	Rummaer.
Rum	Oonaquod	Weesaccon	Yup-se.
Salt	Cheek-ha		
Scissors	Cheh-ra		Toc koor.
Seven	Chauh-noc	Top-po-osh	Nommis-sau.
Shirt	Ough-tre's		Tacca-pitteneer.
Six	Houeyoc	Who-yeoc	Is-sto.
Shoes	Oo-ross-soo		Wee-kessoo.
Shot	Cauna	Ar-rounser	Week.
Ten	Wartsauh	Cosh	Soone-noponne.
Thirty	Ossa-te-wartsau		
Thousand	Ki you se		
Three	Ohs-sah	Nish-wonner	Nam-mee.
Tobacco	Charho	Hooh pau	Un-coone.
	Cheh-ra		Toc koor.
Tongues			Toeseawau.
Twelve	Nectec-scaukhau		Soone nomme.
Twenty	Wartsau-scauhau		Winnop.
Two	Necte	Neshinnauh	Num-peere.
Water	Awoo	Umpe	Eyau.
White	Ware-occa	Wop-poshaumosh	Waurraupa.

1.

	PAMPTICO (of N. Carolina).	NATIC, or MASSA (of Mass.).	CHIPPEWA (of Michigan).
A flap	Rappatoc		Aziaun.
Awl or needle	Moc cose		Miggose.
Axe	Tomma hick..	Tagknoc	Wá-gau-kwut.
Belt	Maaohone		Miscogaud (red).
Black or	Mow cottowosh	Mooi	Muckada.
Blue		Peshai	
Blankets	Mattosh		Muttatosh (if of beaver skin.)

	PAMPTICO (of N. Carolina).	NATIC, or MASSA (of Mass).	CHIPPEWA (of Michigan).
Coat	Taus won	Hogkooöngash	Bubensikowágun.
Eight	Nau haush shoo	Shawosuk	Shwas wi.
Englishman	Tosh shome		Saganosh.
Fire.	Tinda	Nootae	Ishcoda.
Five	Umperren	Napauna	Ná nun.
Flints	Hindo	Qussukquanit	Pe waun (sing).
Four	Tau ooner	Yaw	Newin.
Gun	Gau hoop top		Páush kozzi-gun.
Gunpowder	Pungue		Pingwee (fine grains).
Hat	Mottau quahan		Wewukquon.
Hoe	Rosh shocquon		Pemigwagaqut.
Indians	Nuppin		Nishinaba.
Knife	Rig cosq (qr. migos ...)	Quogwosh Eteawsonkosh, C.S	Mo co maun.
Nine	Pach-ic-conk	Paskoogun	Shong.
One	Weembot	Pasuk nequt	Ba shik.
Paint	Chuwon		Wazhinegam.
Peak	Ronoak[1]	Peag	Ais (if unwrought). Megis (if worked).
Red	Mish cosh	Musqua mishque	Misqui.
Ronoak, a red cloth.	Miskis su		Misquagin.
Rum	Weesaccon		Scodawabo.
Seven	Top-poo-osh	Nesausuk	Nish was wi.
Shot	Arraunser		Unween.
Six	Who yeoc	Nequttatash	Nin good was wi.
Ten	Cosh	Puik	Kuatsh, or Metonna.
Three	Nishwonner	Nish	Niswe.
Tobacco	Hooh pau	Uhpoo-onk	Ussamah.
Tree	Conossa	Mehtug	Mittig.
Two	Nishinnauk	Neese	Neesh.
Water	Umpe	Nippe	Nebee.
White	Wop-poshau mosh	Wompi	Waubi.

2.

	WACCOA.	CATAWBA.
A goose[2]	Auhaune	Ahhah.[2]
Day		Maway.[2]
Dead	Caave	Yawærah hera.
Dog[2]	Tauhhe	Tauntsee.[2]

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[1] It would appear, from this, that the island of Roanoke, N. C., was originally so named for its affording the Indians the valued sea-shell, Peak.

[2] Coincidences between Waccoa and Catawba.

	WACCOA.	CATAWBA.
Fish	Yacunne	Yee.
House[1]	Auke	Sook.[1]
Maize[1]	Cosa (corn)	Koos.[1]
One[1]	Tonne	Dupunna.[1]
Snake	Yau hauk	Yah.
Snow	Wawawa	Wauh.
Three[1]	Nam mee	Namee.[1]
Tree[1]	Yup (wood)	Wup.[1]
	Hooheh	Youne.
Two[1]	Numpere	Napoore.[1]
Water[1]	Eyau	Eyau.[1]
Wind	Yuncor	Yahho.
Woman	Ticau (old)	Eeyauh.

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[1] Coincidences between Waccoa and Catawba.

(d) ORIGINAL WORDS OF INDIAN SONGS LITERALLY TRANSLATED.

CHIPPEWA SONGS.

I. LOVE SONGS.

1. Ningah peendegay aindahyaig.
We he he way. (*Repeat.*)

I will walk into some one's dwelling,

2. Ningah peendegay aindahyaig.
We he heway. (*Choral chant, four times repeated.*)

I will walk into somebody's home.

3. Nenemoshain aindahyaig
Non dah debik, ningah peendigay
He he heway. (*Repeat.*)

My sweetheart, into thy home
I will walk, in the night.

4. Nenemoshain nondah pebön,
Ningah peendigay.
We he heway. (*Repeat.*)

My sweetheart, in the winter
I shall walk into your abode.

5. Nondah tibik ningah peendigay,
We he heway. (*Repeat.*)

This night I will walk into your lodge.

The composer appears to commence with delicacy and deference, singing that he would walk into some indefinite home. The next line implies that he will walk into his or her home. In the third line, he expresses himself that he will walk into her home during some night. He then informs her, that he will walk into her dwelling during the winter. In the fifth line he becomes decisive and bold, and says he will walk into her lodge this night.

II.

Wi hâ yâ dinawido
Wi hâ yâ dinawido
Ki awâ — we.
Wi hâ yâ dinawido
Wi hâ yâ dinawido
Ki awâ — we — yo.
Ozam gosha kiwàwa nishkôm
E do.
Kikonas ninga nadin
Kikonas ninga nadin
Goshâ — we — yo.

Kiawâ, thy body; *Ozam,* too much; *Goshâ,* an expression which indicates the truth or certainty of what is said or done; *Kikonas,* thy clothing — it means a covering in general, without specification of kind; *Kiwàwâ nishköm,* you walk with your toes turned in; *Ninga nadin,* I will seek you, or, I go to seek you.

It appears that a lover no longer loved his mistress, because she walked with her toes too much turned in. He says that he positively goes to find her clothing, probably to give them to her.

III.

Ya! Nindenendōn	Alas, I think,
Ya! Nindenendōn	Alas, I think,
Ya! Nindenendōn	Alas, I think,
Nichawiyânin	When he comes,
Ninimoushen-win	My dear lover,
Jibi Akking-win	In the land of the dead,
Pimossedoog	Perhaps he travels, or works.

Oh! it sets me thinking, my lover now in the land of the dead, he is working there.

IV.

1. Indenaindum makow weyah
Nindenaindum. (*Choral chant, repeat.*)
Ah, me, when I think of him, my sweetheart.

2. Pahbojeaun nebenaubekoning,
Wabbi megissun, nenemoshain.
Nindenaindum. (*Repeat.*)
As he embarked to return, he put the white wampum round my neck, my sweetheart.

3. Keguh wejewin aindahnukeyun
Ningee egobun, nenemoshain.
Nindenaindum. (*Repeat.*)

I shall go with you to your native country, my sweetheart.

4. Nya! nindenah dush wassawud goshuh,
Aindahnukeyaun keyaun-ke yau
Ninemoshain wee. (*Choral chant.*)

Alas, my native country is far, far away, my sweetheart.

5. Kayaubik oween kin aube aunin
Kewe naube, ninemoshain. (*Choral chant.*)

When I looked back to the spot where we parted, he stood looking after me, my sweetheart.

5. Apee nay wenibow unishebun
Aungwashagoshing, nenemoshain we. (*Choral chant.*)

Still, he stood on a tree that had fallen into water of the river, my sweetheart.

6. Nya, nindenaindum (bis)
Makow weyuh, nindenaindum we.

Alas, when I think of him—Alas, when I think of him.

V.

1. Nyau nin de naindum,
Nyau nin de naindum.

Oh dear, thinks I,
Oh dear, thinks I.

2. Nakow e yaun in, siaug e ug,
Nakow e yaun in, siaug e ug.

Of him whom I remember,
Of him whom I remember.

3. Nyau inaindah mau nin,
Nyau inaindah mau nin.

Oh dear, when my mind thinks,
Oh dear, when my mind thinks.

4. Macow e yaun in
Kaw e go yaum baun
Na gun e go nyau baun,
Nyau, &c. (*Repeat.*)

When I remember what was said to me,
When I was left behind,
Oh, when I think of him,
Oh, &c. (*Repeat.*)

5. Pau oje mid, kau we ji win.
Nin je in ain dum
Macow e yaun in
Nyau nin de nain dum.
Macow, &c. (*Repeat.*)

When he came to put his hands around my neck,
I'll go with you, my heart replied,
But oh, my tongue was still.
Oh, &c. (*Repeat.*)

WAR SONGS.

I.

1. Oshawanong undausewug
Penaissee wug ke baim waiwa dung ig.

From the south they come,
The birds, the warlike birds, with sounding wings.

2. Todatabe penaisse
Kedow wea weyun.

I wish to change myself
To the body of that swift bird.

3. Newabenau neowau. (*Repeat.*)

I throw away my body in the strife.

II.

The warrior speaks to the war-bird, and says:

Nanakawe pinessiwian........................ From time to time, I dwell in a bird.

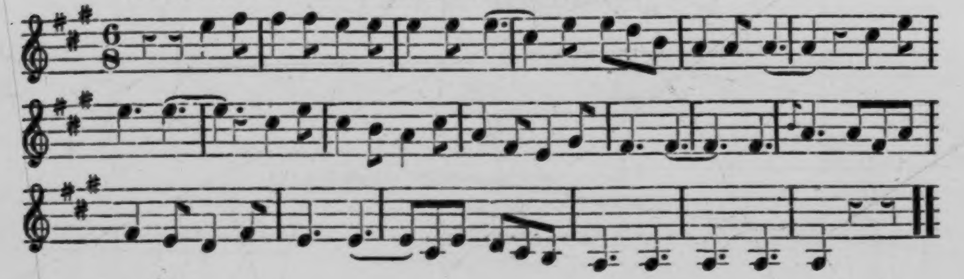
The bird says to him:

Kinakoomin nozis............................. I answer you, my son-in-law.

III.

WAR SONG OF THE CHIPPEWAS:

Sung on the Lakes, when one party goes in search of another, to join in the War.



MEDICINE SONG,

Sung when the Medawinini enter the Lodge, for the grand Ceremony of the Medicines.

1. Wâbamisken, wâbamisken, ezhinagoo nyau, nikau.
Look at me, look at me, see how well I am dressed.

It is probable these words are addressed to the medicine-bag, which each holds, with great respect, in his left hand, near his head.

The eight members of the faculty having entered the lodge, proceed to take charge of the presents given to them. They sing —

2. Anin nindayânnine, wemitts gozhiwug, omandidaganiwâu nindayamowau.
I have them the merchandise of the whites, I have them.

CORN SONG.

Corn husking is a season of great hilarity in the Indian lodges, and the assemblages of the young people for this purpose bring out social traits which are often concealed. If one of the young female huskers finds a *red* ear of corn, it is typical of a brave admirer, and is regarded as a fitting present to some young warrior. But if the ear be *crooked*, and tapering to a point, no matter what color, the whole circle is set in a roar, and *wa ge min* is the word shouted aloud. It is the symbol of a thief in the cornfield. It is considered as the image of an old man stooping as he enters the lot. Had the chisel of Praxitiles been employed to produce this image, it could not more vividly bring to the minds of the merry group the idea of a pilferer of their favorite mondámin. Nor is there any doubt, on these occasions, that the occurrence truly reveals the fact that the cornfield has actually been thus depredated on. They all join in the following cereal chorus:

1. Wagemin, wagemin,
Paimosaid:
Wagemin, wagemin,
Paimosaid:

Crooked ear, crooked ear,
Walker at night.

2. Bakau kewaizee
Ka saugizzesee.

Stop, little old man,
And take not to flight.

3. Wagemin, wagemin,
Kenabowid,
Wagemin, wagemin,
Ningah nugamood.

Crooked ear, crooked ear,
Stand up strong,
Little old crooked man,
I'll give you a song.

CHANT TO THE FIRE-FLY,

By the Indian Children.

Wau wau taisee, wau wau taisee,
Emow e shin tsche bwau ne baun o we,
Be-ezhaun, be-ezhaun e wee,
Wau wau taisee, wau wau taisee,
Wassa koonain djeegan.

Fire-fly, fire-fly, light me to bed.
Come, come, little insect of light,
You are my candle, and light me to go.

CHEROKEE SONG OF FRIENDSHIP.

The following is a song of friendship, in the Cherokee:

1. Kan-al-li, eh ne was tu,
Yai ne noo wai ai-e-noo-hai.

You resemble a friend of mine.

2. Ti nai tau na klai, ne was-tu,
Yai ne noo wai. E-noo wai, hai.

I think we are brothers.

(e) A LEXICON OF THE ALGONQUIN LANGUAGE.

PART I.—CHIPPEWA.

A.

This letter has four distinct sounds in the language. The first is that heard in the tribal name of Chippewa. It is the English sound of *a* heard in name, and of *ai*, as in maid. It is the Indian sound of the latter that is uttered in the word *wai wa*, to wave; and *ma ma*, a woodpecker. The second sound is that of *a* in father, which expresses the soft *h*, as in *ah*. This sound of the letter is very common, as heard in *ahmee*, a bee, *ahwaisee*, a quadruped. The third sound of the letter is the *au*, in the English word auction, and the *aw*, in the word law. It is heard in the Indian exclamation, *tyau*, behold; *waub*, to see; *pemaudizzee*, to live. The fourth, or short sound of *a* is heard in *atossowin*, a table; *abwaiwin*, a frying-pan; *atiss*, a sinew. These principles will govern the use of the letter in the following pages; that is: 1. ai; 2. ah; 3. au; 4. a, simply.

A, *a*. *Pai zhik*. This word is used both as an adjective and as the indefinite article. In the numerical system, the term *ningo* frequently supplies it. But if it be intended to say, a man, or, a pigeon, the terms are, *pai zhik inini*, or *pai zhik omeme*.

An, *art*. No cultivation which the language has received renders it necessary to distinguish between *a* and *an*.

Ab. A syllable, which, when prefixed to compounds, appears to denote personality.

Abandon, *v*. (radix, *Annawind*.) *Aunawindjegai*. He or she is abandoned, or left. *Awindje gaiwin*. Abandonment.

Abash, *v*. *Au gúd ji*. To abash; he, or she, is abashed. Verbs are inserted in the most simple of their concrete forms, being the third person, singular, of the indicative mood, present tense, whenever it is not otherwise expressed.

Abdomen, *s*. *O mis súd*. The letter *o*, in this word, is the alphabetical sign of the third person. The word is rendered substantive in *ud*.

A-bed, *ad*. *Ne bau gun ing*. In bed; he or she is in bed. From the verb *ne bau*, to sleep. *Gun* denotes an instrument, or contrivance: hence, *Ne ba gun* is a bedstead. It is local in *ing*.

Abide, *v. imp*. *Abín*. Abide thou. *Ab in os* is an abiding place, or a place appointed in the lodge for a member of the family to sit in, or locate at, while in the lodge.

Able, *a*. (radix, *Gushk*, *v*.) *Gushkiton*. He or she is able to do.

Abo. In compound words a liquid; thus: *Mishiminabo*, cider; *Shomin abo*, wine; *Ishkoda* (*w*) *abo*, ardent spirits; *Totosh abo*, milk.

Aboard, and received in. (radix, *Peend*.) *Peend ön vg*. He or she is aboard, and in the vessel.

Aboard the ship, canoe, or boat. *Nimboz*, I am aboard, refers to the personal act of embarking.

Abode, *s*. (radix, *Aind*.) *Aind áud*. His or her home, or dwelling-place. *Aindau yaun*, my home; *Aindauyun*, thy home, &c.

Abominable. The radix of the verb is *Gaigwanissa*. It is necessary to subjoin the person, or thing, abominated.

Aborigines, *s. p*. *Un ish in du ba*. This compound term is made up of *Un ish*, common, or general, and *du ba*, a male; and the plain sense is, the common people. By adding the syllable *win*, it is rendered mankind, which see.

Abortive. Abortive fruit of the womb. *Maishkigan*.

Abound, *v*. *Bautizenied*. To abound generally.

About. *Kee wee tau ĭ cĭ ie*; *Kee wee tau ĭ cĭ ci*. Round about; encircling.

Above, *prep*. (radix, *Ȯ gidj*.) *O gidj i e e*. Above it. This is generally spoken of visible objects.

Above. *Ishpiming*. With the *I* in the first syllable softened, as if pronounced *'Shpiming*. Above all; highest in place. *Spimink*. Carver; *Spiming*; *Knisteno*. (Mackenzie.)

Above-ground. *Ogeedáhkumig.* Above the earth, or ground, but still upon it.

Abroad, *ad.* (radix, *Kö dug.*) *Kö dug ing.* He or she is abroad. It is the local form of being abroad.

Abscess, *s.* *Min é wi.*

Abscond, *v.* *O zhe moó.* He or she absconds. *O zhemood.* Absconder. *O zhe moo win.* Absconding.

Abscond, *v.* *Ozhimoo.*

Absent, *a.* *On dain di.* He or she is absent.

Abstain, *v.* (radix, *Keig wish.*) *Kee e gwish i moo.* He or she abstains. *Keigwishimoowin.* Abstaining.

Abundance, *s.* (radix, *Wau naud.*) *Wau naud ud.* Inanimate. *Wau nad iz ze.* Animate. It is a term declarative of abundance, without person or number.

Abundance of food. *Mishinaud.* To abound in food.

Abuse, *s.* *Mudjekegido.* Bad language.

Abuser, *s.* *Mudjekaugedood.* Utterer of bad language.

Accept, *v.* *O dá pe nun.* He or she takes it.

Accepter, *s.* *Wai dá pe nung.* He who accepts. Here the change from the verb to the substantive is made by altering *o* to *wai*, and adding the animate plural in *g.*

Acclaim, *s.* *Sai sá kwai.* This word is limited, in its use, to the war-cry.

Accompany, *v.* *O weed je i waun.*

Accompanier, *s.* *Wai je i waid.* The change from a verb to a noun is made by turning *o* into *wai*, in the first syllable, as in Accepter, and dropping the second syllable, changing *waun* to *waud.*

Accost, *v. imp.* *Kun ozh.* Speak to him.

Account, *v.* *Muz zi nï e gäi.* To keep accounts.

Account-book, *s.* *Muz zi nï e gun.* Substantive in *gun.*

Accuse, *v.* *Un a mó dum.*

Accuser, *s.* *Ain ä mo dung.*

Acid, *a.* *Shé won.* Sour; acrid. *Shèwun abo.* Vinegar.

Acorn, *s.* *Mittigómin.* This word is compounded from *mittig*, tree, and *min*, berry. It is diminutive in *ais.* Hence, *Mittigomenais.* A little acorn. *Der. Mittigomin aush.* *Dim. Mittigomin ais.*

Across, *ad.* *Au zhe wï e e.* Across the water, river, or lake.

Acquaintance, *s.* *Kai kaí ne mind.*

Act, *v.* (radix, *Todum.*) He or she acts. *Nin dō dum.* I act. *Ki dö dum.* Thou actest, &c. *Tō dum.* He or she acts. *Ki dō dum in.* We act. (Im.) *Nin dödum in.* We act. (Ex.) *Ki dö dum.* Ye or you act. *O dö dum e wug.* They act.

Action, *s.* *Tó dum o win.* This word is made substantive in *win.* It is a general rule of the orthography of the language, that a consonant cannot succeed a consonant in compounds; the vowels *i* and *o* are generally used as coalescents, in these cases, without carrying any additional meaning.

Actor, *s.* *Ain dó dung.*

Active, *a.* *Ke zhin zhów i ta.* It is active. *Ke zhinzhów iz zi.* He is active.

Activity, *s.* *Ke zhin zhów iz zi win.* Substantive in *win.*

Adder, *s.* *Kenaí bik.*

Dim... *Ons.* A small snake.
Der.... *Ish.* A small, bad snake.
Loc.... *Ing.* Place of a small bad snake.
Dim., der. and *local...* *Onsishing.* Place of the little, bad snake.

Every proper noun admits of the diminutive, derogative, and local forms. These forms may be aggregated in one compound inflection, as here exhibited.

Adder's tongue. *Mó na wing.* A plant.

Address, *s.* *Ké gi dö win.* Substantive in *win.*

Address, *v.* *Ké gi dó.* Speak; he speaks.

Addressed, *s.* *Kau gi dood.* In this change from the verb, the first syllable is altered from *ke* to *kau*, and the last, from *oo* to *ood.*

Adhere, *v.* *A goo kd.*

Adjective. Adjectives are of two classes, animate and inanimate, as:

Mudjee. Bad (animate). *Manaudud* (inanimate).
Minno. Good " *Onishish* "

They possess number, and may have prefixed and suffixed pronouns, when they become adjective-verbs, and assume a variety of voices.

Admit, *v.* *Páh de guzh.*

Admitter, *s.* *Pa de guzh' e waid.*

Adopt, *v.* *Wing ó ma.*

Adopted, *s.* *Wï aing o mind.*

Adopter, *s.* *Wï aing on gaid'.*

Adore, *v.* *An nuh me au.* To pray to God.

Adorer, *s.* *Ain uh me aud.* One who prays to God. This phrase, when it receives its plural in *jig*, is the term employed for Christians.

Adorn, *v.* *Sus sá ga.* To dress fine.

Adroit, *a.* *Min wee.* This is an adjective-verb in the Indian, and may be conjugated as other verbs.

Adrift, *ad.* *Wa bah' tun.* Adrift in the current. *Ahtun* is current or stream.

Advance, *v.* *Pe daus' um ó sai.*

Advancer, *s.* *Pa daus um ó said'.* He who is in advance.

Advantage, *s.* *Pe jin ów iz zi.*

Adventure, *v.* *Ïe naud' iz zi.* To adventure; to wander.

Adventurer, *s.* *Ai e naúd iz zid.* He who adventures.

Adversity, *s.* *Kood üg e to.*

Advise, *v.* *Kug ge kwdi.*

ī, as in pine; ĭ, as in pin; ö, as oa in groan; o, as in not; oo, as in moot; u, as in gun; ch, as in chair.

Advise, *s.* *Kug ge kwai win.*

Adviser, *s.* *Kaig ge kwaid.* He who advises.

Adult, *s.* *Ke zhig ee.*

Adultery, *s.* *Ke mö je e id de win.* Substantive in *win.* This noun is not formed, as in English, from the verb. By taking the personal radix *jeed*, the wrong done is specifically described.

Afar, *ad.* *Wah suh.*

Affable, *a.* *O naú neg uz zi.*

Affection, *s.* *Ge zha wad iz zi win.* Substantive in *win.* If love be meant, the term is *Saugiewaiwin.*

Affectionate, *v.* *Sa gön zhä.* Masculine and feminine. *Ge zhä wad iz zi.* With benevolent feelings.

Affinity, *s.* *In nuh wend i win.*

Afflict, *v.* *We sug ain dum.* To make bitter of mind.

Affliction, *s.* *We sug ain dum o win.* Bitterness of mind.

Afloat, *ad.* *Wa bah tun.*

Afore, *prep.* *Ne gaun.* Hence. *Ne gaun e gaub ow e.* Fore-standing man. *Ne gaun auk.* Before the tree. *Ne gaun e bow.* Standing before.

Aforetime, *ad.* *Mäi winzh uh.*

Afraid, *a.* *Sat giz zi.* This is a verb-adjective in the Indian, and subject to all the rules of that part of speech.

After, *prep.* *Ish kwäi onk.*

Afternoon. *Un áu goosh e.* Evening.

Again, *ad.* *Meen o wa.* Once more.

Age, *s.* *Ap peet iz ze.* This word appears to be made from *Appee*, time, and the personal inflection, *izzi.* The *t* in the second syllable may be variously derived, but however derived, is suited to show verbal action.

Age, *s.* *Ap peet iz zi win.* Substantive in *win.*

Aged, *a.* *Gik kau.* Old; aged. The sense is aged, in general. Adjectives may be changed into verbs, in this language. If it be intended to say a person is aged, the term is *Git iz za.* From the latter the noun is made, by changing the first syllable into *Gī*, and adding to the declaration for matter, *it ai*, the verbal root *i e.* Thus we have the word *Gī it ai i e e.*

Agent, Chief, or Officer. *O gi mau.* Dim. *O gi maus.* A little agent. Der. *O gi maus ish.* A little, bad agent. Prepositional, *O gi maus ish ing.* In, or on the little bad agent. The latter may be contracted into *O gi maush ing.*

Agile, *a.* *Ke zhin show' iz ze.* He (is) agile.

Agility, *s.* *Ke zhin zhow iz ze win.* This term is rendered substantive by putting *win* to its termination.

Agreeable, *a.* *Min wain' dang ooz zi.* In making this composite verb, we have *minno*, good; *aindum*, mind; *aug*, from *ian*, denoting the being or existence; and the personal form *ooz zi*, which is most commonly *iz zi.*

Agreeableness, *s.* *Min wain' dau gozzi win.* The noun is made by adding *win* to the preceding.

Agricultural, *s.* *Git te gä win.* Hence the verb *Git-te gä.* To garden or to agriculture; or, he agricultures. The word then takes all the forms of an ordinary verb. The following terms describe some of the employ-ployments of agriculture. *Mö ni e gat wug.* Digging potatoes. *Mö ni e jeeg i kwai wug.* Women clearing, or grubbing land. *Push kud ush ke zhe gai wug.* Mowing or reaping.

Agriculturist, *s.* *Gai te gaid.* A farmer.

Ah, *inter.* *Ty au.* This term is masculine, being strictly confined, in its use, to males. The use of this word is confined. When used to indicate compassion, as well as surprise, the pronunciation is softened, and the final syllable is closed by a lengthened expiration of the breath. For the corresponding feminine, see Nyau.

Ahead, *prep.* *Ne gahn.*

Aid, *v.* *We dó ka zoo.*

Aid-de-Camp, *s.* *Oshkaubaiwis; Osh kau baa wis.* An attendant on a war-chief, who performs certain ceremonies and services deemed honorable.

Aider, *s.* *Wai do ka zood'.*

Ail, *v.* *A kooz zi.* He or she is sick.

Ailment, *s.* *A kooz' zi win.*

Aim, *v.* *O dó zhe an.* Animate.

Aimer, *s.* *Wy ái zhe waid.* Personal.

Air, *s.* *Au yau.* A soft wind; a zephyr.

Air, *s.* *Nowoiyauh; No wot yauh.* Air in gentle motion; a zephyr; a slight breeze.

All, *Kukkinnah; Kuk kin' nah.* *s.* The whole; every part. *ad.* Quite; wholly; completely. *Kokinum.* (Car.) *Kakenan*, Algo. (Mackenzie.)

Alarm, *v.* *Sa sa kwai.* To whoop; to startle by a cry.

Alarm-cry. *Sa sa kwai win.*

Alarmer, *s.* *Sy ai sa kwaid.* One who utters the war-cry.

Alder, *s.* *Wad döp.*

Ale, *s.* There is no appropriate term for this word, as distinguished from small beer. If they knew the mode of its manufacture, they would apply the term to signify grain liquor.

Algonquin, *s.* *Odis qua gume.* People at the end of the waters.

Alike, *ad.* *Tib bish ko.* This is made into a verb-passive, in the Indian.

Aliment, *s.* *Me jim.* Food.

Alive, *a.* *Pe maú diz ze.* He or she (is) alive. This is a verb in the Chippewa.

All. *Kuk kin' nuh.*

Alliance, *s. In nuh wain de win.*

Allies. *Waudo kaugaidjij.*

All-men. *Minze gaigo.* All the world.

Allot, *v. Oon a o kee.*

Alloter, *s. Wai na ó keed.*

Allow, *v. Pug gid e ne wa.*

Allure, *v. Sho be e wāi.* To allure.

Almond, *s. Pug an.* A nut; any nut.

Almost, *ad. Kāi gah.*

Alms, *s. Shāi wāi ning gā win un.* This word is rendered substantive in *win*, and plural in *un*

Alms-giver, *s. Shai wai ning gaid.*

Alms-giving. *Shai wain je gai win.* These terms are founded on the verb *Sho wain in gai*, to pity, or have charity. Of this term, *ain* is from *aindum*, and denotes the act of the mind. The termination in *gai* belongs to active verbs. Thus: *Puk ke tai.* To strike. *Paush kizzi gai.* To fire a gun. *Chemai.* To paddle or propel.

Alone, *a. Nee zhik ai'.* By one's self; single.

Aloft, *prep. Ish pim ing.* Above; on high. This word is indefinite in its application. For the definite term, signifying above, or on top of any particular place or thing, see Above. For a rule which governs the pronunciation of the first syllable of this word, see Above-all.

Along-shore. *Tiddibaiw.*

Also, *ad. Giyai'.* Likewise. For remarks on this word, see And, Too, and Likewise.

Alter, *v. Ahn jee tön.* (Inanimate.)

Altercation. *Ī au see min ăd de wug.*

Alterer, *s. Ī ahn jee töd.*

Always, *ad. Kaü gee gai.* Ever; perpetually.

Am, *imp. of to be. Īau.* This verb appears to be the root of most of the active compound verbs, implying life and existence. It is conjugated thus: *Nin diau.* I am, do, have. *Kee diau.* Thou art, dost, hast. *Īau.* He or she is. (See Vol. II., p. 436.) This verb is never employed to denote human affections or passions, the phrases being literally, I glad, I hungry, I sick, I well, &c. It is restricted to terms declarative of the being of divine or human existence; but never, so far as observed, to denote the *condition* of such existence.

Amaze, *v. Mah nuk ud ain dum.*

Amber, *s.* There is no word particularly descriptive of this substance.

Ambush, *s. Akaindowin.*

Amen. *Kun ah gai kun ah.* So be it.

American, *s. Chemokomon.* It is plural in *ug*. Dim. *Ais.* Der. *Ish.* Local and prepositional in *ing*. Cumulative in *Aisishing*. The word is compounded from *Gitche*, great, and *mokomon*, a knife.

American Eagle. *Migizzi.* From the verb *Mig*, to cry like barking; to bark. *Kizzi* is personality; directly.

Amusement, *s. Oombukkumig izze; Oom buk kum ig'iz ze.* Indicates the person to be engaged in amusement. The word is rendered plural by suffixing *wug*.

An. *Paă zhik.* A, an, one.

Ancestors. *O git ee zeem e maug*, plural.

And, *conj. Gi' yai.* (*Conj.* animate.) A change in the accent appears to distinguish the conjunctional, from the adverbial form of this word. *Os' she* is a conj. inanimate. Limited exclusively to the computation of numbers. *Appeé*, in relation to time.

Andiron, *s. Shaigwukinzhzhaiegun; Shaĭ gwuk iñzhzhaĭ e gun.* A word descriptive of the transverse pieces of wood which support a fire; and hence applied to the iron substitute for these supports in fire-places.

Anger, *s. Nish kaud' iz ze win.* Rage; anger; passion.

Anguish, *s. Wee sug aind' um.* Bitterness of mind. From *Weesugau*, bitter, and *Inaindumowin*, mind.

Animal, *s. Ah wai see.* From this generic, various classes of animals, birds, &c., are distinguished. As, *Ahwaisee ug*, quadrupeds; *Penaisee ug*, birds.

Animate Nouns. These are formed by adding the letter *g* to the terminal vowels. Thus, substantives terminating in *a* have their plurals in *ag, aig, aug*, according to the sound of the letter *a*. Those ending in *ei* have their plurals in *eeg*; those in *ö*, end in *ög*; those in *u*, in *ug*.

Animate Forms in the Grammar. These forms constitute one of the most distinguishing features of the Indian language. They mark every part of speech, in the Chippewa, from the noun to the interjection. A male cannot say, *behold!* using the same term that a female does. (Vide Vol. II., p. 364.)

Ankle, *s. O beek oog' un au.* Ankle bone.

Anoint, *v. i. No min un.* To rub with oil.

Another. *Buk aun.* Another; any other. Equally applicable to persons and things.

Answer, *v. Nuh kood un'.* Answer; answer thou.

Ant, *s. Aineego; Ai ne go.* An emmet; a pis-mire.

Anthropophagi, *s. Ween' de go.* A man-eater; a monster; a fabulous person, or ogre.

Antler, *s. Aish' kun.* A deer's, elk's, or caribou's horn.

Annually. *Aindahsopibön.* Once a year.

Apparel. *Paus e kum' in gin.* That which is put on; dress; garment.

Apparition, *s. Jeebī.* A ghost.

Appear, *v., a. form. Naŭ gooz ze.* Denotes the coming in sight, or appearance of the person, or animal *Ndu gwud'*, *i. form.*

APPLE, *s.* *Mish' e min.* Apple. Hence is formed *Mishemin aubo,* cider, *i. e.* apple-liquor.

APPLE-TREE. *Mishemin autig.*

APPROACH, *v.* *Oondaus; Oon daus'.* Come here.

APRIL, *s.* *Pai bŏn kaū o tah gem' ing, geez' is.* The moon of throwing by the snow-shoe.

ARE, *ind. present tense, verb To be.* *Ī au.* This tense of the verb is indicated in colloquial phrases, which ask a question, by adding the interrogative particle *Nuh?* and the meaning then is, are you, are they, &c.

ARISE, *v.* *O nish kaun'.* Get up (from a sleeping posture).

ARITHMETIC. The names of the digits are: 1. *Ningudj' wa,* or *Pe zhĭk.* 2. *Nee' wa,* or *Nizh.* 3. *Nis'wa.* 4. *Nī win.* 5. *Nā nŭn.* 6. *Nin gudi waś wa.* 7. *Nish wā swa.* 8. *Shwaś wa.* 9. *Shŏn gŭś wa,* or *Shŏng.* 10. *Mi taś wa,* or *Kwaitsh.* For their power of computation, see Vol. II., p. 216.

ARM, *s.* *O neek'.* An arm of the body. *O nic* (Mackenzie).

ARM-BAND, *s.* *Git shee wai be zoon.* A band for the arm, such as are worn by chiefs.

ARMS, *pl.* *Osh weé win un.* Weapons of defence.

ARRIVE, *v.* *Meezh ug aū.* Indicates to arrive by water. *Tug wish in', v.* Indicates to come, or arrive by land. *Takouchin.* (Carver.) *Tagouchin.* Alg. (Mackenzie.)

ARROW, *s.* *Beek wuk'.* An arrow; the blunt wood-arrow. *Ussowaun', s.* The flint-pointed, or war-arrow.

ARTICHOKE, *s.* *Ush' kee bwoi.*

ARTICLE. There is but one proper article, the indefinite, which is *pai zhik.* The compensations of the language for the want of the definite article is in a peculiar class of demonstrative pronouns, which qualify allusion, as peculiar forms of *this* and *that,* &c. These, render the use of simple pronouns imperative, as, *this person, that thing,* &c. (See Vol. II., p. 364.)

ARTILLERY. *Giť shee poush kizz gun un'.* Great guns.

ASHAMED, *a.* *Au gud' gee saa!*

ASH. The Sorbus Americana. *Muk' o min saa!*

ASHES. *Pingwee.* This term appears to be without number. The remains of burnt wood, or dust. The word is restricted to this meaning. *Pinoge.* (Carver.)

ASH-TREE. *Wee sug auk.* Means bitter wood.

ASHORE. *Keek' ub au.* Encamped; indicates that the person has landed, or is on shore. Also, if travelling in a vehicle on land, that the person has got out. *Tsheeg a-beeg,* implies to approach the shore, in order to get out.

ASIDE. *Pee mat ī ei ei.*

ASK, *v.* *Kug wat dwain.* Ask thou. *Nin gug waadwad.* I ask. *Kee gug wat je min.* I ask you, &c.

ASKER, *s.* *Kau gwai gaid.*

ASLEEP. *Neé bau.* He or she sleeps.

ASPECT. *Ai zhi nau gwuk.* Of animate things. *Ai zhi nau goozzi.* Of animate things.

ASPEN, *s.* *Az dh di.*

ASSASSIN, *s.* *Nai zhi waid.*

ASSEMBLAGE, *s.* *Mah wah wee id ing.*

ASSENT. *Nuh kood nin.*

ASSERT, *v.* *Ee kí do.*

ASSINABWOIN, *s.* An Assinaboin; a Stone-Sioux. From *ossin,* a stone, and *bwoin,* a Sioux.

ASSIST, *v.* *Wee do kah zoo.* This is rather to aid in an object not present.

ASSISTANT, *v.* *Wah do kah zood.*

ASSIST ME IN WORK, *v.* *Weed je e shin.* Help me personally.

AT, *prep.* *Cheeg.* (*Tsheeg.*) At, or by. *Cheeg autig.* By the tree. *Cheeg a beeg* At, or by the waters.

ATMOSPHERE. *Geezhig.* Air. *Auyau.* Wind. *Nŏdin.*

ATOM, *s.* *Bau pish.* Mite; small particle. Negative, *Kau bau pish.* Not a particle.

ATTEMPT, *v. i. f.* *Wee kood' je tŏn'.* Try him. *Weekwud jih, v. a. f.* Try it.

ATTACK, *v.* *Mow wi ai.*

ATTAIN, *v.* *Gush ki ai wizzi.*

ATTEND, *v.* *Piz ain dum.*

ATTIRE, *v.* *Paus we kum ing in.*

AUGUST. *Mon ŏ min e geez' is.* Moon of wild rice.

AUNT. *Nee ze gwoos'.* My aunt. Restricted to uncle's wife, or father's sister. *Neen wish at.* My mother's sister. *Oozheegwoosemau, s.* Aunt by the father's side.

AURORA BOREALIS. *Jeebī nimeeiddiwug.* Dancing ghosts.

AUTHORITY, *s.* *In [illegible] mau win.*

AUTHORIZE, *v.* *In ug ee mau.*

AUTUMN, *s.* *Tah gwaū gi.* *Tah gwaū goong.* Last autumn. *Tah gwaū gig.* Next autumn.

AVARICE, *s.* *Suz zou goz zi win.*

AVARICIOUS. *Suz zaū giz zi.*

AVENGE, *v.* *Ah zhi tow we i wai.*

AVENGER, *s.* *Ī ah zhi tow we i waid.*

AWAKE, *v.* *Goosh kooz in'.* Awake: *Goosh kooz in, keen', nau bau yun'.* Awake thou that sleepest.

AWAKE, *a.* *Goosh kooz' ee.* Not sleeping; awake.

AWAY. *Nin gŏ je.*

AWKWARD. *Nah mun ji.* Left handed.

AWL, *s.* *Mig gŏs'.* An awl. *Magose.* Alg. (Mackenzie.) *Moccose.* Pamptico. (Lawson.)

AXE, *s.* *Wau gaū kwut.* An axe. *Agacwet.* (Carver.)

AXE-HELVE, *s.* *Ooz e daū kwau tig.*

(*f*) INDIAN GEOGRAPHICAL NOMENCLATURE OF THE UNITED STATES.

C.

Cabiyun. A name in Chippewa traditions, of the earliest period, for the West. It is based on the personal root Ab.

Cacapehon. A small river of Virginia, entering the Potomac from the North Ridge, above Frederick. Shortened to Capon.

Cadarossaros. A mountain of northern New York, in the ancient domain of the Iroquois.

Caddodaques. An ancient French or Spanish mode of orthography for the Caddo Indians.

Caddoes. A tribe formerly living upon the Red River, of Louisiana. They are now completely within the jurisdiction of Texas. From recent estimates they, together with the Ionics and Ahshaudahas, number 750 souls. They have some peculiar traditions.

Cahnawaga. Rapids of Mohawk River, New York.

Cahoes. Falls of the Mohawk River, New York.

Cahohatatea. Mohawk name for the valley of the River Hudson.

Cahokia. Illinois; Illinese dialect.

Canada. This is the name of two tributaries of the Mohawk River, of New York, on its northern banks, both being derived from their former supposed origin *in* or *near* Canada. The word Canada is of Iroquois origin, and is frequently used in their geographical compends with various adjuncts, as in *Canadagea*, *Canandaguia*, &c. Agreeably to the Vocabulary of Eliot, Canada is the name for a town (Notes on the Iroquois, p. 394); and there is little doubt that when Cartier, in 1534, ascended Mount Royal, and asked the Indians of Hochelaja, the name of their country, they apprehended him as speaking of the town of Hochelage.

Canadasaga. The Indian name of Seneca Lake. It appears to have been so named from *Canada*, town, and *aga*, a place — in allusion to the Seneca capital, near its foot.

Canadéa. A locality of Alleghany County, New York.

Canaderaga. A small lake, of Otsego County, New York.

Canajoharrie. A river and town of the Mohawk valley, New York. The term *harrie* had the general significance of the power of water on the banks of streams;

and compound words must be interpreted in reference to this power on the substantive members of its compounds. The distinctive feature of this river, from which the name is derived, was a capacious pot-hole, as the geologists call it, in the rocks, forming the bed of the stream.

Canadway. A stream of Chatauque County, New York.

Canandaigua. The Seneca name of a fine lake in western New York. It is now the site of a beautiful village. This was formerly the site of a Seneca town, remains of which existed in 1845. (Notes on the Iroquois.)

Canasauga. A locality in Polk County, Tennessee.

Canaseraga. A village of Madison County, New York.

Cananee. A tributary of Ockmulgee River, Georgia.

Canastota. A locality of Madison County, New York.

Canees. The name of an Indian tribe anciently living near St. Barnard's Bay, on the Gulf of Mexico, Texas. (Alcedo.)

Caneóga. An ancient Indian name for the Mohawk River.

Canesus. A lake of New York.

Canisteo. A river and town of Alleghany and Steuben Counties, New York.

Canistoga. An old Iroquois town on the Susquehanna, in Pennsylvania.

Canoga. A locality of Seneca County, New York.

Canonnicut. An island of Narragansett Bay, opposite Newport, Rhode Island.

Canouchee. A small river of Georgia, tributary to the Ogeechee.

Canquaga. A stream in Erie County, New York.

(In the above words, so far as they are Iroquois, it is evident that the syllables *Can* and *Canad* denote the sites of ancient villages, the terms being completed by allusion to geographical features, such as valley, hill, stream, &c. The regular terminal syllable, when the sound permits its full use, is *oga* or *aga*, as in Saratoga and Onondaga.)

Carankoways. An Indian tribe of Texas.

Carib. West Indies.

Caroga. Fox Creek, of the Mohawk River, New York.

Carrituck. North Carolina.

Carritunk. Somerset, Maine.

Cassadaga. A lake of Chautauque County, New York.

Catahoula. On the Washita, Louisiana.

Catasaqua. Near Lehigh, Pennsylvania. (Iroquois.)

Catatonk. Tioga County, New York.

Catawba. An Indian tribe of South Carolina.

Cattawissa. Columbia County, Pennsylvania. (Iroquois.)

Catoctin. Frederick County, Maryland.

Cattaragus. A County, &c., of western New York.

Cataracqui. Rapids of the St. Lawrence.

Caughnewassa. In Mohawk valley, New York.

Cayohara. East Canada Creek, New York.

Cayuga. One of the tribe of the Six Nations.

Cayuta. Chemung County, New York.

Chactaws. One of the Vesperic tribes. This tribe first treated January 3d, 1786. Made first cession in 1802. In 1820, appropriated and paid $96,000 for schools, provided for deaf and dumb, and appropriated 54 sections to be sold, for education. Agreed to emigrate west as early as practicable, in 1830. They now occupy a tract of about 150 miles by 200, lying between Red River and the Canadian fork of the Arkansas, west of the State of Arkansas. The country is fertile, and well adapted for raising grain and cattle. The Chactaws have adopted a democratic form of government, and divided the country into districts, each of which is represented in their legislative council. Voters must be members of the tribe, of age, and residents of the district. The executive power is vested in three chiefs, who have a veto power. They have twelve schools, an academy, and several organized churches. They are in a state of advancement in the highest degree flattering to the friends of humanity and civilization. The name is written Choctaw, in our treaties.

Chaptico. Maryland.

Chatooga. A river of Georgia and Alabama.

Chattahootchie. Georgia. The name is formed from the Creek word *Chatta*, a stone, and *hotche*, marked, painted or figured — there being rocks of this description near the site of the old town.

Chattanooga. Tennessee.

Chaugee. An ancient settlement of Indians on Tugelo River, South Carolina.

Chautauque. A lake of western New York.

Cheboygan. A river of Michigan.

Checkatuck. Virginia.

Cheektowaga. A locality of western New York.

Chegoimegon. A noted point on Lake Superior, Michigan.

Chehaw. A small river of South Carolina.

Chemung. A County of New York; a river, so named from the Indians finding, in its bed, a fossil elephant's tusk.

Chenango. A river of New York.

Chenook. A tribe of Oregon.

Chenubba. A locality of Georgia.

Cheohee. A locality of South Carolina.

Chepachet. A river of Rhode Island.

Chequest. Iowa.

Cheraw. South Carolina.

Cherokee. One of the largest Vesperic tribes.

Chesapeak. The largest bay of the United States. The word *Chees*, in the Algonquin, signifies a wild turnip. *Cheeg* is a prepositional term, indicating by, at, alongside. *Beeg*, or simply-*eeg*, denotes waters — large waters, as lakes and seas.

Chestatee. A tributary of the Chattahootchee, Georgia.

Chesuncook. A locality on the Penobscot River, Maine.

Chetache. A creek of Alabama.

Chetimaches. A lake of Louisiana.

Cheyenne. The Cheyennes range through the region of the higher Arkansas and its tributaries, extending north to the Missouri, and south to the borders of the province of New Mexico. They are hunters of the buffalo, deer, elk, and antelope. They are warlike, bold, and erratic. Their chief trade is in buffalo skins. Their numbers are estimated from 1500 to 2000. They have a close alliance with the Arrapahoes. A treaty of amity, trade and commerce was concluded with them in 1825. They have never been called on to cede territory, and receive no annuities.

Chickasaws. This tribe constitutes one of the most promising members of the Indian territory west of Arkansas. They first entered into treaty with the United States January 10th, 1786, three years after the definitive treaty of peace at Paris. Began to cede their lands in 1805; ceded all lands east of the Mississippi, at Pontotoc, in 1832; agreed to emigrate in 1834; united in government with the Chactaws, in 1837; and are now seated on the north branch of the Red River, in the Indian territory west of Arkansas. They occupy a fine country. By the compact of the 17th of January, 1837, they pay the Chactaws $53,000 for the civil and other privileges yielded them by this compact, became a district of the government, and set aside $500,000 to be invested in stocks. This tribe speaking the same mother languages with the Chactaws, interpreters are not necessary between them. They live intermixed with the Chactaws, and are united with them in government. The interest paid to them by government, on funds invested, is some $27,000; $146,000 is set apart for orphans. They are in a high state of advancement.

Chicago. Illinois. This word is derived from the odor of the wild leek, formerly abundant on Chicago Creek, and the local termination of words in *o*.

Chickahominy. A river of Virginia.

Chickalah. Arkansas.

Chickamauga. A creek of Georgia.

Chickamoga. Tennessee.

Chickaasawhatchee. Georgia.

Chickasabbha. A river of Mississippi.

Chickopee. A river of Massachusetts.

Chicktawaga. Erie County, New York.

Chicomico. A place in Maryland, at its settlement.

Chicora. An ancient name for Indians on the South Carolina coast.

Chilhowee. A mountain of Tennessee.

Chillicothe. The site of an ancient Shawnee town of the Sciota River, Ohio.

Chillisquaque. A stream of the Susquehanna, Pennsylvania.

Chillitecaux (q. co). Missouri.

Chingoteague. Accomac County, Virginia.

Chinnibee. Talladega County, Alabama.

Chippewas. Michigan. A populous and wide-spread tribe, extending, in the lake country, from Detroit to the source of the Mississippi River. They speak a soft and copious language; and the bands living in the basins of Lakes Michigan, Huron and Superior are much advanced in manners, customs and dress.

Chippewyan. A tribe of the north; a name for the Rocky Mountains.

Chipwanit. A creek of Indiana.

Chisago. A locality of Minnesota.

Chittenango. A creek of Madison County, New York.

Chocchuma. A locality of Mississippi.

Choccotochee. A creek of Alabama.

Choconut. Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania.

Choctaws. The modern orthography of Chactaw.

Choctawhatchee. A river of Alabama and Florida.

Choestoe. A locality of Georgia.

Choppeen. Indiana.

Choptank. A river of Delaware and Maryland.

Choptank. Virginia.

Chowan. A river of North Carolina.

Chuah-nah-whah-hah. A new pass in the Rocky Mountains, discovered within a few years. It is supposed to be in north latitude, about 40°. The western end of the valley gap is thirty miles wide, which narrows to twenty at its eastern termination; it then turns oblique to the north, and the opposing sides appear to close the pass, yet there is a narrow way quite to the foot of the mountain. On the summit there is a large beaver pond, which has outlets both ways; but the eastern stream dries early in the season, while there is a continuous flow of water west. In its course, it has several beautiful, but low cascades, and terminates in a placid and delightful stream. This pass is now used by emigrants.

Chucktanenda. Ancient name of a stream flowing into the Mohawk, at Amsterdam, New York.

Chulahoma. Mississippi.

Chulasky. Northumberland County, Pennsylvania.

Chunnenuggee. Alabama.

Chupee. A creek of Georgia.

Chuquatoncha. A creek of Mississippi.

Cibola. A small river of Texas.

Cibola. An ancient locality of New Mexico.

Clackama. A river of Oregon.

Clatsop. A tribe of Oregon.

Coahoma. Mississippi.

Cobscock. Maine.

Cochecalechee. A tributary of the Chattahoochee, Georgia. Means "broken arrow."

Cocalico. A locality of Pennsylvania.

Cochecton. New York.

Cochesett. Massachusetts.

Cochituate. A lake of Massachusetts.

Cocoah. Indian name for Owl Creek, Ohio.

Coesa. A synonyme for Kayaderosseras Mountains, New York.

Coesse. A locality of Indiana.

Coffodeliah. Mississippi.

Cohansey. A river of New Jersey.

Cohasset. Norfolk County, Massachusetts.

Cohocton. Alleghany County, New York.

Cohoes. Falls of the Mohawk, New York.

Cohuttah. A locality of Georgia.

Coinjock. Caontuck County, North Carolina.

Cola. A bay of Georgia.

Colamoka. A creek of Georgia.

Colapahchee. Georgia.

Coleta. Talladega County, Alabama.

Coloma. Alabama.

Colusi. A locality of California.

Comac. Suffolk County, New York.

Comanchees. An important tribe of Texas, who rove between the Colorado and Red Rivers, of Louisiana. They are divided into Comanches, Yamparecks, and Tenawas. These have but one language, and agree in manners and customs. They are expert horsemen, and bold plunderers. They war with the Pawnees and Osages. In 1819, according to Mr. Burnet, they mustered from 10,000 to 12,000 souls, and could turn out 2000 or 2500 warriors. They plunder the Mexican settlements, and are on ill terms with Texas. They rove, with the buffalo, and live on them. They have no idea of jurisprudence, science or law; and they acknowledge no right but the right of the strongest. They have no priests, and little knowledge of God, whom they worship by sticking an arrow in the ground, leaning *east*, and hanging a shield on it. They trade in horses and mules, and buffalo and deer-skins. They have no ideas of the value of money. Treaties with them are of but little value. Their women are drudges;

they butcher their meat, and perform, often, the duty of hostlers. They have no true knowledge of medicine, beyond the cure of wounds. They sing for the sick, and make a noise to "scare away" disease. They go in parties from 20 to 100, according to the abundance or scarcity of food. They are complete nomades — wild, fierce and reckless. They say they came from the north. The word Comanche is believed to be of Spanish derivation. The tribe called themselves Niyuna. (Vol. II., p. 125.)

COMBAHEE. A river of South Carolina, called Combee.

CONASTOGA. An ancient town of the Six Nations, in Pennsylvania.

CONECOCHEAGUE. A creek of Pennsylvania.

CONECUH. Alabama.

CONEWAGO. A creek of Pennsylvania.

CONEWÂNGO. A river of New York.

CONEWINGO. Cecil County, Maryland.

CONEWONGO. A stream of western New York.

CONGAREE. A river of South Carolina.

CONHOCTON. A river of Steuben, New York.

CONNASAUGA. A river of Georgia.

CONNEAUT. A river of Ohio.

CONNECTICUT. A river of New England. Is stated to signify Long River, without giving the etymology. *Ut*, in the Mohegan, generally denotes locality in their geographical names. The syllable *ic* appears to be from *wabic*, rock. The ancient spelling is *Quonectacut.*

CONNISTEGAUNI. Called Niskeyuna, New York. (Iroquois.)

CONNOHARRIEGOHARRIE. The ancient site of Schenectady, New York. The name is in allusion to the flood-wood on the flats.

CONOY. The name of an extinct tribe; a locality in Pennsylvania.

CONSHOCKEN. Pennsylvania.

CONTOOCOOK. A river of Cheshire County, New Hampshire.

COONEWAR. Pontatoc County, Mississippi.

COÖS. A district of New Hampshire.

COOSA. A river of Georgia and Alabama.

COPOPA. Ohio.

COQUAGA, or OQUAGO. A source of the Delaware River.

COSHOCTON. A county of Ohio.

COSSATOT. A creek of Arkansas.

COSUME. A locality in California.

COTOMA. Alabama.

COTOSA. Georgia.

COTUIT. Barnstable County, Massachusetts.

COWANESQUE. A creek of Pennsylvania.

Cowanshannock. A creek of Pennsylvania.

Cowee. Macon County, North Carolina.

Coweejee. A stream of Georgia; means a partridge.

Cowekee. Alabama.

Cowlitz. A tribe of Oregon.

Coweta. A creek of Georgia.

Creeks, so called. The Muskogee Indians. This nation first entered into negotiation with the United States in 1790. (See Major Swan's Journal, in the preceding pages.) The treaty of the 9th August, 1814, with General Jackson, closing the war, determined their future course of policy, and laid, in effect, the foundation of their future removal from a soil, on which they would not live in peace. On the 12th of February, 1825, they ceded all their lands in Georgia. For this General M'Intosh was killed, which gave rise to the Creek troubles. This treaty was abolished by the treaty of January 24th, 1826, by which they ceded all their lands in Georgia, east of the river Chattahoochee. On the 15th of November, 1827, they ceded all their lands within the actual limits of Georgia, not before ceded. On the 2d of March, 1832, they ceded all lands east of the Mississippi, and agreed to emigrate at the option of the United States. On the 14th of February, 1833, the United States fixed their boundaries, and agreed to patent their lands, in fee simple, during their existence as a nation, and occupancy of them. Under this arrangement they have been removed. The Muskogees are located next north of the Choctaws and Chickasaws. The government of the Creeks is very much the same which they had while on the Chattahoochee, in Georgia, being divided into *Upper* and *Lower Creeks.* Each has its leading chief, who is hereditary. They are owners of slaves, and are said to owe to them their advances in agriculture.

Cröatan. A place to which the lost colony of Virginia, in 1584, appear to have been carried.

Croton. A river of Westchester County, New York. The word appears to be derived from the name of a sachem who lived at its mouth, called Cnoten, or Noten, signifying "the wind."

Currituck, or **Carrituck.** A sound on the coast of North Carolina.

Cussawago. A creek of Erie County, Pennsylvania.

Cusseta. A locality of Alabama.

Cutchogue. Suffolk County, New York.

Cutietant. Tioga County, New York.

Cuttyhunk. One of the Elizabeth Islands, Massachusetts.

Cuyahaga. A small river of Ohio.

Cuyadutta. A tributary of the Mohawk River, New York.

The foregoing names in C. denote a remarkable parity of syllabic sounds, over wide areas of the continent. The sound of F. occurs only in the Muscogee language.

(*g*) VOCABULARIES OF THE APACHEE AND MICMAC LANGUAGES.

ENGLISH.	APACHEE.[1]	MICMAC.[2]
God	Hisneeree (Tata Dios)	Nikscahm.
Devil	Hleem	Mundoo.
Angel	Eetzazo	Ansallaiwit.
Man	Ailee	Ulnoo.
Woman	Eetzan	Aibit.
Boy	Eeskane	Albahdoo.
Girl, or maid	Eetares	Aibitais.
Virgin[3]	Zeen	Noksow.
Infant, or child	Eetzeeney	Mijooahjeech.
Father, my	Edeeskune	Nooch.
Mother, "	Ma	N'keech.
Husband, my	Peergaun	N'cheenumoom.
Wife, "	Peergaun stan	N't'aibit-em.
Son, "	Peeschyee	N'cwis.
Daughter, "	Peeschaoogai	N'toos.
Brother, "	Seetshsee[4]	N'sees (elder b).
Sister, "	Seesla[4]	Numees.
An Indian	Inde[5]	Ulnoo (a person).
A white man	Seeka	Wobaik a cheenum.
Head	Sezee	Munoochee.
Hair	Seesga	Moosaboon.
Face	Streenee	M'sisk. N'sisk (my face).
Scalp	Pisheasoonketo	Upsugutpahdahkun.
Ear	Seetza	Msitoo-okun.
Eye	Sleeda sleenda	M'pukik.
Nose	Sheetzee	M'seescoon.
Mouth	Sheeda	M'toon.
Tongue	Sheedare	Weelnoo.
Tooth	Sheegoo	Meebeet.
Beard	Sheet ah ga	Weedool.

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[1] By Dr. Charles C. Henry, U. S. A., New Mexico, 1853.

[2] By Rev. S. T. Rand, Protestant missionary to the Micmac Indians, Halifax, December 10, 1853.

[3] It must be evident that, if there be no equivalent for this word, as contradistinguished from Girl, there can be no translation of Matt. i. 18, and the parallel passages of Luke, &c., conveying to the Indian mind the doctrine of the mystery of the incarnation.

[4] *Wijeegudee-ek*. My brother, or sister. *Wijeegudee-ek cheenum*. My brother. *Wijee-gudee-ek aibit*. My sister, whether older or younger than I.

[5] This is, manifestly, derivative from the Spanish.

ENGLISH.	APACHEE.	MICMAC.
Neck	Sheegos	M'to-guloo-wokun.
Arm	Sheek au	M'pee-tuno-gum.
Shoulder	Sheekus	M'toolmahkun.
Back	Sheenanteo	M'pahkum.
Hand	Sheelda	M'peetun.
Finger	Sheeldarikadee	M'tuloo-ee-gun.
Nail	Luskan	M'kusee.
Breast	Sheetstan	M'pooscoon.
Body	Sheedzee	M'teenin.[1]
Leg	Sheedare	Ooloogoon.
Navel	Taskey	Neelee.
Thigh	Sheetazee	Ahboogwokuch.
Knee	Skurastanee	M'cheegoon.[2]
Foot	Sheekee	M'kaht; N'kaht.
Toe	Sheetoo	Neelikseedi.
Heel	Skā tai; (Ske tai, Spanish pro.)	N'coon.
Bone	Eetzee	Wokundou.
Heart	Seetzoolee	Mcwomlahmun.
Liver	Seetzee	Ooscoon.
Windpipe	Shustooskee	M'seedoonabe.
Stomach	Sheetz ee que	Wooktee-ahn.
Bladder	Nah deel us. (Nad illus, Sp. pro.)	Wisewee.
Blood	Teedzel	Muldou.
Vein	Tzous	Mejahguch.
Sinew	Eetzeedee	Ootunoo on.
Flesh	Eetz. (Itsa, issa, itza, itze.)	Wahki.
Skin	Lee aid lee	Mugegun.
Seat	Sheetza	Oonoogwek.
Ankle	Sheeskune	Ancwiski.
Town	Sheegonga	Oo-tun.
House	Ke-estee	Wenj-eegwom.
Door	Darteen, or Dareentan	Cahgun.
Lodge	Gonga	Wigwom.
Chief	Nanta	Sah-cumou.
Warrior	Naiun	Keenap (a hero.)
Friend	Skeetzee	Nigumahch.
Enemy	Nagongo	Kedantegaiweenoo.
Kettle	Eesah	Wow.
Arrow	Káh	Maje-okteligun.
Bow	Teeakoe	Ahbee.
War-club	Gas	Mimtoo-gopsketch.

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[1] *N'teenin*, My body.

[2] *Noot-kigun*, My knee-pan.

ENGLISH.	APACHEE.	MICMAC.
Spear	Slhure-shlure	Neego-gul.
Axe	Tooeazee	Tomeègun.
Gun	Cheeagosee, or Ees kee	Paiskaiwai.
Knife	Pesh	Wokun.
Flint	Eeskeenooga	Mahls.
Boat	Nakoo	Pahdahlolecooch.
Ship	Eesteensee	Oolk,[1] comp. hulk-Nabigwon.
Sail	Teesuse	Segeegun.
Mast	Beensie	M'to'gum.
Oar		Wenjoooe-tahgun.
Paddle	Ukeedee	Tahgun.
Shoe	Sheeke	M'cusun.
Legging	Shoo ee ah ee	Upsugahkun.
Coat	Eskaii	Cahbo-dai-wai.
Shirt	Eskai ee	Atli.
Breech-cloth	Shoonstae	Nee-oonc.
Sash	Sheetzude	Ahsoal-cwobee-soode.
Head-dress	Skeetzae	Aptugo-peesoode.
Pipe	N'arootse	Tumokun.
Wampum	Natoonzai	Pugahluk.
Tobacco	Toonahtoo	Tamahwai.
Shot-pouch	Eetee	Peetladee.
Sky	E'ah	Nooscoon.
Heaven	E'ah	Wahsoak.
Sun	Skeemai	Nahgò-sit.
Moon	Clārai	Depkunoosit (night-sun).
Star	Suns	Culo-co-weech.
Day	Eeska	Nahgwek; Kees-cook, to-day.
Night	Clā	Dep-kik.
Light	Skee	Woso-gwek.
Darkness	Skanskee	Bo-gunitpahk.
Morning	Eeska	Eskitpook.
Evening	Shaunga	Welahk.
Midday	Shanoona-eetas	Shee-oulahgwek.
Midnight	Shāsga	Ahktatpahk.
Early	Na	Eskitpoogee-et.
Late	Shauna	Piskee-et.
Spring	"	Sieu.
Summer	Koostoo	Nipk.
Autumn	"	To-gwahk.
Winter	Ooskas	Kesik.

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[1] Never used, except in *composition*. *Bostoonaei-oolk*, An American vessel. *Wenj-oolk*, A French vessel, and hence, any vessel. *Book-tai-oolk*, A fire-ship: a steamer.

ENGLISH.	APACHEE.	MICMAC.
Year[1]	Nāsta	Naiooktee-booncuk.
Wind	Ooskaz	Oo-choo-sun.
Lightning	Adeelkeesin	Keewosk.
Thunder	Eedeestnee	Kahktoogwahk.
Rain	Nagōstee	Kikpaisahn.
Snow	Zahs	Wostou.
Hail	Heeloah	Oomcoomee.
Fire	Kou	Booktou.
Water	Toah	Saboogwon.
Ice	Tskee	Oomcoomee.
Earth	Zā	Mahcumeegou.
Sea	Dootza Tooskaiskah.	Ukchigum.
Lake	Tooskaiskah	Coospem.
River	Toog lee	Seeboo.
Spring	Too ug lee	Utquboak ; Uttcuboacooch.
Stream	Too aing lee	Chiboo-cheech.
Valley	Ool kah	Wolcwaik.
Hill	Troo eestah	Nemahcumeegek.
Mountain	Oostaikolon	Cumdun.
Plain	Ool ka	Pahcumeegek.
Forest	Qu u eel zag	Neebookt.
Meadow	Tah tees lee vei	M'skeegooaicadee.
Bog	Zoornaistoo	Ncoo-oak.
Island	Tor et lees kah	Mineegoo.
Stone	Zey-zay	Coondou.
Rock	Zāntee	Caicoosoak.
Silver	Peshaundai ee	Sooleeaiwai.
Copper	Heesteesh	Soomalkee.
Iron	Pā kaista	Cusahwoak.
Lead	Tháh	Skooloosk.
Gold	Pā e eezoŏ ee	Wesou-sooleaiwai.
Maize, or corn	Nahla	Peeaiscumun.
Wheat	Toosnàgay	Cooloomcool.
Oat	Not known	Taiseebou-mahn.
Potatoe	"	Tuputat.
Turnip	"	Wenjooee-sugebun.
Pea	"	Ahlahwai.
Rye	"	Lahsaigul.
Bean	Eegatzos	Pahpahwai.
Melon	Tah neetàh nee	Echcooch.
Squash	Hous kan	....

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[1] There is no word for *a year*.

ENGLISH.	APACHEE.	MICMAC.
Barley		Bahleeaiwai.
Tree	Toor àì ee	Cumóoch.
Log		Tumoaktauoo.
Limb		Upsetcoon.
Wood	Chees	Cumooch.
Post		Culeegun.
Stump		Oochéegech.
Pine	Teez eet ees ee	Goowou.
Oak	Tee atz'e ee	Mimcwonmoosee.
Ash	Tah' sos	Wiscoak.
Elm	Zeen'tas	Wikpee.
Basswood		Elnikpee.
Shrub		Neebeeso-cunooch.
Leaf	Deetzar āsai	Neebee.
Bark	Castòse	Oolugesk.
Grass	Too sèekah	N'skeegool.
Hay	Too datee see	N'skeegool.
Nettle		Couiksou.
Thistle		Keeneescwijit.
Weed	Kay	Enskeegool.
Flower	Cheeskusae	Woso-gwek.[1]
Rose	Nah agood eesha	Woso-wech.
Lily		Pahgo-see.
Bread	Endatzoolee	Pibunokun.
Indian meal	Skān	Peeaiscumunail.
Flour	Nāh rai kān	Wobaichkul.
Meat	Estzee, or eetzey	Wee-oos.
Fat	Ee kah'	Weegou.
Beaver	Kah kas	Co-beet.
Deer	Pak áh	Luntook.
Bison, or Buffalo	Nas eel ees keet see	Mestugee-pee-gajit.
Bear	Chās	Mooin.
Elk	Cheèslay	
Moose		Tee ahm.
Otter		Keeoonik.
Fox	Oos nàh ra	Wo-cwis.
Wolf	Mah tzo	Boktusum.
Dog	Zeetz ai an	Elumooch.
Squirrel		Ahdoo-doo-wech (red s.)
Hare	Cah zo	Ableegumooch.
Lynx		Pizh-ow.

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[1] They scarcely distinguish the *kinds* of flowers by name.

ENGLISH.	APACHEE.	MICMAC.
Panther		Piz-u.
Muskrat		Keecooaisoo.
Mink		Moochpech.
Fisher		Upcumc.
Martin		Abistanaiooch.
Mole		Nahneemahnscaich.
Polecat	Meet oo ey	Ahbikcheeloo.
Hog	Nee goo teet zee	Coolcwees.
Horse	Zlee	Taiseebou.
Cow	Nah tzel	Wenjoo-teeahm.
Sheep	Tah raist ai	Cheech-kelooaiooch.
Turtle, or Tortoise	Teestee ee	Mihchik.
Toad	Chàh	Emcokchajit.
Snake	Ki oo	M'taiscum.
Lizard	Mah lah teès kee	Cahk-tah-loak.
Worm		Witee. Choojeech.
Insect		Choojeejeech.
Fly	Tlaase	Weeches.
Wasp		Ahmooou.
Ant	Oon èere	Keeleegwech.
Bird	Hah see	Seesip.
Egg	Tah re	Wah-oo.
Feather	Deet ai	Peegoon.
Claw	Tah' rei kah zo	M'caht.
Beak	Pee ch ee	Ooseescoon (his nose).
Wing	Oh ter'	Oonuks.
Goose	Nah tàh slee	Seenumcw.
Duck	Nah staza	Apcheech-cumooch.
Swan	Nah gral ee gòos cha	Wobee.
Partridge	Toos tais slas cha	Plouwech.
Pigeon		Ples.
Plover		Culdoakscahneeech.
Woodcock		Oonokpudee-aigisoo.
Turkey	Tah rah cho	Ahbootahbegeeejit.
Crow	Cah' re	Cahcahcooch.
Raven	Teeshòoa	'Chee-cahcah-coo.
Robin		Kipchouwech.
Eagle	Zah ntzai	Kitpoo.
Hawk	Eetz à' zai	Peepoogwes.
Snipe		Oonokpudeeaigisoo.
Owl		Coocoogwes.
Woodpecker		Ahbo-gujeech.
Fish	Zoo ee	Nemaich.

ENGLISH.	APACHEE.	MICMAC.
Trout	Zoo ee	Ahdahgwahsoo.
Bass	(Call all trout)	Cheegahoo.
Sturgeon	"	Cumcoodahmoo.
Sunfish	"	Sasap.
Pike	"	Numeew.
Catfish	"	M'seegooloak.
Perch	"	Andaleeech.
Sucker	"	Coamewech.
Minnow	"	Amjulahgwech.
Fin	"	Ooljigun.
Scale	"	Peeweeges.
Roe	"	Neejinchik.
White	Cee káh	Wobaik (*an* and *in*).[1]
Black	Teesley	Muktaiwaik (*an* and *in*).
Red	Eet oh	Megwaik (*s*).
Green	Dàh tlèetz	Wesahwaik.
Blue		Mooscoonahmook.
Yellow	Seet zoh	Wodoptek.
Great	Deut zah	Meskilk.
Small	Peeschaiah	Apchaijik (*an*).
Strong	Eet zeel	Melkigunut.
Weak	Tee gis	Menahcunaik.
Old	Sah be as'k ee	Keeseegooit.
Young	Eet zah ke	Malchawaijooit.
Good	Neet shòo	Kelòosit.
Bad	Een to	Winsit (*an*).
Handsome	Eet s'hoo	Kelòosit.
Ugly	Toon sooda	Winsco-wit. Cahmooksit.
Alive	Een dah	Meemajit.
Dead	Tah zah	Nepk (*an* and *in*).
Life	Een dah	Meemajoowokun.
Death	"	N'poowokun.
Cold	Goos-gāhz	Tegaik. Tekpahk. Tekpahksit.
Hot	Casto	Eptec (*in*). Epsit (*an*). Wetcunaik. The weather is.
Sour	Toschàtah	Sowcw.
Sweet	Ooskar	Wicw. Seesmo-gunemahk.
Pepper	Chee beènchee	Tapeesahwail.
Salt	Nee caz	Salahwai.
Bitter	Slee sh tan	Wiscuc.
I	Shah	Neen (rarely). Neel.

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[1] The singular often varies for the gender, the plural always. N. B. These words are all verbs: *It is white; He is white.*

ENGLISH.	APACHEE.	MICMAC.
Thou	Dah	Keel.
He	Ah han	Negum.
She	Deest zan	Negum.
They	Eèncha	Negumow.
Ye	Eet zee	Keelow.
We, including the person adressed.	Tn'eeke	Keenoo.
We, excluding " "	Yong yn nah ū' as ban	Neenen.
This person, or animated being		Nut.
This object, or thing (inanimate).		Egoolah.
That person, or animated being.	Ag an (no farther distinction)	Aht.
That object, or thing (inanimate).		Aht.
These persons, or animated beings.		Negoolah.
These objects, or things (inan.)		Wo-gulah.
Those persons, or animated beings.		Negoolah.
Those objects, or things		Wogulah.
All	Hah	N'sit. Naisit.
Part	Ees een-dee zee	Encooch.
Who	Gah den	Táhn.
What	Ee ah'	Co-goo-wai ?
What person		Tegen.
What thing		"
Which person	Ee às tee	"
Which thing		"
Near	Ah gan	Wejooow.
Far off	Eet zah	Kenec.
To-day	Teetzèe	Keescook.
To-morrow	Eeskàh	Sahbo-nook.
Yesterday	Ah tàh	Oolahgook.
By-and-by	Kah rag	Oogoopchik.
Yes	Eee l aud	Ai and Ah.
No	To as tee dah	No-gwaich.
Perhaps	Too og os ee táh	Chiptook.
Never	To as tee dah	Nuna.
Forever	Toh' ska	Yapchoo.
Above	At ai go	Caicwaik.
Under	Peg ah neidágo	Aiboonaik.
Within	Unde aistah	Lamaik.
Without	Koos kai gah-koos ka den záh	Coojumook.
Something	Tah ga ai	Nahdoo-cogoowai.
Nothing	Ga et ee	Saik.
On	Peik áh. (Peka, Spanish pro)	Caicwaik.
In	Pee es ceetah	Iktook.
By	Dasa, or "on the side"	Wejoo ow.

ENGLISH.	APACHEE.	MICMAC.
Through	Ai sah.	
In the sky	Pee es ee tah I ah (or yah)	Mooscook.
On the tree	Pekah Toor ai i	Cumooch.
In the house	Pee es ceet ah Kee-ees-tee	Lamigwomc.
By the shore	Dah sée	Cuscāik.
Through the water	Ai sah To áh	Samoogwoncah.

The simplest form of the Indian verb which has been found orally to exist in the languages examined, is the third person, singular, present tense of the indicative mood. If this rule prevails in the language known to you, the equivalents of the verbs to eat, to drink, &c., will be understood to mean *he* eats, *he* drinks, &c., unless it be otherwise denoted.

To eat	Ee sháh	Mijeesit.
To drink[1]	Too ee sh áh	Nesamoocwot.
To laugh	Shahd-heeg oon thoom	Wescawaiit.
To cry	Eés lée shah′	Utkeedemit·
To love	Eeg ah stee	Kesaloowet.
To burn	Tondlee	Noogwahk.
To walk	Oll áh	
To run	Chah gool a goo	Etcweek.
To see	Oos kee	Nemeedeget.
To hear	Eet ees gáh	Noodumat.
To speak	Lathee	Keloosit.
To strike	Neelt eez.	Tahktaiget.
To think	Pah′ n-a-tes kez	Telee-dahsit.
To wish	“	Menweget.
To call	Toos te chee	Ne-dow-et.
To live	Een dáh	Meemajit.
To go	Too ah′ kah	Aileeet.
To sing	E decsta	Kedabekee ai.
To dance	Ee sis	Ahmalcat.
To die	Tah′t zah	Nepc.
To tie	Péiklo	Keltokpilc.
To kill[2]	Tooskees keedáh	Naibahdeget.
To embark		Tebahsit.
Eating	Eesháh	Etla dulk.[3]
Drinking	Too ees cháh	Etlinsamoogwot.
Laughing	Shahd-hee oon thoom	Etle-wescaiwaik.

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[1] *Nahcunecpumit.* To drink from a cup. *Ecjipsumit.* To drink from a bucket. *Naiooktumcwonit.* He drinks rum.

[2] In battle, the word *Toos kees keeda* means "don't kill me;" and *No she,* I ask pardon, or quarters.

[3] There are no *real* active participles. The idea, *He is eating,* is expressed by *prefixing etlee* to the verb. The ending, *inc,* is more like our *infinitive mood.*

ENGLISH.	APACHEE.	MICMAC.
Crying	Eés lée shah′	Etle-utkee-demit.
To be, or exist	Ind áh	Aiyumoodimc.[1]
I am	Indah′	Aiyum.
You are	Inde or Indáh	Aiyumun.
He is	" [2]	Aik.

The Apachee language is very meagre, in variety of words. Many which are given in English, in this vocabulary, are necessarily without a corresponding word in Apachee. This tribe, in time of peace, living in the valleys of the Gila, Rio Mimbres and Del Norte, and fleeing, in time of war, to the rugged peaks of the Sierra Nevada, and its spurs, have not, in their roving excursions, penetrated as far as the Pacific coast; consequently have no knowledge of anything appertaining to the ocean. Their verbs seem to have no tenses. The Spanish language is spoken, imperfectly, by many of them; and in some cases appears to corrupt their native tongue. It has been our purpose, however, to obtain the original as nearly as possible.

The NUMERALS are real VERBS, and are conjugated through all the variations of gender, person, mood and tense. Thus: *Naiooktaich,* there *is* one. Imperfect tense — *Naiooktaichcus,* there *was* one. Future tense — *Encoodaichdedou,* there *will be* one.

Tahboosee-ek, there are two of us; second person, *Tahbooseeyok;* third person, *Tahboo-sijik.* Imperfect tense — first person, *Tahboosee-egup;* second person, *Yogup;* third person, *Sibunik.* Future tense — *Tahboosee-dak,* there will be two of them. Negative mood — *Tahboo-seekw,* there is not two of them; *Mah tahbooseekw,* there will not be two of them.

NUMERALS.

	APACHEE.	MICMAC.
1	Tah′se. Tas	Naiookt[3]; Nai-ookt-aijit, *an. g.;* Naiookt-aich, *in.*
2	Nah′ kee	Tahboo; Tahboo-sijik, *an.;* Tahboo-gul, *inan.*
3	Tai	Seest; Naiseesijik, *an.;* Naisiskul, *in.*
4	To	Naioo; Naioo-ijik, *an.;* Naioo-cul, *in.*
5	Astle	Nahn; Nahn-ijik, *an.;* Nahncul, *in.*
6	Kostán	Usoo-cum; Usoo-cum-tais-ijik, *an.;* Usoo-cum-tais-igul, *in.*
7	Gostede	Eloo-igunuk; Eloo-igunuk-taisijik, *an.;* Eloo-igunuk-taisigul, *in.*
8	Zapee	Oo-gumoolchin; Oo-gumoolchin-taisijik, *an.;* taisigul, *in.*
9	Gastai	Pescoonaduk; Pescoonaduk-taisijik, *an.;* taisigul, *in.*
10	Sesara	M′tiln; Naiooktinscahk; Naiooktinskuksijik, *an.;* Naiooktinskahgul, *in.*
11	Ost lah sáta	M′tilin chel naiookt.

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[1] *His being there,* somewhat resembling the *infin. construct.* in Hebrew. N. B. The substantive verb never exists in Micmac simply as a *copula,* connecting *sub.* and *predicate.* It means, *He is there.*

[2] Or perhaps, they make an emphasis or accent, in a peculiar manner, on the same word, which may imply some slight distinction.

[3] The numerals in the first row are used simply in *counting,* and are, in that case, *undeclinable.* When *speaking* of a number of objects, the second and third rows are used, and the *numeral adjective-verbs* agree in gender, person and tense.

	APACHEE.	MICMAC.
12	Tah' sata	M'tiln chel tahboo.
13	Gost ah'sata	“ seest.
14	Ta sato	“ nai-oo.
15	Ast lah' sah tee	“ nahn.
16	Zah' pees-ah tee	“ usoocum.
17	Gost ees-ah tee	“ 'looigunuk.
18	Zah' pees-ah' tee	“ oogumoolchin.
19	Eegost es-ah' tee	“ pescoonaduk.
20	Nah' teen	Tahbooinskahk.
21	“ tase	“ chel naiookt.
22	“ ake	“ “ tahboo.
23	“ tai	“ “ seest.
24	“ to	“ “ naioo.
25	“ astlee	“ “ nahn.
26	“ kastan	“ “ usoocum.
27	“ gosteedee	“ “ 'looigunuk.
28	“ zapi	“ “ oogumoolchin.
29	“ gostai	“ “ pescoonaduk.
30	Nah' tah teen	Naisinskahk; Naisinscuksijik.
40	Tos teen	Naiooinskahk; Naiooinskuksijik.
50	Ah'stlastee	Nahninskahk; Nahninskuksijik.
60	Ah'slento	Usoocum-taisinskahk.
70	Ah'seet een	Elooigunuk-tais inscahk.
80	Zap eet een	Oogumoolchin-tais inscahk.
90	Eengostateen	Pescoonaduk-tais inskahk.
100	Tásiento	Kuskimtulnahcun.
101	“ tase	“ chel naiookt.
102	“ nah'kee	“ “ tahboo.
103	“ tai	“ “ seest.
104	“ to	“ “ naioo.
105	“ astle	“ “ nahn.
106	“ kostan	“ “ usoocum.
107	“ oskeedee	“ “ 'looigunuk.
108	“ zapai	“ “ oogumoolchin.
109	“ gostai	“ “ pescoonaduk.
110	“ sesara	“ “ m'tiln.
120	“ nanteen	“ “ tahbooinskahk.
130	“ nah' teen tase	“ “ naisinskahk.
140	“ tosteen	“ “ naiooninskahk.
150	“ ahstlaasteen	“ “ nahninskahk.
160	“ ah'slanto	“ “ usoocumlaisinskahk.
170	“ ah'see teen	“ “ 'looigunuk tais inskahk.
180	“ zah peeteen	“ “ oogumoolchin tais inskahk.

	APACHEE.	MICMAC.
190	Tásiento eēngostasteen	Kuskimtulnahcun chel pescoonaduktaisinskahk.
200	Nah' keen to	Tahboo kuskimtulnahcun.
300	Tainto	Teest “
400	Teento	Naioo “
500	Ah'stlalastin	Nahn “
600	Kăstan-alastin	Usoocum “
700	Ŏskeedalastin	Elooigunuk “
800	Zapealastin	Oogumoolchin “
900	Gostaíalastin	Pescoonaduk “
1,000	Andalastin	Beetooimtulnahkun.
2,000	Nahke andalastin	Tahboo beetooimtulnahkun.
3,000	Taí andalastin	Teest “
4,000	Tó andalastin	Naioo “
5,000	Ah'stlee andalastin	Nahn “
6,000	Kost'an andalastin	Usoocum “
7,000	Askeédee andalastin	Elooigunuk “
8,000	Zah' pee andalastin	Oogumoolchin “
9,000	Gostaí andalastiu	Pescoonaduk “
10,000	Sesára andalastin	M'tiln “
100,000	Tasiénto andalastin[1]	Kuskimtulnahcun beetooimtulnahcun.
1,000,000		Ukchee “
2,000,000		Tahboo ukche “
3,000,000		Teest “ “
10,000,000		M'tiln “ “

It is particularly requested that respondents would indicate whether the pronouns, or inflections for number, form parts of the words whose equivalents are given.

In the numerals, care is required to note whether the Indian pronunciation of the words for *million* and *billion* be not an attempt to pronounce the English terms. In their ambition to express high numbers, this is found to be the case with the Choctaws.

ENGLISH SOUNDS OF THE VOWELS IN SYLLABICATION.

Ai. To express the sound of *a* in fate, and of *ai* in aim.
Ah. To express the sound of *a* in father.
An. To express the sound of *a* in fall; of *au* in auction; and *aw* in law.
A. Followed by a consonant, or between consonants, to express the sound of *a* in hat.
Ee. To express the sound of *e* in me, and *ee* in feel.
E. To express the sound of *e* in met.
I. To express the sound of *i* in pine, when standing as a syllable by itself, or preceded by a consonant.
I. To express the short sound of *i*, when followed by a consonant.
O. To express the sound of *o* in note, and of *oa* in moan, when standing by itself, or preceded by a consonant.
Oo. To express the sound of *o* in move, *oo* in pool, and *u* in rule.
O. To express the sound of *o* in not, when followed by a consonant.
U. To express the sound of *u* in nut, and *i* in bird uniformly.

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[1] No higher numbers seem to be capable of expression by them.

(*h*) THE LORD'S PRAYER IN INDIAN.

The capacities of languages have been critically judged of by this prayer, so remarkable, at once, for its brevity, compactness, and comprehension, both of thought and word. That it did not reach this perfection of expression, at once, in the Anglo-Saxon, but through a long series of translations, is shown by the following examples of attempts to reach its spirit, all subsequent to the eleventh century:

GOTHIC.

Fāeder ure thu the eart on heofenum, se thin nama gehalgod.

1130.

Fader me the art in heofone, sy geblesob name thin.

Attempts to rhyme the first clause:

POPE ADRIAN.

Ure fader in heaven rich,
Thy name be halyed everlich.

JOHN.

Fader ur that is in heaven,
Halud be thi nam to revene.

HENRY III.

Fader that art in heaven blisse,
Thin helge nam it wurth the blisse.

WICKLIFFE.

Our Fadyr, thou art in heaven, hallooed be thy name, thy kingdom com. Be thy will done, soe in heaven and in erth.

Luther, in his Bible, has the following version:

Unſer Vater in dem Himmel. Dein Nahme werde geheiliget.
Dein Reich komme. Dein Wille geſchehe auf Erden, wie im Himmel.
Unſer täglich Brot gib uns heute.
Und vergib uns unſere Schulden, wie wir unſern Schuldigern vergeben.
Und führe uns nicht in Verſuchung, ſondern erlöſe uns von dem Uebel. Denn dein iſt das Reich, und die Kraft, und die Herrlichkeit in Ewigkeit. Amen.

MATT. VI.

The French version of this Prayer is also very expressive, but less terse:

Notre Père qui es aux cieux, ton nom soit sanctifie;
Ton règne vienne; ta volonté soit faite sur la terre comme au ciel;
Donne-nous aujourd'hui notre pain quotidien;
Pardonne-nous nos péchés, comme aussi nous pardonnons à ceux qui nous ont offensés;
Et ne nous abandonne point à la tentation, mais délivre-nous du malin. Car à toi appartient le règne, la puissance, et la gloire à jamais: Amen.

Matt. vi.

John Eliot, in 1685, gives the following version, in the Massachusetts language:

Nꝏſhun keſukqut, quttianatamunach kꝏweſuonk.
Peyaumꝏutch kukketaſſꝏtimóonk, kuttenantamóonk, ne n nach ohkeit neane keſukqut.
Nummeetſuongaſh aſekêſukokiſh aſſamainnean yeuyeu keſukok.
Kah āhquoantamaiinnean nummatcheſeongaſh, neane matchenehukqueagig nutahquontamóunnonog.
Ahquc ſagkompagunaiinnean en qutchhuaouganit, webe pohquohwuſſinnean wutch matchitut.
Newutche kutahtaunn ketaſſꝏtamóonk, kah menuhkeſuonk, kah ſohſumóonk misheme. Amen.

Matt. vi.

In this translation the figure 8 laid flat, thus ∞, carries the sound of oo.

The following is the version of the theologian, Jonathan Edwards, in the Mahican language, made during his missionary labors at Stockbridge:

N'nookhuuh keyuh neh wohwe koi wau kun nuk oi-yun. Taukh wau woh we ko tautheek
Our Father thou that Heaven dwellest, wish praised
äune wuth yun. Taukh k'kih ki yo wau kun pauk. Taukh äun tshowau tom mun un noiyek
thy name, wish thy kingdom come, wish thy will be done,
mumosh tonneh hkeek aunow äunoiyek wohwe koi wau kunnuk tonnih Mene-nau-nuh nooh
here on earth, just as it is done Heaven in; give us this
(or, in like manner as it is,)
woh-kommauk nuh wau-woh kommau kih nduhqs khommuh. Don uhquau tom mow i nau-nuh
day that daily our bread, and forgive us
n'nueh ahoiwau kon nun naun aunow, naup-aunih uhquautom mow wau yauk mumh chih n'neh ho-
our sins in like manner as for we forgive badly used
quau kuk-don cheen aum k'poonee nau nuh quehe hoot-wau kunnuk unneh mooh sheet pquaokh-
us, and do not forsake us; temptation unto; but deliver
(or, into;)
kun ne nau nuh thoikuhk wahih. Quaum keyuh knih-nau tom-mun neh k'kiwau kun, don
us evil from, for thou ownest the kingdom, and
(or, distress,)
un no woi wau kon wauk week-chau nauq tho wau eon honme wih, nun nih unnoi yuch.
power, and glory, forever. Amen.

Matt. vi.

INDIAN LANGUAGES.

CHIPPEWA, IN 1850.

Nosinan ishpimį eaivn, tvkijiinenjigade iu kidishinikazouįn.

Kitogimauiuin tvpitvguishinomvgvt; enendvmvn tvizhijigem oma akį, tibishko iuidi ishpimį.

Mizhishinam sv nongum gizhigvk iu gemijiią.

Gaie uebinamauishinam iniu nimbataizhiuebiziuininanin, ezhiuebinamaugidua igiu mejitotauigidjįg.

Kego gvguedibenimishikąen ninguji jishobiziią; gaie mitaguenimauishinam mvjaiiuishvn; kin sv kitibendan iu ogimauiuin, gaie iu gvshkieuiziuin, gaie bishigendaguziuin, kakinik apine go kakinik. Amen.

Matt. vi.

In this orthography, the letter *i*, employed as a terminal, and marked thus, *į*, carries the sound of *ng*, rendering it local, as in *ing* and *onk*. The italic letter *v* is used for *u* short; *i* for long *i*, and *e* for *a*, as heard in father.

MILICETE.

Me-tox-sen'a spum-keek ay-e-en sa-ga-mow-ee tel-mox-se'en tel-e-wee-so-teek. Cheep-tooke wee-chey-u-leek spum-keek taun e-too-chee-sauk-too-leek spum-a-kay-e'en. Too-eep-nauk-na-meen kes-e-kees-skah-keel wek-a-yeu-leek el-me-kees-kaak keel-mets-min a-woo-lee. Ma-hate-moo-in katee a-le-wa-nay-ool-te'ek el-mas we-chee-a-keel me-koke-may-keel ne-ma-hate-hum-too-moo-in.

(Rev. S. T. Rand.)

CHOCTAW.

Pįki vba ish binili ma! chi hohchifo kvt holitopashke; ish apehliechika yvt vlashke; nana ish āɪahni kvt vba yą a yohmi kvt yakni ilvppa ma a yohmi makinlashke.

Nitak moma im ilhpak ą nitak moyuma ka ish pihįmashke.

Nana il āɪashvchuka yą ish pį kvshofashke; kvna kia aheka pin takalikma, il į kvshofi makinli hoke.

Luke xi.

This translation is recorded, on the general principles of orthography employed in the preceding example from the Chippewa.

DACOTAH, or SIOUX.

Waceyakiyapi kinhan, kaken eyapo; Ateunyanpi marpiya ekta nanke cin, nicaje wakan nunwe. Wawiyadake cin hiyohi nunwe. Marpiya kin ekta nitawacin econpi kin, he iyecen maka akan econpi nunwe.

Anpetu otoiyohi woyute kin unqupo.

Qa wicoran xice cin henan unkicicajuju miye; unkix eya tonan xicaya unkokiranyanpi kin henan owasin wicunkicicajujupi ce. Qa wowiyutanye kin en unkayapi xnipo; tuka taku xice cin etanhan unkiyuxpapo, eyapo, eya.

Luke xi.

The preference of these versions appears to be, evidently, with the Chippewa, which, so far as the comparison holds (to verse 12), expresses in seven lines, what, even in the Choctaw, requires eight, and in the Dacotah nearly ten.

(i) ETYMOLOGY.

It is by dissecting the Indian compound words that we obtain a knowledge of the principles on which they are constructed. In the Choctaw dialect, *Tushca* signifies a warrior, and *Lusa*, black. Hence is formed the name of Tuscaloosa, or Black Warrior River. *Wombi*, in the Natick, or Massachusetts language, means white; *ic*, or *ik*, is a termination for *azhebik*, a rock, or solid formation of rocks. Hence Wombic, the Indian name for the White Mountains, of New Hampshire. In the Algonquin, *Monaud* signifies bad; *nok* and *nac*, in the same language, is a term indicative of rock, or precipice. Hence Monadnock, a detached mountain of New Hampshire, whose characteristic is thus denoted to consist in the difficulty, or badness, of its ascent. *Ossin*, or *Assin*, means a stone, pebble, or loose abraded rock; *bwoin* is their distinctive name for a Sioux. By throwing the letter *a* between these terms, as a coalescent, we have the word Assinabwoin, the name of a revolted band of the Dacotahs, in Hudson's Bay, and on the upper Missouri.

The Delawares denominate the Delaware River *Lenapihittuk*. Of this term, *Lenapi* is their own proper name, *ittuk* is a local phrase. Large areas of the water and shore of a river are denoted. The letter *h* is a mere coalescent. *Weel*, in the same language, signifies the human head. It is rendered local in *ing*, making it, place of the head. The origin of the name is this. In the early occupation of the Ohio valley, a white pioneer was killed at the mouth of Wheeling Creek, and his head cut off, and hoisted on a pole. Hence this creek was called "Place of the Head." The letter *h* was thrown in, in the Anglicisation of the word.

The particle *na*, in the Chippewa, indicates, in compounds, 'fairness, abundance, excellence, something surpassing.' *Amik*, is a term for a beaver, and *ong* denotes place. Thus, *Namikong*, the term for a noted point on Lake Superior, means a surpassing place for beavers. So, *Nageezhig* means a fair sky; from *na*, fair, and *geezhig*, sky.

These are binary compounds of the simpler kind, consisting of little more than placing the two terms in juxtaposition. The name Housatonick is a trinary, which appears to be composed of *Wassa*, bright, *atun*, a channel or stream, and *ick* from *azhebic*, rocks; i. e. "Bright stream flowing, through rocks," which is quite characteristic of that beautiful river.

Manhattan is derived from *Manau*, bad, frightful, dangerous; *atun*, a channel or current; and *nong*, a place, in allusion to the Hellgate passage. Hence the name of the tribe and the island. The Dutch and English dropped the *u* in the first syllable, used the letter *h* as a coalescent, and omitted the locale altogether.

The Algonquin tribes call the River Detroit *Wa-we-a-tun-ong*. This term, although lacking the musical terseness requisite to an English ear, is very graphic. *Wa-wea* is a maze, or circle, winding to all points of the compass; *tun* is derived from *ah-tun*, a channel, or current; *nong* denotes the locality.

The Iroquois denominate the site of their ancient council-fire, *On-ondaga*. The word *on* means a hill, which acquires intensity from its repetition; the *da* is *dah*, rocks; *aga* is the ordinary local inflection for Iroquois nouns, meaning place. Superfluous sounds are merely dropped. This inflection *aga* is sometimes *oga*, as in *Saratoga*, and *Ticonderoga*. In the latter compound, *ti*, denotes water, as in *Tioga*; *on*, hills; *dar*, precipitous rocks; and *aga*, place. *Tioga* means, simply, place of water; but the allusion is to rapids, and the manner of navigating their canoes. In the name *Ontario*, which was anciently called *Onontario*, we have the exclamatory phrase *io*, meaning beautiful, before *on-on*, hills, and *dar*, rocks.

Otsego is derivative from an Iroquois particle, denoting bodies of water, and hence becomes, by ellipsis, the name for lake, as we observe it in *Otisco*. The term *ego* means beautiful, as we find it in the word *Oswego*, which is the Onondaga term for *Ontario*, the latter being in the Wyandot language.

Apalachian. The substantive termination of this term in *ia* is not alone of Latin derivation, but has its prototype in the aboriginal tongues, as in *Peor-ia*, *Mindimo-ia*, &c. The term *Apalachian* appears to be derivative from the River *Apalachicola*, or the ancient Indian town called *Apalache*, found in Florida by De Soto. It has apparent reference to the peculiar aquatic or reedy vegetation at the mouth of the river.[1]

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[1] We are indebted to the classic pen of Charles Fenno Hoffman, Esq., for the following observations on the use of this word, to denote our distinctive nationality. (Evening Gazette, N.Y., March 6th, 1845.)

APALACHIA, AND THE APALACHIANS.—Washington Irving, and some other less distinguished American (Apalachian) writers have made a patriotic attempt to restore this primordial name to that part of North America now embraced within the United States.

The want of some national name that should rid us of the provincial epithet *Anglo-American* (a term equally applicable to the New Brunswicker and ourselves), has been felt by all of our countrymen who have travelled in Europe. Indeed, in the very earliest periods of our history, the orator and the patriotic song-writer were so sensible of this, that the name of "Columbia," seized upon for want of a better, was always used in addresses to the popular feelings. "Columbia," however, having never really taken hold of the affections of the people, soon began to be disused by the Fourth of July orator, and even with the poet, soon gave way to "Hesperia," after the creation of the South American Republic, which took the name of the great Navigator.

The researches of ethnological science, meanwhile, in tracing the wanderings of our various aboriginal nomadic tribes, were ever and anon arrested by a primordial race of people beyond whom no Indian tradition could go. The extinct race of APALACHIANS, who have stamped their names upon the mountain ridge which is the back-bone of "the old thirteen States," and whose gigantic mounds are traceable to the most remote of the present twenty-eight or *thirty* sovereignties, these seemed to be the real *autokthenes*, or *soil-sprung* people of the land. Their name, surviving in the most remarkable physical feature of the old States—their labors marking the most remarkable vestiges of human art in the new territories, formed a conjunction of associated images of Power, of Durability, of wide-embracing sway, that instantly arrested the thought of Genius; and Poetry, when she would sing of this fair land, had to look no farther for *a name at once venerably meaningful, and freshly significant* for our Confederacy.

Alleghany (*Allegania*) is derivative from the name of the ancient Alleghan tribe. *Gany* is the word for a river, as heard in *Yoghi-gany*, &c., the compound having been applied to the *river* before it was bestowed on the *mountain*.

The process of word-building, in this language, denotes its principles of accretion. We may take the radix *Misk*, red. Hence are formed:

Misk-wee,	Blood.
Misk-waigin,	Red cloth.
Misk-wassin,	Red stone.
Misk-weewe,	To blush.
Misk-ogaud,	A red sash.
Misk-waubik,	Copper.
Misk-waukeek,	A copper kettle.
Misk-wauwauk,	Red cedar.
Misk-waubikeda,	Red hot metal.
Misk-owaizhineegun,	Red paint.
Misk-obubeensikowagun,	A red coat.
Misk-odesimin,	Red bean blossom.

Apalachia carried her back at once to our Revolutionary struggle, to the forest fastness, whence our fathers rushed upon the foe, and the mountain barrier, where the waves of invasion were stayed. It carried her from the hills of Berkshire, and the cliffs of West Point, through many a storied field of Pennsylvania and Virginia, to the far "King's Mountain" of the South. Apalachia crossed the famed "Blue Ridge," with her, and brought back Poetry, in company with "Fact," through that winding vale, which, traversing nearly the whole of the Atlantic States, marks the central rail-road path through those mountains, which is some day destined to bring the North and the South still more intimately together. And when Poetry paused to sigh over the present Red Race, so fast disappearing within our borders, Apalachia pointed coldly to the mysterious mounds of her exterminated people, exterminated by these Nomadic tribes, and bade Poetry, wherever she could trace those gigantic ruins beneath the westering sun, to ask herself who were the rightful heirs to these mementos of Apalachia's extinguished might? whose mission was it to revive her long sunken name upon the earth? Who are the modern Apalachians, destined to link the glowing present with the mysterious past? Who, but the adventurous and indomitable freemen of this Republic of Apalachia? — our present *United Statesers!*

Reader, that last line has brought you right down to fact, and when we call you a "United Stateser," you begin to understand how so sensible a man as Irving should have troubled himself about this business. You comprehend, in fact, that you have no name, now, at all. There is extant a description of you, but not a name. A Frenchman, an Englishman, a Mexican, a Brazilian, a Peruvian, a Columbian, all have names — but you must be *described!* You are "an Anglo-Saxon-American citizen of the United States of North America." You call yourself, indeed, "an American," *par excellence* — but so does a Chilien, a Haytian, a Venezulean, and a Cherokee! Be grateful, then, to Mr. Irving for suggesting so good a word as Apalachian; but be still more grateful to D. D. Field, Esq., of the New York Historical Society, for boldly, without either indirection or circumlocution, taking this bull of nomenclature by the horns.

Mr. Field, an eminent member of the New York Bar, a scholar and a traveller, now has for a long time, we understand, entertained the patriotic intention of bringing this measure fairly before the country; and it will be seen by the following pithy resolution, adopted by the Historical Society, on Tuesday evening, that he has at length brought it forward in the most direct and summary shape.

On motion of Mr. Field —

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire and report whether it be not expedient, that some efforts, and if so what, should be made, to give *a proper name* to the country.

The particle *Min* denotes good, in the abstract. Hence:

Min-dogud,	Dew.
Min-no,	A good person.
Min-no-monedo,	A good Spirit.
Min-no-inini,	A good man.
Min-no-iau,	Good health, or well being.
Min-no-geezhigud,	A good day.
Min-no-maugwud,	Good tasted.
Min-no-iaubundahmowin,	A good dream.
Min-no-kaugaimuggud,	Good, or wholesome to eat.
Min-no-kumming,	Fit, or proper.
Min-iaugoozzi,	A man of good temper.

The word *jegun*, or simply *gun*, denotes an artificial contrivance, or instrument. Hence we have:

Puk e tai-egun,	A hammer (literally, strike-instrument).
Sesee-bojeegun,	A file.
Keeshki-bojegun,	A saw.
Taushki-bojegun,	A saw-mill.
Keesko-nenjegun,	A candle.
Kecshki-koodjegun,	A snuffers.
Beesi-bojegun,	A coffee-mill.
Minekwau-jegun,	A drinking glass.
Ishcodaquan-jegun,	A tongs.
Peenjibud-jegun,	A funnel.
Wauwiaukebeed-jegun,	A hoop.
Sasid-jegun,	An epaulette.
Tibaubeeshko-jegun,	A balance.

These are articles on which names have been bestowed by them since the discovery of the language. All parts of speech are pressed into the service for this purpose, denoting the flexibility of its grammatical principles. On no object, thus introduced, does there seem to have been bestowed the same amount of combined syllables, as in naming the horse. The name is *pai-bai-zhik os-kun-zhé*. The term *baizhik* is the numeral for one, and here denotes unsplit, or solid. Its repetition imparts a plural meaning. *Ozhkunzh* is the nail, hoof, or claw of an animal. The terminal *é* is from *ahwaisee*, a beast.

In this extension of words from monosyllables to polysyllables, the syllabication is accurately observed, and the accents varied agreeably. That this may be the more perfectly observed, the following list of a few words, definitely arranged, is added.

Monosyllables.

Ais	Shell.
Ho!	Aye, thank you.
How	Go.
Kaug	Porcupine.
Kaw	No.
Keen	You.
Kön	Snow.
Meen	Berry.
Mooz	Moose.
Nee	I.
Neen	Mine.
Neesh	Two.
Nösa	Father.
Quaitch	Ten.[1]
Sai	Fie.
Shong	Nine; from Shong-gush-wa.
Tchease	Turnip.
Wahb	White.
Wau	What.
Ween	He, or she.
W'uss	Get out: only applied to dogs.
Yee	An exclamation.

Words of Two Syllables.

Ac keek	Kettle.
Ad díck	Deer.
Ah mík	Beaver.
Ah' mo	Bee.
Ah wún	Mist.
Ak kée	Earth.
An núng	Star.
A' sugg	Shell-fish.
Awn néeb	Elm.
Dain dái	Bull-frog.
E qúay	Woman.
Geés is	Sun.
Jée bí	Ghost.
Keé zhick	Cedar.
Kó cösh	Hog.
Kúy aúshk	Gull.
Mái má	Woodpecker.
Meén un	Whortleberry.
Mé nace	Haw.
Min n'is	Island.
Mik qúm	Ice.
Mís qúaike	Red.
Mis'h s'he	Wood.
Mit' t'ig	Tree.
Mzï	Catfish.
Muc qúa	Bear.
Muc qónce	Cub.
Mush kós	Elk.
Muz aw'n	Nettle.
Nám mai	Sturgeon.
Náy gów	Sand.
Né bín	Summer.
Neen dáun	Daughter.
Neen gáh	Mother.
Nee gick	Otter.
Neen gw'iss	Son.
Ne kūh	Brant.
Nó dín	Wind.
Nó sá	Father.
O gáw	Bass.
O jeeg	Fisher.
O' jee	Fly.
On' daig	Crow.
On z'ig	Sheldrake.
O pín	Potatoe.
Os s'in	Stone.
Páish qúai	Whippoorwill.
Pe bö'n	Winter.
Pe n'ai	Partridge.
Pig' ue	Gum.
Pö dönc	Tadpole.
Quan awj	Handsome.
Sée bee	River.
Se gwón	Spring.

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[1] See further examples, p. 544.

Shá ’tai	Pelican.
She gáug	Polecat.
Shé shéeb	Duck
Shín góop	Spruce.
Shing wóos	Weasel.
Shów m′in	Grape.
Wad döp	Alder.
Wái wái	Goose.
Wáu goúch	Fox.
Wáw bö′s	Rabbit.
Waw dúb	Wattap.
Waw zhúsk	Musk-rat.
Wé gw′ass	Birch bark.
Wud j′ieu	Mountain.

Words of Three Syllables.

Ab way′ win	Frying pan.
Ad je jawk′	Crane.
Ah gwing woos′	Ground Squirrel.
Ah zhaw′ dee	Poplar.
Ai de taig	Fruit.
Ais′ se bun′	Raccoon.
A′ ne go	Ant.
An ne moosh′	Dog.
An′ nic quot	Cloud.
As shöw waisk′	Sword.
Aú zha bick	Rock.
Dain dá see	Blue Jay.
Ē quay′ zase	Girl.
Geé zhick kud	Day.
In nin′ e	Man.
Kaw′ gaw′ gee	Raven.
Kaw′ sah′ gäincé	Cat.
Kee me wún	Rain.
Ke gwoi ugg′	Fish (plural).
Ke nái bick	Snake.
Ke nön′zha	Pike.
Kish e dáy	Heat.
Me gé zeé	Eagle.
Mick ke nock′	Turtle.
Mis sis′ sai	Turkey.
Mit tig′ ög	Trees.
Miz zis sawk′	Wasp.
Mon daú min	Corn.
Mon′ e to	Spirit.
Mon ó min	Wild rice.
Mó que mon	Knife.
Mus ké ke	Medicine.
Mus′ ko day	Plain.
My een′ gun	Wolf.
Nai ah′ shé	Point.
Nam′ may bin	Carp.
Ne baw′ gun′	Bed.
Nee naw′ baim	Husband.
Nee shé má	Sister.
Nee sï′ á	Brother.
Neé zeé gwcos′	Aunt.
O jé bick	Root.
O më′ me	Pigeon.
O naw′ gun	Dish.
On waí be	Rest.
O peé chee	Robin.
Os sin′ eeg	Minerals.
Os sin nees	Pebbles.
O zaw′ waw	Yellow.
Pe me day′	Grease.
Pe miz′ zee	Eel.
Pe waun′ ug	Fire steel.
Pe zhick′ e	Cow.
Pee waw′ bick	Iron.
Ping wo zhais′	Sand-fly.
Qwe we zais	Boy.
Sa sá gun	Hail.
Shé waw bo	Vinegar.
Shong′ waí ské	Mink.
Só geé poó	It snows.
Sug′ ge may′	Musquito.
Tah gwá ge	Autumn.
Tib be ku′d	Night.
Waw be goon′	Flower.

Wás sá yáh	Light.
Waú bish′ kaw′	White.
Waw be gun′	Clay.
Waw bis′ se	Swan.
Weeg′ á wom′	Tent.
Ween′ de go	Cannibal.
Won nau gaké	Bark.
Won ne mick′	Bud.

Words of Four Syllables.

Ac kuck′ koo jeesh′	Ground Hog.
Ad′ je daw′ mó	Red Squirrel.
Ah wáy see ug′	Quadruped.
An′ ne muk′ kei	Thunder.
As shog′ ga shé	Craw-fish.
At té ka meeg′	White-fish.
Kaw′ be an′ oong	West.
Kee waí den oon′g	North.
Ke taw′ kaw co′s	Fawn.
Maw′ nish taw′ nish	Sheep.
Maw zhé may gwoos′	Speckled Trout.
Maus ké non zhá	Pike.
Min′ de moi yah	Old woman.
Mis′ se bé she	Panther.
Mit tig′ o mish′	Oak.
Mon′ e doü′ sug	Insects.
Mosh kow′ ë seé	Heron.
Muc′ kud day′ wuh	Black.
Neé me shó mai	Uncle.
Neé me shó miss	Grandfather.
No nó kaw sé	Humming Bird.
O cai ah wiss′	Small Herring.
O muck′ kuck keé	Toad, or Frog.
O′ shaw′ wan oon′g.	South.
O skin′ ah way′	Young man.
Os sig′ ze nauk′	Blackbird.
Pac′ qua ac′ qua	Domestic Fowl.
Pé bo naw′ osh	Heifer.
Pe nay′ see wug′	Birds.
Shig′ e naw′ wiss	Worm.
Tchwée tchweesh′ ke way	Plover.
Waw′ be zhá she	Martin.
Waw waw′ sa mó	Lightning.
Way zhaw′ wusk quog′	Green.

Words of Five Syllables.

Ap pe quá she mun	Pillow.
As sub be kach′ e	Spider.
As sus′ sow way min′	Choke Cherry.
Bish′ e gain′ daw gwod	Beautiful.
Jee shud dĭ′ e gun	Broom.
Kaun dah ké e gon	Pole.
Maw′ nish taw′ nish aincé	Lamb.
Mee jee keé gwon á	Kingfisher.
Min ne quaw′ je gun	Tumbler.
Mis ko bé waw bick	Copper.
Mis sah jee dah mó	Black Squirrel.
Mit tig′ o naw′ gun	Wooden Bowl.
Muc ko dáy′ nay gow	Iron Sand.
Nay gwá gon na awb′	Rainbow.
No kó miss o geen′	Gt. grandmother.
O shaw shaú kon ug′	Tripe de Roche.
O skin é gee quay	Young Woman.
Op waw′ gon os sin′	Pipe Stone.
Pah dus′ kaw un′ zhe	Snipe.
Paw bé ko dain′ day	Speckled Toad.
Pee mis kood de zeancé	Snail.
Pee peé ge way zaincé	Hawk.
Pud duk kĭ′ e gun	Fork.
She shé ge may winz	Sugar Tree.
Shing goú ba was sin	Granite.
Shong gus kaun′ dah way	Flying Squirrel.
Sug a squaw′ je ma	Leech.
Waw be ning′ gö sé	Snow-bird.
Waw be zhö′ ne ah	Silver.
Waw we yá naw gun	Bowl.

Words of Six Syllables.

Ĭ aw′ bay be zhick′ e	Bull.	O dut taw gaw′ go min	Blackberry.
Jeé bi e mé con nah	The Milky Way.	O geé kud daun nong′ gwa	Lizard.
Ké paw bo way′ e gon	Pot Lid	O naw′ bun e geazé iss	March.
Ko taw′ me gwá ne mut	Storm.	O saw waw′ zho ne ah	Gold.
Kuck ke way′ me kun nah	Portage.	O zheasé se gó be mish	Dogwood.
Min no be mah′ de sah	To be well.	Pai bay she ko gaw shé	Horse.
Mis ko jé bick kug′ uck	Carrot.	Pé waw bick o ac keek′	Iron Pot.
Mon e do way′ e sug′	Reptiles.	Pu pac′ quan e ga noug′	Red Pine.
Mun gaw ne baw′ je gon	Shovel.	Saw saw′ won e bé se	Bluebird.
Mus ke keé win in ne	Doctor.	Shon gus′ se me tan′ nah	Ninety.
Neg me sho miss ó son	Gt. grandfather.	Waw bish ké kau gaw goi	Magpie.
Nee min de mó e mish	Wife.	Win ne jeesh′ ke way gah	Mire.
O be wy ushk′ ka naw	Cat-tail.		

(*j*) SOME DATA RESPECTING THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHIPPEWA AND MAHICAN LANGUAGES, IN A SERIES OF LETTERS WRITTEN DURING THE PERIOD FROM 1822 TO 1827.

A LETTER IN THE OJIBWA LANGUAGE.

(a.)

Nejee,

Eéniew keégeedo͡a'weenun kaw kug'wqiaád͡gimeéumbuneen, ningee o͡a'zheebeeau'nun, a͡unind dush, no͡engoom, keeneen da͡uín mahya͡uma͡uwée, nittau keegeedo͡ad͡gig, kee oóndeeneega͡udaawún, meedush kaa ond͡gee gwo͡iuck taabwaamugguck. Meego͡a a-eezhee geezhwaawaupún giiyuttaa Od͡jibwaigue o͡agitteezeemmewa͡un o͡agoo noengoom paamaudezeed͡gig.

Eggiew unnisheena͡uba͡ague eehiew appee gwo͡iuk ezheewaabeezee-buneeg giieaah minnoa, ininneewéé-buneeg, giieaah nittau keeoosaa-buneeg giieaah nittau nundo͡abunee-buneeg giieaah ka͡uweeka͡u o͡anishkeea͡useewauwau-buneen gitshee moneedo͡an. O͡akeegeedo͡a, wineewa͡u o͡anisheeshinin'-ee-bun giieaah so͡angeedaa-a-buneeg mumeena͡udaindum-o-buneeg: giieaah minno͡a peema͡udezee-buneeg. Kauackoo *dush* o͡adisseegoowaud Oanoo waaweewuckwaun-o-need͡gin, appee maud͡gee bisheegwaudezzeewug. Ka͡uween gaago͡a, o͡adiz'hzhee puna͡ud͡g-e-eego͡aseena͡uwa͡u ia͡u neego͡akwakummig meenik ishko͡adaawa͡ubo͡a maaneekwaawa͡ud. Meesuh maundun, wand͡gee waabeenuhmo͡awa͡ud giiuttaa eezheetwa͡uweenun giieah waand͡gee wa͡ubeenuhmo͡awa͡ud, neebeewah giiutt a-indo͡adahmo͡awa͡upun, nundo͡abuneewa͡ud, keeoossaawa͡ud giieaah iu͡ezheenindeewa͡ud. O͡adaaeewa͡un shiieegwuh kee puna͡ududeeneewun, maishkood, dush gaago͡a mia͡una͡ududeenig

eézhee gwaakeeta͡uwug; giiaah buka͡un eezheetwa͡uweenun odo͡ad͡geemeegoona͡uwaw. Kauween dush paupish kaa-a͡ubee tibbishko͡a auwee-seewug. Tiiyau! aazhee dush no͡engoom bishsheegwaudezzeewa͡ud! Kaa-aubee suna͡u paabaazhik iia͡uwug unisheenaubaague, mushshee paana͡udezzeeseegoog: kaa-aubee mummeena͡ud͡goe kainwaindungig, eezhetwa͡uweenun giiaah eezheeooweenun, giiaah aazheegeezhwaineepun, ma͡ukaawaudezzineepuneen o͡agitteezeemewaun. Ningitshee minwaindum weepeema͡ud͡geeto͡ayun a-eezhee peema͡udizzeewaupun; tshee bwau kubbeeko͡asa͡anig wa͡uweenindwa͡u; giiaah kaagaate ningah minwaindum tshee no͡anduma͡un keeshpin oonoo muzzeeniieegunun na͡unda͡ueena͡unin, waind͡geego͡ayun, pungee o͡aoo minno inuno͡akeeyun.

Keed͡gee,
MISCOGOD,
(HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.)

KOSANAUN,
WAWEATONONG,
Michigan.

[*Translation.*]

My Friend: —

What you asked from me, I have written. Some of these papers I now send you (a, b, c, d, e), The words are taken from the best speakers, therefore they must be just and true; it is the same language spoken by the ancient Chippewas, the forefathers of those now living. The Indians at that time lived just, and were good men, and knew how to act, and were able warriors, and never displeased the great Spirit. Their language was pure, and they were brave; they were proud, and they were happy. But since the white men have come amongst them, most degenerate have they become. Nothing tends so much to injure them, as the immoderate quantity of ardent spirits they drink. It is this that makes them abandon their ancient customs, and forsake many of their old ceremonies respecting war, hunting, and social connexions. Their hearts are more corrupted and changed to evil and to other ceremonies; they have lost their ancient simplicity; and they have all inclined to evil; not in the least, my father, are they at present the same. Alas! how they have degenerated! There are, however, some few Indians who are uncorrupted, who still, with pride, cherish the customs, dress, and language of their noble ancestors. I am happy you are going to make their history survive their name before it becomes extinct; and truly happy shall I be to hear the papers I now send you, aid you in the least in this noble work.

Your friend,
MISCOGOD,
(HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.)

OUR FATHER, His Ex., LEWIS CASS,
At DETROIT,
Michigan.

(b.) ADDRESS OF A DYING YOUNG CHIPPEWA, ON THE SHORES OF LAKE SUPERIOR.

Onahcoway | keygeedowin | payzick | Ogibwance, naymecoung | cawahne — tapenaid | ayne | keway-oh-oud.

Tah yah! | geetchy | sahnahgut | oh-ohue | a nain daw gowse | yawn, | o ohmaw | ezhe | nahne nahwouck | maundah | Nayawshe | tche | I in dah naw sheyawn: | we-caw | gay go | buckawn | otche | noandahquah see noug | me-ate tah | peme | zhe bayaw quague | tche | beme | mahdwa | awnemuck | . Appe | gahyea, | ke | pah quid ayne meague, | cahkinnah | keycah | bozim | tche | ezhaw yague | gah yah | nene | naugh | catawzhe | netawee geeyawn, | aindeh nahkeyauh baun! | ainnaindaw gowz e yawn | dush | nene | wecaw | menah wah | tche | wah bun dunz e waun. | Keygah | nah gushem | nedinnahway mawgun e dogue | o oh maw, | e zhe | nah nee nah wain daw gwouck, | ah weyah | wecaw | onge | bayshough | ke | ah endawsig: | me-ate tah | gay tche | noding in | tche | beme | mahdwa awsing | m̄ush coosewon | o kitche I e e | cayzaw ging in | cayeye indah zish e naun. | — Awe neshe naw | nindezhaw | [cahyeanene] | caw un-nee | e zhaw waud. | Kemish showmiss e naun egue. | Nah coway | sugh, | nejick keewain e dogue, | keygah | sugin engean ene im | tche | bwoh | ahne | mawjawyawn. |

[*Translation.*]

How hard is my fate, thus to lie on this desolate Point, where no person will bemoan my departure from hence, but the wind's murmuring whistle along the dark wood! And as soon as I'm laid, where my Body *must* lie — *you* all will embark for *that* Land where I first drew my breath; and which I am doom'd, never more to behold.—

You leave me, my friends, on this bleak uninhabited Shore, where nought will be heard but the loud howling winds, which cause the green grass to wave over my dark place of rest. — But I go where my Fathers have gone; and, my friends, I must bid you farewell!

(c.)

THE FIRST CHAPTER OF GENESIS.

Nittum kah oagheetoad muzzeeniieegun Moses, Genesis azheeneekaudaig.

CHAPTER I.

Nittum Kuggee kwaywin.

In the beginning God he made heaven and earth.
1. Wiiaishkud Geezhämonedo ögee oazheetoan geozhig giieya akke.

And the earth was shapeless — without form — it was empty, and it
2. Giieya kauween ningood akkee izzheenaugwuhseenöäbun peezhisheegwaubun, giieeya
was dark on the face, on top of the water, Then God's shadow
mukkuddaywaubum inaugwúd obun ogideebeeg, Geezhämoneto dush öäjeetshaugwun ogideebeeg
passed over.
keepimmee eezhauwun.

And then God said, let there be light; and it was light — and light appeared.
3. Appee dush Geezhämoneto äkeedood, tah wassayau: keewüaussay dush.

And God saw the light — it was good; and then God
4. Owaubundaun dush Geezhämoneto wüaussayaug onisheeshing; appee dush Gezhämoneto
divided the light and the darkness.
tüaushkeenung wüaussayaug giieya mukkuddaywaug.

God then called the light Day. And darkness he
5. Geezhämonedo dush wiiaussayaunig Geezhigud ogee izzhee weendaun. Maakuddaywaunig
called Night. Then that evening and morning they were
dush Tibbekut ogee izzhee weendaun. Ehiew ëdush onauguishig giieya geegäzhaab me chiew
(me 'iew)
the first day.
ningo geozhig.

God then said: Let a sky be in the midst of the water. That
6. Geezämonedo dush gee eekeedö: Tah geezhig owun nau-wiiee ee neebeeng. Tshee
it may divide the waters.
bukkaanung neebeen.

God then made the sky. And did divide the waters that were
7. Geezhämonedo dush ogee oazheetoan geezhig. Giieya ogee daushkeenaun neebeen enniew
under the sky and the waters that were above the sky; and it
anaum geezhig iattaageebuneen enniew güeaa neebeen ogidj geezhig ätaageebuneen; meedush
was so.
kaagaat.

God then called the sky Heaven: and the evening
8. Geezhämonedo dush geezhig ogeezheeweendaun Geezhämonedonong: eniew ëdush onauguishig
and the morning were the second day.
giieya keegeezhaab me'iew neezhing geezhiguk.

God then said: the waters under Heaven, let them be gathered in
9. Geezhämonedo dush gee eekeedo: neebeen unaum Geezhamonedonong, tah mauwimdösaawun
one place: let the dry land appear; and it was so.
paazhik-wannung: tah naugwud puaingwung-akkee; meedush kaagaat.

God then did call the dry land, Earth, and the waters
10. Geezhämonedo dush ogee izzeeweendaun piiaingwung-akkee, Akke, giieeaa enniew neebeen
that were gathered together he did call Seas. God then did
kau mauwundösaagin ogee izzheeweendaunun Gitsheegitsheegummeen. Geezhämonedo dush ogee
behold it was good.
waubundaun onishishinenig.

(d.)

MATTHEW V.

1. Appee dush wyaubumaud aazheeninidjin wau pizzindaugoodjin, kee ogeedaukeway paazhik wudjoowing: appee dush kau oonubid ogeepenaunzekaugo͜an kaageekimaudjin.

2. Appee dush kaugeedood mee ohou kau eezhee kugeekeemaud.

3. Showaindaugoozzeewug eggieu kaadeemaugaindungig weeow-eewaun: mee eggieu kaao͜aditungig keezhamonedonong.

4. Showaindaugoozzewug eggieu kaishkaindungig mee eggieu kay minwaindum-ehinjig.

5. Showaindaugoozzewug eggieu pyaakaudizzidjig mee eggieu peezaun akkeeng kay pemaudizzidjig.

6. Showaindaugoozzewug eggieu wausinisseegoog gya maynekwayseegoog apeetaındungig wee minnobeemaudizzewaud; mee eggieu kay taibaindyenjig.

7. Showaindaugoozzewug eggieu shauwaindjeegayjig; me eggieu maishkood kay showaineemindjig.

8. Showaindaugoozzewug eggieu odahewaun paunudenig me eggieu kay waubumaujig kezhamonedoan.

9. Showaindaugoozzewug eggieu naynuginewayjig: me eggieu kay eezheeweenindjig, kezhámonedo oneetshaunisun.

10. Showaindaugoozzewug eggieu waindjee sheengayneminjig minnopemaudizziwin; me eggieu kay aditungig kezhamonedonong.

11. Ke showaindaugoozim keenahwun appee inineewug paupeeinaugwau mudjee to͜adonaugwau, gya mizzeee gaygo myaunauduk, unishau tshee inninaugwau neen tshee oonzoomego͜ayaag.

12. Minahwau neegoozzeyo͜ak aupidjee meenwaindumook; pungee nungay keguh maishkwudaindaugoozim kezhamonedonong: memau boatsh kau eezhe koodugeeauwaud gyutt kaukugeé kimmeeko͜awaudjin pwau keenahwau iauyaag.

RETRANSLATION.

1. Then seeing the multitude, he went up to a mountain, where he sat down, and said:

2. And he said listen to my speaking.

3. Blessed (showaindaugooziwug[1]) are they that are poor and humble. They will go to heaven.
4. Blessed are they that mourn: they shall be happy.
5. Blessed are the meek: they shall have peace on earth.
6. Blessed are they whose thoughts are pure: they shall have justice (taibaindyenjig) from God.
7. Blessed are they that show mercy: they shall have mercy.
8. Blessed are those whose heart is pure: they shall behold God.
9. Blessed are they that keep at peace: they are sons of God.
10. Blessed are they that suffer for good lives: they shall have place in heaven.
11. Ye are blessed when men speak evil of you, and you are blamed without cause, on account of love to me.
12. Be glad of heart: you shall have gladness in heaven: for so before suffered and rejoiced the prophets.

(e.)

FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL TO THE CORINTHIANS.

CHAP. XIII.

Though I speak with the tongues — both men and the good spirits', servants',
1. Missowau ezhee geesh waayaun, ininneewug giieeaa geezhaa moneto; ōădōōshkeeneegeemun,
tongues — yet without charity, the hollow-sounding brass,
azhee geesh waawaud, iiauseewaun dush showaanindeewin, waumbwaawaygin miskopeewaubik
like it I should be, or like sounding metals struck together.
neendeenaindawgooz, gaamau maidwayaubee küeegaingen.

And though I am able to prophesy, and know all hidden things,
2. Giieeaa missowau nittau jeesaukeeyaun, giieeaa keekaindumaun kukkinnah kaumōădahkin,
and all knowledge; And though I have all faith, so
giieeaa kukkinnah neebwaukauwin; Giieeaa missowau iiauyaun kukkinnah taibwaytumōăwin tshee
as to be able to remove mountains, yet without
daa-gushkeetōăyaumbaun tshee maishquod͞gisseedōăyaun wudjeewun, iiauseewaun dush showaynindeewin,
charity, nothing am I.
kauween ningood nindaum issee.

And though I give all my goods to feed the poor,
3. Giieeaa missowa meegeewaayaun kukkinnah nindüeemun tshee ushumindwau kaadeemaugizzeejig,
and though I give my body to be burned, yet without charity,
giieeaa missowau meegeewaayaun neeow tshee tshaugizzumming iiauseewaun dush showaay
nothing profiteth it me.
nindeewin kauween gaago nindōăndizzeeseen.

Charity long suffereth, and pitieth; charity doth not
4. Showaaynindeewin kinwaizh weesugaindum giieeaa showaayningay, showaaynindeewin kauween
envy; charity doth not praise itself, and is not
keizhauwaayningaysee, showaaynindeewin kauween mumeekwauniddizzosee, kauween giieeaa
proud.
mumeenaidainduzzee.

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[1] Denotes being in a state where they are pitied, or have compassion shown to them.

And is not wavering in behaviour, and does not seek for
5. Kauween giiceaa unnod ozzheewaaybeezeesee, kauween giiceaa önundöwainduzzeen tshee
praise, is not soon made angry— doth not think evil.
mummee kwaunind-kauween wüeebuh nishkeeausee, kauween mudjee inainduzzee.

Doth not rejoice in evil— but rejoiceth in truth.
6. Kauween minwainduzzee mudjeeüceeëëng, minwaindum dush ween taibwaaywining.

Nothing moveth it— believeth all things, hopeth all
7. Kauween gaago ogushkeekaugoosseen—taibwaaytum mizzee gaago, onundauwaindaun mizzee
things, suffereth all things.
gaago. Weesuggaindum missee gaago.

Charity never faileth. Whether prophecies—
8. Showaaynindeewin kauweekau punneekaugaay mussunnoan, missowau tshee sukkeewinun tah
they shall fail; whether there be tongues—they shall cease; whether there be knowledge—
punneekaugaaywun, missowau keegeedöäweenun tah ishkwausaaywun, missowau neebwaukauwin
it shall vanish away.
tah ungaossaaymuggud.

For why, half we know, and we prophesy half.
9. Auneen dush aubeetuh keegeekaindaumin, giiceaa keejeesukeemin aubeetuh.

And when it comes that is perfect, then that which is in part, shall be done
10. Appee dush tah guishinömugguk ehiew gwüyuk mee appee ehiew iiaubeetowwuk kaamaujah-
away.
mugguk.

When I was a child, childish I spoke. Like a child,
11. Appee abbeenoatshee eeweeyaun abbeenöätsheeng nindizzee geegid. Abbeenöätsheeing
I understood. But when I became a man, I did throw away childish
nindizhzhee nissid otum. Appee dush äninineeweeyaun ningee waaybeenaunun abbeenoatshee
things. Like a child, I thought.
wiiee een, abbeenoatsheeing nindeenaindum.

For now we see through dark glass.
12. Noongum dush ween, keedinaubeemin sheebaumukkuddaay, wassaay tshee gun aubikoong.
But then (at that time), face to face. Now I do know in part, but
Appee dush ehiew appee, kauaussum aubundeemin. Noongum ningee kaandaun aubeetuh, ehiew
then I shall know also, as I am known.
appee dush ninguh keekainningaay äzhee giiceaa neen keekaineeemeegöyaun.

Now abideth faith, hope, charity—
13. Noongum dush ishkoossaaymuggud taibwaay tumöwin, nundowaindumowin, showaaynindeewin,
these three— but the best of these is charity.
onoo niswee, unishau miaumauwee onisheshing mee showaaynindeewin.

The following letters are taken from a series which were addressed at intervals, between 1822 and 1827, to his Excellency, Lewis Cass, Governor of the Territory of Michigan.

Sault Ste. Marie, Oct., 18, 1823.

Sir,

I send, with this, the specimens of Indian poetry, music, and legendary tales,[1] which I have collected with a view to furnish complete replies to all your inquiries touching this subject. But my remarks are necessarily limited and imperfect, not wishing to hazard too many conjectures upon a subject involved in the double obscurity, arising from the neglect which the topics have hitherto experienced, and the difficulties of an imperfectly known language. The latter is still a formidable obstacle to my advance, but I indulge the hope of becoming eventually a master of it. A grammar of the Chippewa which I have commenced, is a great desideratum.

By the last vessel, I sent you my reply to your additional inquiries, which I trust reached you in safety. The papers now forwarded complete the task I had proposed to myself, and I hope you will derive some aid from them in your investigations. As to the subject of the general manners and customs of the Indians, I think your information is far better than any I can send. There is a great similarity in this respect between all our tribes, and it is very difficult to ascertain what is *peculiar* to each.

I have urged Mr. Johnston to this task, and promised to assist him in the writing.

I remain, with regard,
Your friend and obedient servant,
HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

The ensuing specimens of attempts in metre, are from the pen of Miss Jane Johnston, an educated grand-daughter of Waub Ojeeg, the celebrated chief and ruler of the Lake Superior Chippewas, a sketch of whose biography is given in the preceding pages. No attempt has been made to alter the orthography, in which the original Indian words were written.

Cago, cago, mowemeshecain
Neendeqau medoag neboyaun:
Keenahwaw atah kedaw moweendim,
Keenahwaw kee gedemawgezim,
Equaweyeag kee gedemawgezim.

Nee naundonawaug, nee naundonawaug
Anuhwamungeg caw nesinjeeg;
Needuhwe tebishemaug, tebishemaug
Anuhwamungeg caw nesinjeeg.

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[1] Two octavo volumes of these lodge legends, collected by my interpreters and friends, and revised, were published by me at New York, in 1839, as the first of the series of "Algic Researches."

Nawdowasee! Nawdowaseewug!
Gahyea weenahwaw tebishco,
Gahyea weenahwaw, mesahgo
Cadahwe ezhishemugwaw, ezhishemug.
Cago, cago, &c., &c., &c.

[*Translation.*]

Do not, do not weep for me,
Loved women, should I die,
For yourselves alone should you weep,
Poor are you all, and to be pitied,
Ye women! you are to be pitied.

I seek, I seek our fallen relations,
I go to revenge, revenge the slain;
Our relations fallen and slain,
And our foes, our foes, they shall lie
Like them, like them shall they lie.
I go in battle to lay them alike, to lay them alike.
Do not, do not, &c., &c.

[CONSTANCY.]

Wawsuhwod ea ainduhnuhkeyaun,
Cago neduhwaw be ezhawcaine
Neenemoshainwe, caw inugebuun.
'Yaw! needenaindum, 'yaw! needenaindum,
Macoweyaunin neenemoshainwe, 'yaw! needenaindum.

Awpena we yea awngwashawgwoshing,
Neboweshebun neenemoshainwe,
Bah mawjawyaunbaun, neenemoshainwe!
'Yaw! needenaindum, &c.
Macoweyaunin, &c.

Bacaw neembe odawpequainege
Pe nawbecoshed megissune
Neenemoshainwe bah mawjawyaunbaun.
'Yaw! needenaindum, &c.

Cago neduhwaw be ezhawcaine,
Wawsuhwod *gosha* ainduhnuhkeyaun
Ninge enawbun bahmawjawyaunbaun.
Yaw! needenaindum, &c.

[*Translation.*]

Far, far, is my country,
You must not—you cannot come,
Said I to my love when I came away.
Oh! when I think of my love,
What regret, when I think of my love.

Still, still on a large fallen tree,
As I turn'd, did I see my love standing,
When I left him and came away.
Oh! when I think of my love, &c.

Gently he threw his arms round my neck,
As he fasten'd the wampum on,
Which he gave me when I came away.
Oh! when I think of my love, &c.

You must not—you cannot come,
Most truly far off is my country,
Said I to my love, when I came away.
Oh! when I think of my love, &c.

PAYZHICK NAHGAHMOAN [DOUBT].

Aun dush ween do wiu ane
Gitchy Mocomaun aime
Caw awzhawwoh da modé.
We yea, yea haw ha! &c.

Wah yaw bum maudó
Ojibway quaince une
We maw jaw needé.
We yea, yea haw ha! &c.

O mow e maun o
We nemoshain yun
We maw jaw needé.
We yea, yea haw ha! &c.

Caw ween gush shá ween
Kinwainzh e we yea
O guh mow e maw seen.
We yea, yea haw ha! &c.

Me gosh shá ween ego
Ke bish quaw bum maud e
Tche won ain e maud e.
        We yea, yea haw ha! &c.

THE LITERAL TRANSLATION OF A YOUNG OJIBWAY GIRL'S SONG.

Why! what's the matter with the young American? He crosses the river with tears in his eyes! He sees the young Ojibway girl preparing to leave the place; he sobs for his sweetheart, because she is going away! but he will not sigh long for her; for as soon as she is out of sight, he will forget her.

PAZHICK NAHGAMOONE.

Nenzho ogoone, nenzheogoone
  Caw ne wesinnesee;
            Nenzhe, &c.
Azhe gusheanedahmann,
  Neneemoshaine weyay.
            Azhe, &c.

Ke ahnee buhbeshecobee,
  Caw ahnee inawshepun;
            Ke, &c.
Neneemoshaine weyay,
  Wainjee gusheanedahmaun.
            Nene, &c.

AN INDIAN LOVE-SONG [REGRET].

'Tis now two days, two long days,
  Since I last tasted food;
'Tis for you, for you, my love,
  That I grieve, that I grieve —
'Tis for you, for you I grieve.

The waters flow deep and wide,
  On which, love, you have sailed,
Dividing you far from me.
  'Tis for you that I grieve —
'Tis for you, for you I grieve.

7

AN INDIAN HYMN.

1.

Kaugig ahnahmeauwin,
We tebiegadau,
Gitchy Monedo atau,
Songee sauge au dau.

2.

Matche pemaudezewin,
Kaukinna, kaukinna;
Matche pemaudezewin,
Kaukinna wabenundau.

[*Literal Translation.*]

1.

Ever let piety (or prayer)
Be the rule of our lives.
The great Spirit alone
Alone let us love.

2.

All evil living of mankind,
All, all — that's bad, or weak.
All evil living — as a tainted wind,
All, let us all forsake.

A SONG OF AN INDIAN GIRL, IN PRAISE.

My love is tall and graceful as the young pine waving on the hill — and as swift in his course as the noble stately deer — his hair is flowing, and dark as the blackbird that floats through the air — and his eyes, like the eagle's, both piercing and bright — his heart, it is fearless and great — and his arm, it is strong in the fight, as this bow made of ironwood which he easily bends. His aim is as sure in the fight and the chase, as the hawk, which ne'er misses its prey. — Ah, aid me, ye spirits! of water, of earth, and of sky, while I sing in his praise; and my voice shall be heard, it shall ring through the sky, and echo, repeating the same; shall cause it to swell in the breath of the wind — and his fame shall be spread throughout the land, and his name shall be known beyond the lakes.

The following letters embrace views of the languages and history of two of the leading tribes, at a more matured period of the inquiry:—

SAULT STE. MARIE, Nov. 5th, 1826.

SIR:—I have not been unmindful of the request respecting the Chippewa language, in your last note, delivered to me by M. Audrain, but I have deferred the task, till the arrival of our last vessel for the season within the St. Mary's, admonishes me that the time is short. A full discussion of the subject cannot be given in a letter, and would exceed the limits of a review; but an outline can be given, and an outline is all you require.

To the originators of the Chippewa language one principle appears to have presented itself with such force, that it has been seized upon to mark all its forms, and is intimately interwoven throughout the syntax. This principle is, the separation of all words into *animates* and *inanimates;* and so important was it deemed this distinction should be impressed upon the mind, that terminations were added to all words, indicative of this distinction. Adjectives and prepositions (for they have prepositions), and pronouns, relative and personal, as well as nouns and verbs, are thus distinguished, and must be invariably thus employed. The gender of nouns and pronouns is merged in this principle, in consequence of which there is not the least distinction in the third person. And this principle, after all, I believe most peculiarly characterizes the language as an original one, or one peculiar to America; for I believe the same principle has not been found in any European or Asiatic language. You can state the fact as broadly as you please, and will be borne out in it. I regret that I have not space to give you examples, but you must rely on my deductions.

1. VERB.—Respecting the Chippewa verb, I believe you are more fully informed than of any other part of speech. The pronominal prefixes, indicating the actor or speaker, should always be written separately, thus, *Nee saugeau,* the inflections that denote the class, the objective person, the tense, and the number—this being the whole range of the inflective power—following each other, generally, in the order here set down. The first should be inseparable from the verb (*saug:* to love) *saugeau,* to love an animate object—the termination *au* being taken from *Iau,* to be, and the vowel *a* being interposed merely to help to fill out the sound, or rather, to make the two members of this combination coalesce! The other inflections it would facilitate the study to set off a little from the main verb; thus, *Neeau saugeau bun,* "I have loved."

The assertion you have made, in the review of Hunter, respecting the original monosyllabic character of this language, is perfectly correct, with respect to its primitive verbs and nouns. *Neebo, Puupee, Mowee,* and *Saugee,* are not, as has been supposed, the infinitive forms of the verbs, but mean, respectively, "he or she dies, he or she laughs, he or she cries, and he or she loves" — the true infinitive of these verbs being — *Neeb, Paup, Mow, Saug.* Stripped of their pronominal and other encumbrances, many of the primitive nouns are found to be monosyllabic.

As an illustration of the operation of the *classes* (I wish I had a better term to denote this accident) upon the verb, I observe, that the class of the verb must coincide with the class of the noun. We cannot say, "I love this gun and this dog," without repeating the verb *to love,* because *gun* being a noun inanimate, and *dog* a noun animate, each requires a corresponding class of the verb

I love my dog, and I love my gun.
Nee saugeeau nindye, gya, nee saugeetoan neem paushkizzigun.

But we can say, "I love this gun and this knife," or "I love this woman and this boy," without this repetition of the verb, because the two former are both inanimate, and the two latter both animate nouns.

I love this woman, and this boy.
Nee saugeeau wahow eekwa, gya wahow kweewizaas.

2. NOUN. — The Chippewa noun has seven declensions, ending respectively in *aum, eem, oom, oam, im, aim,* and *iss;* and, in the plural, in *aumun, aimun, eemun, oomun, oamun, imun,* and *issun.* It is varied to express the possessive, objective, and ablative cases.

Nom.	1. Monedo, ...	A spirit.
	2. Ossin, ...	A stone.
	3. Moaz, ...	A moose.
	4. Ais, ...	A shell.
	5. Oagemau	A chief.
Poss.	1. Nee monedoam, ...	My spirit.
	2. Nin dossineem, ...	My stone.
	3. Nee moazoom, ...	My moon.
	4. Nin daisim	My shell.
	5. Nin doagemau	My chief.
Obj.	1. O monedoamun, ...	His or her spirit.
	2. O dossineemun, ...	His or her stone.
	3. O moazoomun, ...	His or her mother.
	4. O daisimun, ...	His or her shell.
	5. O doagemun	His or her chief.

Abl.	1. Chemaun,	Nee chemaun,	O chemaunun,	Chemauning.
	2. Ishcoda,	N' ishcoda,	Ishcodanun,	Ishcodaing.
	3. Geezhig,	N' geezhig,	Ogeezhigun,	Geezhigoong.
	4. Ackeek,	N' ackeek,	Ackeeun,	Ackeekoong.

The noun, like the verb, is constantly used, under the modification of pronominal prefixes. Thus, *Oaoasemau*, father, becomes

N' oasa,	My father.
K' oasa,	Thy father.
Oasun,	His or her father.
N' oasanaun,	Our father (in.).
K' oasanaun,	Our father (ex.).
K' oasewau,	Your (*plu.*) father.
Oasewaun,	Their father.

The noun is further varied, to express an adjective or adverbial property. Thus, *Ozid*, foot, *Ozideush*, bad foot; *Inine*, a man, *Ininees*, a little man; *Chemaun*, a canoe, *Chemaun*ish, a bad canoe; *Neebin*, summer, *Neebing*, next summer, *Nebinoong*, last summer; *Neesh*, two, *Neeshing*, twice.

Nouns are turned into verbs by the following change in their terminations:—

Monedo,	a spirit,	Nee monedowh,	I am a spirit.
Wassayau,	light,	Nee wassayawh,	I am a light.
Ishcoda,	fire,	Nin dishcodawh,	I am fire, &c.

Verbs, on the contrary, are converted into nouns, by a peculiar principle:—

Neeme,	to dance,	Naumid,	a dancer.
Nugamoo,	to sing,	Naagamood,	a singer.
Neebau,	to sleep,	Naabaud,	a sleeper.
Keegido,	to speak,	Kaagidood,	a speaker.
Pemaudizzi,	to live,	Paamaudizzid,	a living being.

Nouns are also varied to express *tense;* the number of the noun is preserved throughout all changes.

3. Pronoun.—There are two words to indicate "we"—the first of which includes the objective person, and the second excludes him, from the operation of the verb. The *inclusive* and *exclusive* forms of this word are marked, the first, by the word or sign of the second person of the pronoun I, being *k.* or *kee;* and the second by the first person, being *n.* or *nee.*

Keenowind (in.),	We.
Neenowind (ex.),	We.

The words "us" and "ours" are indicated under the same rule. Thus, —

N' oasenaun, ...	Our father (ex.).
K' oasenaun, ...	Our father (in.).

Pronouns, like the nouns, are declined to express *tense*, by means of which verbs are conjugated. Thus, —

come;	came;	shall come;	shall have come.
Neem beezhau;	ningee, beezhau;	ningah beezhau;	ningahgee beezhau.

4. ADJECTIVES are not only divided into animates and inanimates, as stated in your review of Hunter, but they also, as I can clearly demonstrate, possess *number*. This fact will be worth announcing, as it has not been discovered by any of the commentators on Indian languages, and has, I believe, been denied by *some*.

ANIMATE CLASS.

(*Radix*, Misk. *Adj.*, Red.)

Singular.		*Plural.*	
Miskwizzi,	he is red, ...	Miskwizziwug,	they are red.
Maaskwizzid,	a red person, ...	Maaskwizzidjig,	red persons.
Kwonaudjiwee,	he is handsome, ...	Kwonaudjiweewug,	they are handsome.
Kwonaudjiwee,	a handsome person, . .	Kwonaudwidjig,	handsome persons.

INANIMATE CLASS.

Miskwau,	it is red, ...	Miskwauwun,	they are red.
Maaskwaug,	a red thing, ...	Maaskwaugin,	red things.
Kwonaudjiwun,	it is handsome, ...	Kwonaudjiwunoan,	they are handsome.
Mwonaudjiwung,	a handsome thing, . . .	Kwonaudjiwungin,	handsome things.

In these examples, the *animate* plural is formed by *wug* and *ig;* and the *inanimate*, by *wun* and *in*, conformably to the rule in other cases. The substantive terminations, in the animate, are *izzi, izzid, iwee, iwid;* and in the inanimate, *wau, waug, iwun, iwung*.

5. The state of my materials respecting the ADVERB, PREPOSITION, CONJUNCTION, and ARTICLE, is less complete than the foregoing. The prominent facts can, however, be stated, in relation to some of these heads.

The conjunctions *gya*, "and," and *kishpin*, "if," are in familiar use, with some others, which serve the purpose of connecting sentences. Of prepositions, there is a numerous list, from which I select the following:—

Ogidjyëë,	On.	Pushidjyëë	Over.
Cheegyëë	By.	Unaumyäë	Under.
Augawyëë	Behind.	Neesyëë	Down.
Inausaumyëë	Before.	Neesauwyëë,	Between, &c.

The mode of employing these prepositions, furnishes a proof of the strong tendency to combination which pervades the language. If it be necessary, for instance, to say, "on the rock," the preposition *on* will not be used in the simple form above given, but in combination with the word *rock* —

Ogidjaubik,	On the rock.

This compound, as you will readily perceive, is made up from *ogidjyëë*, on, and *aubic*, a generick term, signifying any *solid*, *rocky* or *metallic mass* — the specific term for rock, *auzhebik*, not being used.

Cheegaubik,	By the rock.

This compound, like the preceding, is formed from the preposition *by*, and the foregoing generic term.

Ogeedaubik,	Up the rock.
Neesaubik	Down the rock.
Augauwaubik,	Behind the rock, &c

This principle is of universal application:—

Neesaujeewun,	Down the river.
Ogeedaujeewnn,	Up the river, &c.
Ogeedaukee,	Up the hill.
Neesaukee,	Down the river, &c.

In these combinations, the noun in common use is often superseded by some generic substantive, which may coalesce better with the preposition. Thus, in the above, *ogeedaukee*, up the hill, neither the word for hill, *ishpatenau*, nor for mountain, *wudjoo*, is used, but the combination is supplied from *ackee*, earth or land. So, in the word *neesaujewun*, down the river, the familiar term for river, *seebee*, is passed over, and the combination made out by *jeewun*, a generic for stream or current. This tendency to generalization in their compounds is a stumbling-block to learners, who, when they have acquired the common names for things, as used disjunctively, are disappointed to find that these names so seldom constitute any part of the compounds: a proof, at once, of the copiousness of the language, and its capacity (contrary to all preconceived opinions) for the expression of general ideas.

I add to these hints, which have been hastily drawn up, an analysis of the verb "to be," in both its forms, which will, I hope, both serve and subserve the purposes of your review. Make what use you please of what I now send you, and what I have heretofore sent you, in furtherance of the object. Let me hope, that no other avocations will induce you to defer the execution of this task, for a task I know you consider it, beyond the time originally contemplated, as I shall feel the greatest anxiety to peruse the article.

I remain, sir,
Your friend and ob't servant,
HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

MAHICAN LANGUAGE.

SAULT STE. MARIE, August 27th, 1827.

DEAR SIR: — I have before me my notes on the Mohegan language, and Dr. Edwards's "Observations." If it be conceded that some changes have taken place in the spoken language since his day, still there can be no sound reasons for believing that the principles of the language itself have changed.

Dr. Edwards says (p. 13), "The Mohegans have no adjective in all their language, unless we reckon numerals, and such words as *all*, *many*, &c., adjectives. Of adjectives which express the quality of substances, I do not find that they have any." Again (p. 14), "As they have no adjectives, of course they have no comparison of adjectives."

I found, by inquiring of Metoxon, Quinney, and Andrew Miller, that they are more in the habit of using neuter verbs to express qualities, than our northern tribes of Algonquin stock, generally. But it is evident, that these verbs are compounded in part from adjectives; and a little attention soon satisfied me, that they possess adjectives which are used in the abstract form. The following examples will suffice: —

ADJECTIVES.

	Animate.	*Inanimate.*
Good,	Wuh wee hih,	Woonut.
Bad,	M' tuh thow,	M' tut.
White,	Wau pau yooh,	Wau pau yuk.
Black,	Suk kau yooh	Nauth kau yuk.
Red,	Muh kwau yooh,	Muh kwau yuk.
Green,	Skus kwau yooh,	Uth-kuth twau yuk.

I feel convinced that there is as little reason for the broad assertion (p. 16), "that they have no verb-substantive in all their language." The verb which occurs so often in their *spoken*, and in their *written* language (vide Translation of the Westminster Catechism), and of which the infinitive is (as I infer) *Oio*,[1] signifies "to live," "to dwell," "to abide," and (as I believe) "to be." Dr. Edwards has himself used it in the latter sense, in his translation of the Pater Noster —

Father our above thou art.
"Noghnuh ne spummuck oieon."

And a comparative examination of the New Stockbridge and Westminster Catechisms is sufficient to convince any person, whose mind is not absolutely steeled in error, that the verb "to be" is thus employed, under its pronominal and tensal aspects, in upwards of a hundred instances: —

Oi yeuh, I live, or exist. . Oigun, thou livest, &c. . Oi aat, he or she lives, &c.

It is probable, however, that the use of the substantive verb, in the Mohegan, is limited, as we find it in the Chippewa. A Chippewa does not say, in the conjugation of his neuter adjective verbs, "he is good," "he is bad," "he is a coward"; but "he good," "he bad," &c.; and this has unquestionably led to the conclusion that the verb "to be" was positively wanting. It is only where life, existence, possession, or action, is positively to be asserted, that he employs the word *Iau*; as, —

Nin dyau, ...	I am.
Nindow Iau wyan, ...	I am what I am.
Nin dyau Pauwating, ...	I *am* at St. Mary's.

But if (as it would ordinarily happen) the speaker wishes merely to say, "I dwell at St. Mary's," the phrase is, *N' dun ukkee Pauwating;* and it then implies that he lives at St. Mary's *permanently*. There is a different word for a sojourner, or transitory dweller. The whole scope and tendency of the Chippewa (I may say Indian languages) is a system of negations; and it is only when compelled by contradiction to make positive assertions, that the speaker is driven into the use of the substantive verb; and when so used, full enunciation and strong emphasis are employed.

The strongest analogy exists between the Mohegan and Chippewa. Like it, the language wants the letters *f*, *r*, *l*, and *v*. It is a scion of the Chippewa family, less remote than the Delaware, and some other cognate dialects. The Delawares, like the Foxes, substitute the letter *l* for *n*, in words which in other respects offer the closest resemblance to the Mohegan and Chippewa respectively. The following comparative vocabulary will exhibit this analogy in the strongest light. The Chippewa examples are taken from Oshawushcodawaqau, and the Mohegan from Metoxon.

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[1] The first syllable of this word is the diphthongal sound of *oi* in *voice*.

English.	*Chippewa.*	*Mohegan.*
Water	Nebee	Nebee.
Earth,	Akkee	Akkee.
Sun,	Geezis,	Keeshoh.
Fog,	Ahwun	Auwun.
Sand,	Naygow,	Naugow.
Stone,	Ossin,	Ossun.
River,	Seebee	Seepoo.
Tree,	Mittig,	Mittuk, or Mittook.
Animal,	Ahwaysee,	Ahwoyiss.
Beaver,	Amik,	Amusk.
Deer,	Attik, or Addik,	Attooh.
Bear,	Mukwoh,	Mukwoh.
Fox,	Waugoosh,	Waugoo*sus*? (*dimin.*)
Eagle,	Migissee,	Migissoo.
Hog,	Kokosh,	Koshkosh.
Lodge,	Weegawam,	Waigwum.
Flesh,	Weeos,	Weeaus.
Shoe,	Mukazin,	Maukissun.
Awl,	Miggoas,	Miggoas.
Ghost,	Jeeby,	Jsheepy.
My father,	Nös,	Nöh.
My mother,	Ningah,	N'guk.

Most of these Mohegan words are nearer in sound to the parent language, than the dialects of York or Lancashire are to the standard of pure English.

I remain, sir,

Your friend and ob't serv't,

HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

t) NAMES BASED ON THE INDIAN VOCABULARIES, WHICH ARE SUGGESTED AS APPROPRIATE FOR NEW SUBDIVISIONS OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN.

The sonorousness and appropriate character of the Indian names, has often been admired. They cast, as it were, a species of poetic drapery over our geography. To pace the shores of the Owasco, Oneida and Ontario, or the Genesee and Niagara, and behold the combination of woods and waters outstretched before the eyes, is associated with that combination of syllables which unite in their graphic description of scenery. Even where the words become pollysyllabic, and entirely exceed in quantity the admissible length for English rhythm, as in Ticonderoga, there is a degree of music in the collocation of syllables, which gives pleasure to the ear. Something of this is, doubtless, owing to the philosophical fact, that what is unknown, if it be sweet to the ear, possesses a sort of mystic charm.

But we are seldom deceived in analyzing an Indian compound. From the flexibility of these languages, there is an unusual capacity of description. Taking a lake, a stream, hill, valley or mountain, as the nucleus of thought, it is generally arranged in the characteristics which best suit it. And in so rapidly settling a country as the West, where the areas occupied so far outrun the capacity to provide original names, the inconvenient repetition of the old and time-honoured names of Europe, might, it should seem, be often avoided by appeals to the various Indian vocabularies.[1] The following brief

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[1] A LETTER ON CITY NAMES.

The following letter on City names, was addressed to the Mayor of New York, at the date of it, in the hope of arresting attention to the subject.

NEW YORK, Oct. 28, 1844.

SIR:—You will pardon me, I trust, for calling your attention, at this period of the unexampled growth and revived prosperity of the city, to this topic. The influence of names on the character of cities, forms a curious subject of inquiry. It is from considerations as small as these, that cities date the eras of their growth and expansion. They sometimes give a clue to national history, and often to the achievements of individuals. Indeed, no small part of the celebrity and weight of cities, in the world's history, must be confessed to be associated with the moral influence of names. Rome and Carthage, Babylon and Jerusalem, were but other names for the nations who built them. We associate with Utica, Athens, and Philadelphia, the history of patriotism, the fine arts, and the spread of Christianity. Nineveh and Thebes, Venice and Palmyra, are but so many names, which once exercised a talismanic influence over the human mind, but are now only appealed to, as facts in the mutation of governments, or in the fluctuations of commerce. No one can reflect, at this time, on the replete and swelling population of London and Paris, without awaking in the mind the most vivid associations of letters, science, and opulence.

With regard to New York, it is too late, certainly, to think of changing its English cognomen for one more appropriate, or better suited to inspire sentiments of nationality, but not too late to regret that the name of the "Empire City" has not been derived from some of the sublime natural features which mark our geography, list of names are suggested, in the way of trial in this department, not without the hope that some of them will commend themselves for adoption.

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and are characteristic of the continent. Niagara is a name which will pass on to future times, as calling up one of the most striking and imposing scenes of which the world can boast. Ontaria must ever recall an expanse of noble and varied scenic attractions, spreading along the borders of our broadest and richest territorial boundaries. We have no Andes or Cordillera, but an amplitude of lakes in whose pellucid surface these giant heights could be reflected. Many other names in the terminology of the state derived from its aboriginal vocabulary, might be brought forward in this connection as fit to be commemorated in the naming of the streets and squares of the city, while the word YORK, which we have adopted as a basis, and used now, these one hundred and eighty years, is barren of all national association. It is the name of a small antique British city, lying on both banks of the river Ouse, with its ancient cathedral, walls, bars, castle and tower, nearly as perfect as they existed in the days of the Scottish border wars, and recalling the age of feudal strife. By transferring it to this spot with its present prefix, in 1664, the English commemorated their triumph on this continent, over the Dutch power—a power be it remembered, which, after an heroic and successful struggle against the most hateful tyranny in the world, was the first in modern Europe to recognise and adopt the policy of the confederation of states for the public good. Both England and Holland had concurred in discarding the aboriginal term of Manhattan, or at least had restricted it to the island.

In building a great city, the principles of taste should be infused, as well in its nomenclature, as in its architecture, public works and decorations. To impress on such a city, the age and the people, their strength and character, nothing is better fitted, than the principle of the system of names of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. When they achieved a great field-battle, or naval triumph, they commemorated the deed, by imposing the name of the place, on some square, street, or other prominent subdivision of their leading cities, their ships of war, or the edifices of their statesmen and heroes. In this way, we still hear of Cressy, Blenhem, and Ramillies. The spread of British arms, science and letters, is inseparable from the spread of their honored names. Time may cancel the memory of the act, but the names are never forgotten. They are, in modern days, seen to spread over India, Australia and Syria. It is not our policy to imitate her in these national strides for dominion, which, perhaps carry in themselves the cause of her overthrow. We have risen to our station in the family of nations at a time, when the leading impulses of the human mind, are directed to promote the principles of universal peace, popular intelligence and Christianity. But is it a less patriotic or wise desire, to leave on our peculiar monuments, which are towns and cities, the names of such scenes and events, as mark our rise?

Take the history of London as an example of what has been urged. Whenever England gained a signal triumph, by land or sea, it immediately told among the squares and monuments of that city. It was more by these appeals to the popular mind, than by heavy expenditures of money, or monuments of the fine arts, that she preserved the memory of her achievements, and stimulated her subjects to future deeds of daring. What *Waterloo* is to England, *Saratoga* is to us, and where they have a "Waterloo Place," we should have a "Saratoga Place." And where London has its "Trafalgar Square," New York should have its "Champlain Avenue," or "Erie Square." How much better were it that "Abingdon Square," instead of unmeaningly bearing the name of a Scotch hamlet, should commemorate by its title, the Revolutionary battle of ORISKANY, or that "Tompkins' Square" should remind us, by its name, of the provincial storming of TICONDEROGA. In the latter instance, as in that of "Madison Square," though both are named after distinguished patriots, there are many among us who, with the exception of the single name of WASHINGTON, object to the names of citizens being given to territorial divisions, as *Anti-Republican*; and though we may smile at the prejudice as absurd, the usage is certainly subject to the abuse of political partizans. A resolution of the Legislature, for pastime, to set-off "Clay County" or "Polk County," at this moment, would make no little excitement. Would not the heroic triumph at Stanwix—the most completely brilliant defence of the whole war—fitly supplant the peurile name of Gramercy Park? What more worthy object of civic remembrance than the name of the only tribe of the renowned Iroquois stock, who adhered to us faithfully, during the entire struggle—I mean the Oneidas, or as they are otherwise called, the people of Oneota.

It was at OTSEGO that the army under Clinton and Sullivan prepared the effective organization for their successful inroad and victory in the Indian country. Niagara and Erie are both terms which perpetuate the

There are two modes in which aboriginal names may be made, namely:—

1. By an appeal to the pure elements of the Indian; and 2, by combining an English local inflection with an Indian radix. The difficulty which is apprehended in the first mode, consists in keeping the newly-formed words within the quantity, or else in preserving the system and harmony required. The other method, is that of exchanging the Indian local and prepositional inflections, in *ing*, *ong*, &c., for English terminations. Examples of both methods are submitted.

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scenes of brilliant achievements in arms, during the late war, under Scott, and other distinguished generals. And without going beyond the boundaries of our state, without extending the search to Sandusky, where valor triumphed over numbers and discipline; to the Miami of the Lakes, where Wayne sealed the triumph of three sanguinary campaigns; or to Toronto, where Pike fell in a successful storm, there is a rich store of appropriate names to exalt, by association, the "highways and byeways" of a great and growing city. Would the cross streets, above EIGHTH STREET, which bear only the numerals, be less eligible to residents, or more difficult to find by inquiring strangers, if they were named Saratoga place, Stanwix place, Ontario place, Otsego place, Oneota place, Niagara place, (14th street,) Erie place, Itasca place, Iosco place, and so on? or they might be interspersed with distinguished names in American history worthy of the honor. We might thus, in some measure, accomplish in the naming of the city what it has cost France thirty years of labor and millions of money to erect in her admirable Arch of Triumph.

We have well commemorated the national approbation to the first place in war, in science, and in mechanical ingenuity, by the names of Washington, Franklin and Fulton. It is not as easy to extend consistently with justice, the circle of personal names, as it is to transfer those of places. The latter form better and more general points of agreement, and they answer as well to perpetuate our triumphs in science, arts and discovery, as in arms.

As to such names as New street, &c. &c., which disfigure the plot of the city, and betray an utter want of thought in their origin, they had better be cast away at once, and more suitable terms imposed. If there be any want of corporate authority to do this, there can be no doubt but the Legislature would gladly step in with its aid. The whole subject is one which is believed to be of general interest to our citizens. It has met the approbation of all intelligent persons with whom I have conversed for years, and I totally misapprehend the popular feeling in the city, if it is not expressed, in its general import, by the above suggestions. Can we not, sir, stir up a truly national feeling on the subject? Is there not something besides politics for nationality to feed upon? Can we not console ourselves with something sweeter than personal political animosities? Should not MAN, in his phasis of self-government, leave a more exalting memento in his tracks than the laurels of good and great men, crushed by the ruthless tramp of party?

Is not the subject, to which I have directed your attention, one which may be appropriately appealed to.

I will add but a single remark. These suggestions are not made in a spirit of innovation. They are designed, not so much to change what has been done, as to introduce a general principle for action hereafter. The attachment for old and long established names, is a very strong one, and is connected with some of the highest principles of our nature. Such a name, for instance as Hanover Square, however inappropriate to the city, is fortified by old associations, which no one would think of disturbing. It is a name, politically considered, which commemorates the succession of the Guelphs to the British throne, and was probably bestowed here, and in London, at the same era. The parallel term here, would be Constitution Square; yet this would be an innovation, and inexpedient.

It is not so with Bowling Green. This is a green no longer, but a fountain; yet whether a green or a fountain, it would now seem to be in better taste, if a larger space of ground cannot be found for the purpose, to call it by the name of Manhattan.

I am sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

1.

Ac-ó-ma. From *acki*, earth; and *goma*, big waters.

Al-pe-na. From *penaisee*, a bird, and the Arabic *al*.

Al-gó-ma. From *Algonquin*, and *maig*, waters.

Al-gon-ac. From *Algonquin*, and *ackee*, land.

Am-o-da. From *ahmo*, a bee; and *coda*, a plain.

Chi-le-li. From *tsklelеli*, a mysterious bird of fair plumage.

El-lâ-kee. From *el*, and *akee*, land.

Ge-hi-o. From *gezis*, sky; and *io*, beautiful.

I-co-mi-co. From *chi*, great; and *amiko*, hunting-ground.

I-e-na. From *ienandizzie*, a stranger or wanderer.

I-ó-ga. From *io*, beautiful; and *sagiega*, submerged and abounding in ponds.

I-o-gan. From *io*, beautiful; and *gan*, lake.

I-ós-co. From *Iau*, to be; *os*, a father; and *coda*, a plain.

I-tâs-ca[1]. From *Ia*, to be, *totosh*, the female breast, or origin, and *ka*, a terminal subs, inflection.

Min-a-min. From *min*, a berry; and *a*, an intensive conjunction.

Min-us-co. From *minno*, good; and *ushk*, an aquatic plant.

Mis-co-da. From *misco*, red; and *coda*, plain.

Mo-i-mo. From *mokidg*, a spring; and *i*, the intensitive particle.

Mon-it-o. The Supreme Being.

Na-osh. From *na*, fair; and *osh*, the floating skies.

Mus-ko-da. A grassy plain; from *mushkoosi*, grass, &c.

Os-co-da. From *mushcoda*, a prairie or meadow; and *ossin*, a pebble.

Pe-ko-da. From *pezhika*, a buffalo; and *coda*, plain.

Tal-co-a. From *talco*, to laugh (Shawnee); and *ac*, land.

Tal-lo-ga. From *talla*, a town; and *oga*, place.

To-to-ga. From *totosh*, a locality, and a word meaning bog land.

Tus-co-la. From *dusinagon*, a level; and *cola*, lands.

2.

Ac-wood.	From *ackee*, land.	**Ad-land.**	From *adik*, a deer.
Ac-field.	" " "	**Ad-burn.**	" " "
Ac-vale.	" " "	**Ad-wold.**	" " "
Ac-burn.	" " "	**Am-wood.**	" *amik*, a beaver.
Ac-by.	" " "	**Am-burn.**	" " "
Ac-ville.	" " "	**Am-ham.**	" " "

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[1] This name has been applied to the lake in which the Mississippi River originates.

Baim-wood.	From *baimwa*, sound of thunder.
Baim-hill.	From *baimwa*, sound of thunder.
Bis-field.	From *bishegaindagozi*, handsome.
Ca-wood.	From *kawgagee*, a crow.
Caug-wood.	“ *kaug*, a porcupine.
Chi-mont.	“ *gitchi*, great.
Chi-wood.	“ “ “
Con-field.	“ *kon*, snow.
Con-water.	“ “ “
Con-moor.	“ “ “
Il-lis-ton.	“ *ilini*, a man.
I-ó-land.	“ *io*, beautiful.
I-ó-ville.	“ “ “
I-ó-burn.	“ “ “
Min-land.	“ *minno*, good.
Min-vale.	“ “ “
Min-wood.	“ “ “
Mik-moor.	“ *migisi*, an eagle.
Mik-field.	“ “ “
Mik-wood.	“ “ “
Miz-field.	“ *mis*, red.
Mon-wood.	“ *monedo*, god.
Mon-ville.	“ “ “
Mon-burn.	From *monedo*, god.
Mon-moor.	“ “ “
Ne-o-by.	“ *neo*, god. (Iro.)
Ne-o-mont.	“ “ “
Oc-field.	“ *oca*, a brier.
Oc-burn.	“ “ “
Ont-wood.	“ *on*, a hill.
Ont-field.	“ “ “
Ont-ville.	“ “ “
Ont-wold.	“ “ “
Ont-water.	“ “ “
Os-a-wood.	“ *oza*, yellow.
Os-field.	“ *os*, a father.
Os-ville.	“ “ “
Os-wood.	“ “ “
Ot-field.	“ *ot*, (Iro.) water.
Ot-wood.	“ “ “
Ot-ville.	“ “ “
Tallis-field.	“ *talla*, a town.
Tus-ca-mont.	“ *tushca*, a warrior.
Tus-ca-ville.	“ “
Tus-ca-lilly.	“ *Tusinakee*, flat land.
Was-sa-burn.	*wassa*, bright.
Was-field.	“ “ “
Was-wood.	“ “ “

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

HISTORY.

1. SKETCHES OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE SIX NATIONS BY DAVID CUSIC.

The author of this tract was a Tuscarora, whose ancestors emigrated with that tribe from North Carolina, after their unfortunate rebellion against that province, in 1712. Received by the Oneidas of Western New York, as one of the affiliated cantons of the Iroquois, they remained on lands assigned to them by that tribe till after or perhaps during the epoch of the American Revolution. They transferred their residence to Niagara county, New York, settling within a few miles from Lewiston, on the Niagara Ridge, where they still dwell. I visited them, under the authority of the State of New York, in 1845. They were found to number over three hundred souls. The English language was generally spoken. There were schools, at which the children were regularly taught, and a church and church edifice under the charge of a missionary of the American Board. In customs and manners, the example of civilization was adopted. Having funds, on their arrival in the North, which were paid to them by North Carolina, the tribe purchased the lands on which they located. Many of the householders were at the time able and thrifty farmers, raising large quantities of wheat and corn, and considerable stocks of horses, cattle, and hogs.

David Cusic had received a common school education, and could read and write the English language. That he did not completely master the English grammar, is no objection to the traditions he brings forward, which are still expressed in an intelligible manner; and the entire tract is, specially, left in the literary garb in which it came from his hands. Cusic had heard the traditions of his people from his childhood. He had heard of their achievements in war, hunting, and diplomacy, and listened to the recitals of the eloquence of their orators and wise men, till they assumed nearly an equality in his views with what he had read, in his teachings, of Greece and Rome. But it was not to the Six Nations only, that the eloquence of a Garangula, a Logan, a Red Jacket, and a Skenandoa, had given a wide-spread popular celebrity.

He appears to have regarded his task with apprehension. Like many writers of far higher pretensions, he falls into the error of trying to generalize and systematize matter which would be better if left in its accrete state. The greatest merit of such traditions consists in their being told in a simple manner, without any attempt at chronology or embellishment. By putting the frame-work of a suppositional chronology to the traditions, he entered on quicksands where stouter feet have sunk. This part of the narrative may be regarded as a mere excursion of a North American Indian into the fields of imagination. The assertion that there had been "*thirteen*" Atatarhos, or presiding rulers, at Onondaga, the seat of the confederacy, may be regarded as the tradition; although, if we regarded each Atatarho as ruling thirty years, it would carry the antiquity of the confederacy a century farther back than is generally conceded.[1]

The following is the original preface, which, together with the text of this extraordinary piece of Indian penmanship, is given *verbatim et literatim:* —

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[1] Notes on the Iroquois.

"PREFACE.

I have been long waiting in hopes that some of my people, who have received an English education, would have undertaken the work as to give a sketch of the Ancient History of the Six Nations; but found no one seemed to concur in the matter, after some hesitation I determined to commence the work; but found the history involved with fables; and besides, examining myself, finding so small educated that it was impossible for me to compose the work without much difficulty. After various reasons I abandoned the idea: I however took up a resolution to continue the work, which I have taken much pains procuring the materials, and translating it into English language. I have endeavoured to throw some light on the history of the original population of the country, which I believe never have been recorded. I hope this little work will be acceptable to the public.

DAVID CUSICK.

TUSCARORA VILLAGE, June 10, 1825.

PART I.

A Tale of the Foundation of the Great Island, now North America — The Two Infants born, and the Creation of the Universe.

Among the ancients there were two worlds in existence. The lower world was in a great darkness — the possession of the great monsters; but the upper world was inhabited by mankind; and there was a woman conceived, and would have the twin born. When her travail drew near, and her situation seemed to produce a great distress on her mind, and she was induced by some of her relations to lay herself on a mattrass which was prepared, so as to gain refreshments to her wearied body; but while she was asleep the very place sunk down towards the dark world. The monsters of the great water were alarmed at her appearance of descending to the lower world; in consequence all the species of the creatures were immediately collected into where it was expected she would fall. When the monsters were assembled, and they made consultation, one of them was appointed in haste to search the great deep, in order to procure some earth, if it could be obtained; accordingly the monster descends, which succeeds, and returns to the place. Another requisition was presented, who would be capable to secure the woman from the terrors of the great water, but none was able to comply except a large turtle came forward and made proposal to them to endure her lasting weight, which was accepted. The woman was yet descending from a great distance. The turtle executes upon the spot, and a small quantity of earth was varnished on the back part of the turtle. The woman alights on the seat prepared, and she receives a satisfaction. While holding her, the turtle increased every moment, and became a considerable island of earth, and apparently covered with small bushes. The woman remained in a state of unlimited darkness, and she was overtaken by her travail to which she was subject. While she was in the limits of distress, one of the infants in her womb was moved by an evil opinion, and he was determined to pass out under the side of the parent's arm, and the other infant in vain endeavoured to prevent his design. The woman was in a painful condition during the time of their disputes, and the infants entered the dark world by compulsion, and their parent expired in a few moments. They had the power of sustenance without a nurse, and remained in the dark regions. After a time, the turtle increased to a great island, and the infants were grown up; and one of them possessed with a gentle disposition, and named *Enigorio*, *i. e.*, the good mind. The other youth possessed an insolence of character, and was named *Enigonhahetgea*, *i. e.*, the bad mind. The good mind was not contented to remain in a dark situation, and he was anxious to create a great light in the dark world; but the bad mind was desirous that the world should remain in a natural state. The good mind determines to prosecute his design, and therefore commence the work of creation. At first, he took the parent's head (the deceased), of which he created an orb, and established it in the centre of the firmament, and it became of a very superior nature to bestow light to the new world (now the sun); and again he took the remnant of the body, and formed another orb, which was inferior to the light (now moon). In the orb a cloud of legs appeared, to prove it was the body of the good mind (parent). The former was to give light to the day, and the latter to the night. And he also created numerous spots of light (now stars): these were to regulate the days, nights, seasons, years, &c. Whenever the light extended to the dark world, the monsters were displeased, and immediately concealed themselves in the deep places, lest they should be discovered by some human beings. The good mind continued the works of creation, and he formed numerous creeks and rivers on the Great Island, and then created numerous species of animals of the smallest and greatest, to inhabit the forests, and fishes of all kinds to inhabit the waters. When he had made the universe, he was in doubt respecting some beings to possess the Great Island; and he formed two images of the dust of the ground in his own likeness, male and female, and by his breathing into their nostrils, he gave them the living souls, and named them *Ea-gwe-howe*, *i. e.*, a real people; and he gave the Great Island all the animals of game for their maintenance; and he appointed thunder to water the earth by frequent rains, agreeable to the nature of the system: after this the Island became fruitful, and vegetation afforded the animals subsistence. The bad mind, while his brother was making the universe, went throughout the Island, and made numerous high mountains and falls of water, and great steeps, and also creates various reptiles which would be injurious to mankind; but the good mind restored the island to its former condition. The bad mind proceeded further in his motives, and he made two images of clay in the form of mankind; but, while he was giving them existence, they became apes; and when he had not the power to create mankind, he was envious against his brother; and again he made two of clay. The good mind discovered his brother's contrivances, and aided in giving them living souls[1] (it is said these had the most knowledge of good and evil). The good mind now accomplishes the works of creation, nothwithstanding the imaginations of the bad mind were continually evil; and he attempted to enclose all the animals of game in the earth, so as to deprive them from mankind; but the good mind released them from confinement (the animals were dispersed, and traces of them were made on the rocks near the cave where it was closed). The good mind experiences that his brother was at variance with the works of creation, and feels not disposed to favour any of his proceedings, but gives admonitions of his future state. Afterwards the good mind requested his brother to accompany him, as he was proposed to inspect the game, &c.; but, when a short distance from their nominal residence, the bad mind became so unmanly that he could not conduct his brother any more. The bad mind offered a challenge to his brother, and resolved that who gains the victory should govern the universe; and appointed a day to meet the contest. The good mind was willing to submit to the offer, and he enters the reconciliation with his brother; which he falsely mentions that by whipping with flags would destroy his temporal life; and he earnestly solicits his brother also to notice the instrument of death, which he manifestly relates by the use of deer horns beating his body he would expire. On the day appointed, the engagement commenced, which lasted for two days: after pulling up the trees and mountains as the track of a terrible whirlwind, at last the good mind gained the victory by using the horns, as mentioned the instrument of death, which he succeeded in deceiving his brother, and he crushed him in the earth; and the last words uttered from the bad mind were, that he would have equal power over the souls of mankind after death; and he sinks down to eternal doom, and became the Evil Spirit. After this tumult, the good mind repaired to the battle ground, and then visited the people, and retires from the earth

PART II.

A Real Account of the Settlement of North America, and their Dissensions.

In the ancient days, the Great Island appeared upon the big waters, the earth brought forth trees, herbs, vegetables, &c. The creation of the land animals; the Eagwehoewe people were too created, and resided in the north regions; and after a time some of the people become giants, and committed outrages upon the inhabitants, &c. After many years, a body of Eagwehoewe people encamped on the bank of a majestic stream, and was named *Kanawage*, now St. Lawrence. After a long time, a number of foreign people sailed from a port unknown; but unfortunately before reached their destination the winds drove them contrary; at length their ship wrecked somewhere on the southern part of the Great Island, and many of the crews perished; a few active persons were saved; they obtained some implements, and each of them was covered with a leather bag, the big hawks carried them on the summit of a mountain, and remained there but a short time, the hawks seemed to threaten them, and were compelled to leave the mountain. They immediately selected a place for residence, and built a small fortification in order to provide against the attacks of furious beasts, if there should be any made. After many years, the foreign people became numerous, and extended their settlements; but afterwards they were destroyed by the monsters that overrun the country. About this time, the Eagwehoewe people inhabited on the river Kanawaga or St. Lawrence; but they could not enjoy tranquillity, as they were invaded by the giants called Ronnongwetowanca, who came from the north and inhabited considerably; but their mode of attack was slily, and never dared to precipitate themselves upon the enemy without prospect of success; especially they took advantage when the warriors were absent from the town. After plundering the people's houses and making captives those were found, and hastily retreat to their residence in the north. An instance—a family of princes lived near the river St. Lawrence, of whom, containing six brothers and a sister and their father, was a noble chieftain, who fell at the contest of the enemy. One time the brothers went out a day's hunt, and leaving their sister alone in the camp; unfortunately while they were gone the giant makes vigorous attack, and the woman soon became a prey to the invader. On the eve, the brothers returned, and were much grieved that their sister was found missing; they immediately made a search, but the night was getting too late and the darkness prevented them. On the morning, the eldest brother determined to pursue the enemy until he could discover something about their sister, and promised to return in seven days if nothing should happen; accordingly the prince set out and pursued the traces of the enemy; after journeyed three days he reached the giant's residence about sundown; at first sight he discovered his sister was gathering some sticks for fuel near the house; but as he approached the sister retired; the princess soon proved by her conduct that she had fell in love with the giant, and that it was impossible to gain her confidence. The prince was now brought to a point of view about the dread of the enemy; but however he was willing to risk the dangers he was about to meet; he remained until about dusk, and then entered the house; happily he was received with most favourable terms, and his fears were soon dissipated, the giant offered his pipe as a tribute of respect, which the prince accepted. After received the evening diet, they talked a good while without a least appearance of hostility; as the night was getting late, the prince was invited to bed; but the giant was now acting to deceive the prince; he commenced to amuse him part of the night in singing songs; the giant had determined to assassinate the visiter the first opportunity, as the prince was so fatigued that he was now a fast sleep; he killed him on the bed, and the body was deposited in a cave near the house where he had stored the carcasses. The giant was much pleased of his conquest over the prince, he advised his wife to watch daily in order to impose on another enemy. The seven days elapsed, as the brother did not return, the youngest brother, *Donhtonha*, was much excited about his brother, and resolved to pursue him; the Donhtonha was the most stoutest and ferocious looking fellow, after armed himself, commenced the journey, and also arrived at the place and time as mentioned, and found his sister; but before he had time to reconcile her, she returned to the house as she had formerly done, and informed the giant that some person was coming: the Donhtonha entered the house with appearances of hostile disposition, and enquired for his brother; this produced alarm; the giant was promptly to pacify the prince; he replied that he had made peace with the brother, who had gone to visit some people in the neighbourhood, and it was expected he would return every moment. Upon this assurance, the Donhtonha become some abated; the sister provided some food, and he soon enjoyed the domestic felicity; but alas, the giant was far from being friendly, and was only forming a plan to deceive the visiter. The evening was late, the Donhtonha was out of patience waiting for his brother to come home, and renewed his enquiries; the visiter was invited to bed; the giant was in hopes to exterminate the visiter; he rose from his seat, and commenced his usual custom in singing. The Donhtonha perceived that some evil design was performing against him, and resolved to abandon the bed for a while; he begged leave for a few moments, and went out, after various considerations from being imposed; he procured some pieces of wood which produced a faint light in the night and put it above his eyelids, and again went to bed; the giant was now deceived; while the visiter was asleep his eyes appeared though he was awake continually. As soon as day light, the visiter hurried from the bed, and was about to make a search for the deceased brother, but the giant protested, which soon excited suspicions of the act; after a long debate, the Donhtonha attacked the giant; a severe conflict ensued, at last the giant was killed; and burnt him in the ruins of his house; but his spirit fled to heaven, and changed into one of the eastern stars. During the engagement his sister was grieved, and fled to the wilderness, and lamented for her deceased husband, and she died in despair, and her spirit also became one of the northern stars. After the conquest, the search was prosecuted, he discovered the remains of his brother and weeps over it and burnt it to ashes.

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[1] It appears, by the fictitious accounts, that the said beings became civilized people, and made their residence in the southern parts of the island; but afterwards they were destroyed by the barbarous nations, and their fortifications were ruined unto this day.

After a time, another Ronnongwetowanea attacked a small town located on the bank of Kanawage (St. Lawrence). This occurred in a season when the people were out to hunt, and there was no person in the town except an old chief and an attendant named Yatatonwatea: while they were enjoying repose in their houses, were suddenly attacked by the Ronnongwetowanea; but the Yatatonwatea escaped, went out the back door, and deserted the aged chief to the fate; however the enemy spared no time, the chase was soon prosecuted, which caused the Yatatonwatea to retreat as fast as possible; he attempted to make resistance in various places, but was compelled to retire at the appearance of the enemy; in vain he endeavoured to gain retreat by traversing various creeks and hills; he undertook a new method of giving little effect upon the progress of the enemy; after running some distance, he discovered which would promptly cherish the imposition, he drove a flock of pidgeons in the way to amuse the enemy until he could hide himself under the bank of a river, unfortunately the flattering hopes seemed to fail; after remaining there but a short time before he saw the enemy was coming in full speed, and was soon obliged to abandon the position and continue the flight; again he tried to conceal himself among the rocks of the mountain, but in a mean time the enemy advanced at the moment, of which he became dismayed, finding that nothing could resist the impetuosity of the pursuer, but determined not to surrender as long as he was capable to keep out of the reach; he immediately took the path which leads to the hunting grounds in search of some people; fortunately at a short distance met two warriors and he was instantly supported and made vigorous resistance; after terrible combat the Ronnongwetowanea was exterminated; during the time the warriors conducted themselves as heroes, which gained the triumph, notwithstanding one of them received a severe wound by the club. The Yatatonwatea with alarm whoop hastened to the encampment and advised the people of the substance and the dangers which the enemy might commit upon the vacant towns. As soon as the people received the intelligence immediately returned to their settlements, and a convention were held by the chieftains in order to take some measures to defend their country. As the Ronnongwetowanea tribe were not numerous and deemed it inexpedient to raise a large force, and therefore a few hundred warriors were sent to subdue them; after decisive contests the warriors gained the victory; and it was supposed that the Ronnongwetowanea tribe has ever since ceased to exist. (This fate happened probably about two thousand five hundred winters before Columbus discovered the America.) The depredations of the enemy which so often exercised upon the inhabitants were now terminated; and the country enjoyed without disturbance for many winters. About this time a mischievous person named Shotyeronsgwea, while visiting the people at first distinguished himself of a good character and in mean time gained the confidence of the people; by doing this he was fairly concealed from being discovered of his real designs, and in a short time began to injure the people; he assassinated two warriors secretly, and then violated six virgins, &c., &c. And the next he ventured to break the harmony of the nation and created dissensions among the people. At this the chiefs were so offended that the Shotyerongswea were soon banished from the village; when received this treatment he deemed proper to desist from going back to any of the towns; he immediately crossed the river St. Lawrence and moved towards the midday sun, and he came to a town situated south of great lake (Ontario) and he was received with kindness; but this entertainment could not appease his evil designs; though he appeared reconciled; one night while at the dancing house he killed several warriors; this offence he discovered would soon prove fatal to his person, and was compelled to leave the town and went some other place to do mischief. The Shotyeronsgwea was the greatest mischievous person that ever existed on the continent. He was considered an agent from bad spirit. About this time the Big Quisquiss (perhaps the Mammouth) invaded the settlements south of Ontario lake; the furious animal push down the houses and made a great disturbance; the people was compelled to flee from the terrible monster; the warriors made opposition but failed; at length a certain chief warrior collected the men from several towns—a severe engagement took place, at last the monster retired, but the people could not remain long without being disturbed; the Big Elk invaded the towns; the animal was furious and destroyed many persons; however the men were soon collected—a severe contest ensued, the monster was killed.

About this time the northern nations formed into a confederacy and seated a great council fire on river St. Lawrence: the northern nations possessed the bank of the great lakes: the countries in the north were plenty of beavers, but the hunters were often opposed by the big snakes. The people live on the south side of the Big Lakes make bread of roots and obtain a kind of potatoes and beans found on the rich soil.

Perhaps about two thousand two hundred years before the Columbus discovered the America, the northern nations appointed a prince, and immediately repaired to the south and visited the great Emperor who resided at the Golden City, a capitol of the vast empire. After a time the Emperor built many forts throughout his dominions and almost penetrated the lake Erie; this produced an excitement, the people in the north felt that they would soon be deprived of the country on the south side of the Great Lakes they determined to defend their country against any infringement of foreign people: long bloody wars ensued which perhaps lasted about one hundred years: the people of the north were too skilful in the use of bows and arrows and could endure hardships which proved fatal to foreign people; at last the northern nations gained the conquest, and all the towns and forts were totally destroyed and left them in the heap of ruins.

About this time a great horned serpent appeared on the lake Ontario, the serpent produced diseases and many of the people died, but by the aid of thunder bolts the monster was compelled to retire. A blazing star fell into a fort situated on the St. Lawrence and destroyed the people; this event was considered as a warning of their destruction. After a time a war broke out among the northern nations which continued until they had utterly destroyed each other, the Island again become in possession of fierce animals.

PART III.

Origin of the Kingdom of the Five Nations, which was called a Long House;—the wars, fierce animals, &c.

By some inducement a body of people was concealed in the mountain at the falls named Kuskehsawkish, (now Oswego.) When the people were released from the mountain they were visited by *Tarenyawagon*, i. e., the Holder of the Heavens, who had power to change himself into various shapes: he ordered the people to proceed towards the sunrise as he guided them and came to a river and named Yenonanatche, i. e., going round a mountain, (now Mohawk) and went down the bank of the river and came to where it discharges into a great river running towards the midday sun; and named Shaw-nay-taw-ty, i. e., beyond the Pineries, (now Hudson), and went down the bank of the river and touched the bank of a great water. The company made encampment at the place and remained there a few days. The people were yet in one language; some of the people went on the banks of the great water towards the midday sun; but the main company returned as they came, on the bank of the river, under the direction of the Holder of the Heavens. Of this company there was a particular body which called themselves one household; of these were six families and they entered into a resolution to preserve the chain of alliance which should not be extinguished in any manner. The company advanced some distance up the river of Shaw-na-taw-ty, (Hudson) the Holder of the Heavens directs the first family to make their residence near the bank of the river, and the family was named To-haw-re-ho-geh, i. e., a Speech divided, (now Mohawk) and their language was soon altered; the company then turned and went towards the sunsetting and travelled about two days and a half, and come to a creek[1] which was named Kaw-na-taw-te-ruh, i. e., Pineries. The second family was directed to make their residence near the creek, and the family was named Ne-haw-re-tah-go, i. e., Big Tree, now Oneidas, and likewise their language was altered. The company continued to proceed towards the sunsetting under the direction of the Holder of the Heavens. The third family was directed to make their residence on a mountain named Onondaga, (now Onondaga) and the family was named Seuh-now-kah-tah, i. e., carrying the name, and their language was altered. The company continued their journey towards the sunsetting. The fourth family was directed to make their residence near a long lake named Go-yo-goh, i. e., a mountain rising from water (now Cayuga) and the family was named Sho-nea-na-we-to-wah, i. e., a great pipe, their language was altered. The company continued to proceed towards the sunsetting. The fifth family was directed to make their residence near a high mountain, or rather nole, situated south of the Canandaigua lake, which was named Jenneatowake and the family was named Te-how-nea-nyo-hent, i. e., Possessing a Door, now Seneca, and their language was altered. The sixth family went with the company that journeyed towards the sunsetting, and touched the bank of a great lake, and named Kan-ha-gwa-rah-ka, i. e., A Cap, now Erie, and then went towards between the midday and sunsetting, and travelled considerable distance and came to a large river which was named Ouau-we-yo-ka, i. e., a principal stream, now Mississippi; the people discovered a grape vine lying across the river by which a part of the people went over,[2] but while they were engaged, the vine broke and were divided, they became enemies to those that went over the river; in consequence they were obliged to disperse the journey. The Holder of the Heavens instructs them in the art of bows and arrows in the time of game and danger. Associates were dispersed and each family went to search for residences according to their conveniences of game. The sixth family went towards the sunrise and touched the bank of the great water. The family was directed to make their residence near Cau-ta-noh, i. e., Pine in water, situated near the mouth of Nuse River, now in North Carolina, and the family was named Kau-ta-noh, now Tuscarora, and their language was also altered; but the six families did not go so far as to lose the understanding of each other's language. The Holder of the Heavens returns to the five families and forms the mode of confederacy, which was named Ggo-nea-seab-neh, i. e., A Long House, to which are, 1st.—Tea-kaw-reh-ho-geh; 2d.—New-haw-teh-tah-go; 3d.—Seuh-nau-ka-ta; 4th.—Sho-nea-na-we-to-wah; 5th.—Te-hoo-nea-nyo-hent. About this time it is supposed an agent from superior power solemnly visits the families, and he instructs them in various things respecting the infinity, matrimony, moral rules, worship, &c.; and he warns them that an evil spirit was in the world and would induce the people to commit trespasses against the rules he had given them; and he offers them favourable promises obedience to the rules, the souls would enter the place of happiness; but to the disobedient their souls would be sent to a state of misery. And he gives the seeds for corn, beans, squashes, potatoes and tobacco, with directions how to cultivate them; and he gives them the dogs to aid in pursuing the game; and he repeats the administration of the game, and that the great country was given for their people's maintenance. When he ended the interview of consolation he leaves.

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[1] The creek now branches off the Susquehanna River at the head generally called Col. Allen's lake, ten miles south of the Oneida Castle.

[2] By some this may seem an incredible story. Why more so than that the Israelites should cross the Red Sea on dry land.

About one hundred winters since the people left the mountain,—the five families were increased, and made some villages in the country. The Holder of the Heavens was absent from the country, which was destitute of the visits of the Governor of the Universe. The reason produced the occasion that they were invaded by the monsters called Ko-nea-rau-neh-neh, i. e., Flying Heads, which devoured several people of the country. The Flying Heads made invasions in the night; but the people were attentive to escape by leaving their huts and concealing themselves in other huts prepared for that purpose. An instance:—there was an old woman which resided at Onondaga; she was left alone in the hut at evening, while others deserted. She was setting near the fire parching some acorns when the monstrous Head made its appearance at the door, while viewing the woman it was amazed that she eat the coals of fire, by which the monsters were put to flight, and ever since the heads disappeared and were supposed concealed in the earth. After a short time the people were invaded by the monster of the deep: the Lake Serpent traverses the country, which interrupted their intercourse. The five families were compelled to make fortifications throughout their respective towns, in order to secure themselves from the devouring monsters. The manner making the fort: at first they set fire against several trees as requires to make a fort, and the stone axes are used to rub off the coals, as to burn quicker; when the tree burns down they put fires to it about three paces apart and burns it down in half a day; the logs are collected to a place where they set up round according to the bigness of the fort, and the earth is heaped on both sides. A fort generally has two gates; one for passage, and the other to obtain water. The people had implements which they used to make bow and arrows. The kettle is made of baked clay in which the meat is boiled; the awl and needles are made of hard bone; a pipe for smoking, is made of baked clay, or soft stone; a small turtle shell is used to peel the bark; a small dry stick is used to make a fire, by boring it against the seasoned wood.

Perhaps about 1250 years before Columbus discovered the America, about two hundred and fifty winters since the people left the mountain, the five families became numerous and extended their settlements, as the country had been exposed to the invasion of the monsters that the people could not enjoy but a short space of time without being molested. About this time a powerful tribe of the wilderness, called Otne-yar-hah, i. e., Stonish Giants[1] overrun the country and the warriors were immediately collected from several towns and a severe combat took place, but the warriors were overpowered and the people fell at the mercy of the invaders, and the people were threatened with destruction, and the country was brought to subjection for many winters. As the people have been reduced so often they could not increase. The Stonish Giants were so ravenous that they devoured the people of almost every town in the country; but happily the Holder of the Heavens again visits the people and he observes that the people were in distressed condition on the account of the enemy. With a stratagem he proceeds to banish their invaders, and he changes himself into a Giant, and combines the Stonish Giants, he introduces them to take the lead to destroy the people of the country: but a day's march they did not reach the fort Onondaga, where they intended to invade, and he ordered them to lay in a deep hollow[2] during the night and they would make attack on the following morning. At a dawn of the day, the Holder of the Heavens ascended upon the heights and he overwhelms them by a mass of rocks, and only one escaped to announce the dreadful fate; and since of the event the Stonish Giants left the country and seeks an asylum in the regions of the north. The families were now preserved from extinction. The Lake Serpent discovers the powerful operations of the Holder of the Heavens, instantly retreats into the deep places of the lakes. After the banishment of the monsters the Holder of the Heavens retires from the country. After a time the monster of the deep made its appearance in the country; a snake with the shape of human head opposed the passage between the Onondaga and Go-yo-gouh, now Cayuga, which prevented their intercourse, as the snake had seated near the principal path leads through the settlements of the Five Families. The people were troubled of their condition, and finally they determined to make resistance: They selected the best warriors at Onondaga, and after they were organized and prepared proceeded to the place; after a severe conflict the snake was killed; the lake serpent was often seen by the people, but the thunder bolt destroyed the serpent or compelled them to retire into the deep. About this time there were various nations inhabited the southern countries, these nations descended from the families that were dispersed after the vine broke on Onauweyoka, [Missisippi.] The Holder of the Heavens visited the Five Families and instructed them in the arts of war, and favours them to gain the country beyond their limits, after which he disappeared.

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[1] It appears by the traditions of the Shawnees, that the Stonish Giants descend from a certain family that journeyed on the east side of Mississippi River, went towards the northwest after they were separated, on account of the vine broke. The family was left to seek its habitation, and the rules of humanity were forgotten, and afterwards eat raw flesh of the animals. At length they practised rolling themselves on the sand by means their bodies were covered with hard skin these people became giants and were dreadful invaders of the country. It is said that Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent of the Six Nations, had a picture of the giant. Probably the English have recorded in the Historian respecting North America.

[2] The hollow it is said not far from Onondaga. Some says the Giants retreated by way Mountain Ridge and crossed below the Niagara Falls.

Perhaps 1000 years before Columbus discovered the America. About this time the Five Families become independent nations, and they formed Council fire in each nation, &c. Unfortunately a war broke out among the Five Nations: during the unhappy differences the Atotarho was the most hostile chief, resided at the fort Onondaga; his head and body was ornamented with black snakes;—his dishes and spoons were made of skulls of the enemy; after a while he requested the people to change his dress, the people immediately drove away the snakes — a mass of wampum were collected and the chief was soon dressed in a large belt of wampum; he became a law giver, and renewed the chain of alliance of the Five Nations and framed their internal government, which took five years in accomplishing it. At Onondaga a tree of peace was planted reached the clouds of Heaven; under the shade of this tree the Senators are invited to set and deliberate, and smoke the pipe of peace as ratification of their proceedings; a great council fire was kindled under the majestic tree, having four branches, one pointed to the south, west, east, north; the neighboring nations were amazed at the powerful confederates; the Onondaga was considered a heart of the country; numerous belts and strings of wampum were left with the famous chief as record of alliance, &c., after he had accomplished the noble work he was immediately named Atotarho, King of the Five Nations; and was governed by the senate, chosen by the people annually; the successor of the kings to follow the woman's line. About this time the Te-hoo-nea-nyohent, or Senecas, was at war with the Squawkihows, a powerful tribe passed the banks of the Genesee river; after various engagements the Senecas sent an army to scourge the enemy, but were repulsed with a severe loss; the melancholly intelligence was soon conveyed to Onondaga and informed the king of their defeat; a powerful army of the allies were soon directed against the Squawkihows; after a long siege the principal fort was surrendered without discretion, and the chief was taken prisoner, put to death, the war terminated, however a remnant of the Squawkihows were allowed to remain in the country and became vassals to the five nations after the conquest. The government ordered the Senecas to settle the country and to build forts on the Genesee river as to keep Squaukihows in subjection, for fearing in time they might create a rebellion. The Senecas now possessed along the bank of the Great Lake, now Ontario, to the creek called Kenaukarent, now Oak Orchard, the bank of the river Onyakarra, now Niagara, possessed by Twakanhah, [Misissaugers.]

In the days the king Atotarho II., about this time the Oyalkquoher, or big bear, invaded the territory of the five nations, the hunters were often attacked by these monsters. At the village of Ohiokea, situated west of Oneida creek, a small party went out to hunt, and encamped near the lake Skonyatales; one morning while they were in the camp a noise broke out in the lake, a man was sent immediately to see the tumult, he saw a great bear on the bank rolling down stones and logs; the monster appeared to be in a great rage: a lion came out of the lake and suddenly fell upon the bear, a severe contest ensued, in the mean time the bear was beaten and was compelled to leave the bank,—the next day the men went in search of the bear, they found the bear; one of the fore legs was so heavy that two men could not lift but a hands high, they procured some of the meat for useful purposes in the time of war. About this time a great musqueto invaded the fort Onondaga; the musqueto was mischievous to the people, it flew about the fort with a long stinger, and sucked the blood a number of lives; the warriors made several oppositions to expel the monster, but failed; the country was invaded until the Holder of the Heavens was pleased to visit the people; while he was visiting the king at the fort Onondaga, the musqueto made appearance as usual and flew about the fort, the Holder of the Heavens attacked the monster, it flew so rapidly that he could hardly keep in sight of it, but after a few days chase the monster began to fail: he chased on the borders of the great lakes towards the sunsetting, and round the great country: at last he overtook the monster and kill it near the salt lake Onondaga, and the blood became small musquetos.

In the reign the king Atotarho III. About this time the Oneidas had extended their forts down the river Kaunsehwatauyea, or Susquehanna, a fort situated on the river, there was a certain woman delivered a male child uncommon size; when he was twelve years of age he was nearly as large as grown person, and he would beat his playmates which would create disputes, but the mother would correct him, and afterwards she prevailed, he promised never to injure his people; when grown up he became a giant and was a great hunter;

the parent was stored with venison continually; he was so strong that when returned from hunting he would have five or six deers and bears strung round on his belt. The giant was named Soh-nou-re-wah, *i. e.*, Big Neck, (now Shawnees) which inhabited the banks of the river and brought several suits of dress and the scalps of whom he had killed. The Sah-wau-noo sends messengers to fort Kau-na-seu-wa-tau-yea as to demonstrate the conduct of Soh-nau-ro-wah, but the business was left upon the relatives Sau-rau-ra-wah, who persuaded him to reform his behaviour for the future: he remained only two winters without making disturbance; he went down the river, and whenever he came to a town he committed the same outrages upon the inhabitants, and plundered the people's clothes, skins, &c. Again the Sau-wa-noo sends a deputy and reported their resentment, but determined to make hostile aggressions if not satisfaction was made on their part. The Chief Ne-nau-re-tah-go sends a belt of Wampum, and offered the terms of peace, which was accepted; but the Sau-rau-roh-wah was not disposed to favour the treaty; he left the fort, and went down and located on the bank of Kau-nau-seh-wah-tau-yea river, (said Susquehanna,) and commenced to build a fort;[1] he was frequently visited by his relatives; and after the fortification was completed he resolved to continue the war against his enemies; he went from time to time and attacked the people which inhabited on the river as he had done before; he would lay in ambush near the path, and whenever the people are passing he shoots them; he used a plumb arrow, which was so violent that it would break the body in two parts: as he became mischievous to the people that the relatives were obliged to form a plan to destroy him; but Sau-rauh-ro-wah was not easily to be quelled, it was supposed that ten warriors were not sufficient to equal his strength. At the fort Kou-na-seh-wa-ta-yea there went three warriors of his natives which bring him favourite diet, a mess of huckle berries, &c.; the Sau-nou-ro-wah was pleased of the visit and the food which was given; but while he was eating it one of the warriors, with a club, concealed under his cloak, instantly stepped on the bench where he was setting, and gave a fatal blow on the monster's head, he was so distracted that he run out the fort and was intended to cross the river, he sunk in the mire which was near the bank, the warriors preaviled and killed him on the spot: the warriors spoiled his house, and obtained a large quantity of skins, &c.; and the fort was ruined ever since.

Perhaps about 800 years before the Columbus discovered the America. About this time the Twakanhahors, (now Mississaugers,) coded the colonies lying between the Kea-nau-hau-sent (Oak-Orchard,) and the river Onyakarra, (Niagara) to the five Nations.

About this time lived the king Atotarho IIII. There was a woman and son resided near the fort, which was situated near a nole, which was named Jenneatowaka, the original seat of the Councilfire of the Te-hoo-nea-nyo-hent (Senecas); the boy one day while amusing in the bush he caught a small serpent called Kaistowanea, with two heads, and brings it to his apartment; the serpent was first placed in a small bark box to tame, which was fed with bird's flesh, &c. After ten winters the serpent became considerable large and rested on the beams within the hut, and the warrior was obliged to hunt deers and bears to feed the monster; but after awhile the serpent was able to maintain itself on various game; it left the hut and resided on the top of a nole; the serpent frequently visited the lake, and after thirty years it was prodigious size, which in a short time inspired with an evil mind against the people, and in the night the warrior experienced the serpent was brooding some mischief, and was about to destroy the people of the fort; when the warrior was acquainted of the danger he was dismayed and soon moved to other fort; at daylight the serpent descended from the heights with the most tremendous noise of the trees, which were trampled down in such a force that the trees were unrooted, and the serpent immediately surrounded the gate; the people were taken improvidentially and brought to confusion; finding themselves circled by the monstrous serpent, some of them endeavoured to pass out at the gate, and others attempted to climb over the serpent, but were unable; the people remained in this situation for several days; the warriors had made oppositions to dispel the monster, but were fruitless, and the people were distressed of their confinement, and found no other method than to rush to pass out at the gate, but the people were devoured, except a young warrior and sister, which detained, and were only left exposed to the monster, and were restrained without hopes of getting released; at length the warrior received advice from a dream, and he adorned his arms with the hairs of his sister, which he succeeded by shooting at the heart, and the serpent was mortally wounded, which hastened to retire from the fort and retreated to the lake in order to gain relief; the serpent dashed on the face of the water furiously in the time of agony; at last it vomited the substance which it had eaten and then sunk to the deep and expired. The people of the fort did not receive any assistance from their neighbouring forts as the serpent was too powerful to be desisted. After the fort was demolished the Councilfire was removed to other fort called Thau-gwe-took, which was situtated west of now Geneva Lake, erected bulwarks on Mountain Ridge, west of Genesee River.

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[1] The fort was situated on the south bank of the Susquehanna river. In 1800 I went over the ground myself, and viewed the mound.

Abut this time reigned the King Atotarho IV. At the fort Ke-dau-yeh-ko-wau, (now Tonewanta plains,) a party went to hunt and were attacked by the Ottau-wahs, which created differences between the two nations as they entered on no terms but to commence hostilities; the To-hoo-nyo-hent sends a band of sixty warriors to attack some of the hunters as to retaliate the vengeance upon their enemies. The warriors advanced above the lake named Geatahgweah, (now Chatauque,) and made encampment and agreed to hunt two days, after which to proceed towards the enemies country; the warriors went in various directions; a certain warrior passed a small brook, he discovered a strange animal resembling a dog, but could not discover the head; the creature was a greyish colour, and was lying asleep exposed to the rays of the sun; and also discovered a den, supposed the place of his residence; the warrior returned to the camp at evening and related the kind of animal, and informed them as he imagined was a very poisonous animal, and he was afraid to approach it again, but one of the jokers laughed at him and was called a cowardly fellow; the joker determined to go himself and kill the creature without trouble, but wished some of the warriors to be spectators in the time of the engagement; accordingly the warrior went, accompanied by a number of warriors; he was directed to the spot and discovered the animal, after beating it short time with his club he seized the animal and tied it with a tumline; but while he was lifting it the creature immediately moved to the den, with all his might he held the tumline but he could not stop it, he was compelled to let go the tumline when the creature went beyond his reach; the warrior was confused at not being able to kill the animal; he hastened to retire from the spot, but when a few paces he was taken with the pestilence which influenced by the creature, and suddenly died; another warrior was at sight and directly fled to carry the intelligence, but also died at a short distance, and to others returned to the camp; but the pestilence soon prevailed among the warriors, and many of them died in the same manner; a few of them escaped by leaving the camp before the plague appeared, and thus ended their expedition. The Ottauwahs continued their hostilities and attacked the hunters, the Senecas sent out a small party and fought — drove the enemy off, but their engagements was small and continued for many winters.

In the days of king Ototarho VI. perhaps 650 years before the Columbus discovered the America, at the fort Keadanyeekowa or Tontawanta plains a small party went out to make incursion upon the enemy that may be found within the boundaries of the Kingdom, they penetrated the Ohio river and encamped on the bank; as they were out of provision the warriors were anxious to kill a game; a certain warrior discovered a hollow tree, supposed a bear in the tree; he immediately reported; the warriors were in hopes to obtain the bear — went to the tree; one of them climbed and put a fire in it in order to drive out the creature, the warriors made ready to shoot but were mistaken, there instantly came out a furious Lizard and quickly grasped and leaped into the hollow of the tree and the young ones devoured it; a grumbling noise ensued, the warriors were terrified at the monstrous creature and were soon compelled to retire except one stayed at the tree while others fled, he remained until the party was destroyed and the last warrior was chased, the warrior immediately left the tree and ran on the way fortunately met the holder of the Heavens who advised him to stop and offers the aid of making resistance which was accepted; the warrior was instructed to make fire without delay and to get some sticks to use with to prevent the Lizard's flesh from uniting the body as being efficacious, the protector changed into a lion and laid in wait, in a meanwhile the monster came up, a severe engagement took place, the warrior hastened with a stick and began to hook the Lizard's flesh, when bit off by his defendant and throws it into the fire, by means the monster was quelled. The warrior thanked for the personal preservation. The protector vanished out of his sight. The warrior returned to the fort and related the occurrence. The war raged the Senecas had sent out parties against the Ottauwahs and obtained various successes; at last the Otouwahs sued for peace. After a few winters the Senecas gained their mutual intercourse with the Otauwahs and other neighbouring nations. About this time reigned the king Ototarho VII., who authorised by the Senate to send an expedition to explore the countries towards the setting sun, he sends a messengers to acquaint the Ottauwahs of his intention, and wished them to form such arrangements and to favour their passage, which was complied agreeable to his request. The king appointed two captains to command the expedition, about fifteen men were selected from the five nations; after they were equipped and prepared, commenced the journey and arrived at Sandusky; the King of Ottauwah send two warriors to accompany the expedition; on their way held several conferences with the nations and all seemed to favour their passage. They advanced the Mississippi river; a duke of Twa-kau-ah had collected the people from several towns, came out to meet them, the people danced around them, singing, beating their little drums; after the ceremonies was performed the band of warriors was invited into the national house. The band crossed the Mississippi and continued their course towards the sunsetting; they reached an extensive meadow; they discovered a curious animal — a winged fish, it flew about the tree; this little active creature moved like a humming bird. They continued the journey and come at the village of the Dog Tail Nation, the band was accommodated, amused with dances, and was conducted to the chief's house. They were astonished that the people had short tails like apes; a hole was made through their seats where they put their tails. The band continued their direction and came to another nation and too was kindly received, and their object was favourably accepted by the head men of the nation. During their stay a certain warrior of the band courted a young woman, but the warrior died soon after the marriage. They observed that the people did not eat any meat but drink the soup. The band continued the journey but before reached the Rocky Mountains were arrested by a giant; the band was compelled to return; after a long journey came back to the seat and informed the king all the particulars about the journey. After a time the five nations was desirous to preserve the peace and friendship with the western nations; ambassador was sent to the Kentahkeh nation, who inhabited the country east of the Ohio river (now in Kentucky); another embassy was sent who went and lived among the Ottauwahs for several years, he married a woman and afterwards obtained two children; he was invited to join a company going out a winter's hunt. They journeyed some distance and reached their hunting grounds; but the men were so unlucky that they could kill but a few game; after a few days the people were destitute of provisions, the leader of the company commanded the overseer to select two fat persons and to kill them without delay, which was soon executed; the flesh of these victims was distributed among the people. The leader had commanded the people that if any one killed a game the meat should be left with the overseer for distribution, and that who disobeyed the offender should be punished in a severest manner. The embassy killed a bear, the meat was disposed to the rules. The leader daily butchered two persons to feed the people, which only increased their distress. The people were so feeble that they were not able to hunt any more, and many of them began to famish. The embassy again killed another game and bring it secretly to his camp, but it was soon detected and rumoured among the people; at this offence the embassy was ordered to appear before their tribunal; some men were angry at him and sought to destroy him, but the leader deemed it unjust, it would violate the treaty they had entered with the five nations; but however, to satisfy the people, the leader consented to use other method to destroy him; he commanded to strip him and to seize his clothes, and the instruments; after which to extinguish their fires, and then to remove their camps half day's journey distance; the offender would certainly freeze without remedy; but the embassy was ingenious, finding that he would be surprised, instantly takes a suit of dress and bow and arrows and hides them under the hemlock boughs which were spread in the camp; in a meanwhile the opponents entered the camp, the embassy was stripped without discriminate as they had determined to destroy him. The wife was compelled to leave him or else she would share the same fate. The company retired; he dressed himself immediately and proceeded and was in hopes to reach a fort situated near the Lake Erie; but was so fatigued that he could not travel very fast; about sunsetting he happened to approach on an edge of a dark forest; he selected a spot where he encamped, but as he had no kind of food to eat and was quite dejected after making exertions to render himself comfortable, but failed, the weather being unfavourable as it was cold and cloudy, however he was seldom taken by surprise; having a good understanding about astronomical calculations, ascertained that the storm was at hand; after kindled a fire laid himself down near the fire to linger out a miserable existence which he was doomed to suffer. Early in the evening he heard some noise as something was coming, which at once attracted his attention: he was afraid, as presumed that some of his enemy had overtook him, fortunately a young man came up and sat down; the visiter showed a friendly disposition, after a short conversation the embassy related his distressed condition: the visiter offered to relieve him as soon as possible, which was received in the most sanguine expectations; the embassy was advised that the snow would fall so deep that he would be in want of a pair of snow shoes, the visiter offered the pattern and showed how to make the shoes. The embassy was directed where to find the game; and did as he was bidden. On the night the young man made another visit and advised the embassy where to catch bears; after the conversation the visiter disappeared. He succeeded and caught seven bears; after he had prepared some meat and the bears' oil, immediately went to the encampment in search of his wife and children, found them almost perished; at first gave them each a spoonful of oil and were soon relieved; he directed them to his camp. The embassy was relieved from distress whilst his enemy was lingering in despair; he examined the camps and was astonished to find that the people were utterly famished; the people became so weak and faint that they were not able to make fire; those held out had eat the human flesh as long as they could help themselves, and were lying among the dead, the company was now exposed to destruction, as the people had put themselves to disgrace; the embassy had refused to invite any of them except his wife's relatives; the disasters were so worn out did not reach the camp until the next morning. After a few days by his exertions the men's strength was revived and were capable to hunt. After they had come back to the town the embassy was so shamefully abused by the people, he was compelled to leave his wife and the country. About this time the Ottowahs became numerous and powerful nation, occupied an extensive country lying between the Lake Erie and the Ohio river, and was supposed their national force amounted to about 4000 men.

In the reign the King Atotarho VIII., perhaps 450 years before Columbus discovered the America. About this time the Twakanhah or Messissaugers began to wage a war against the five nations; the Senecas on the frontier were most engaged in the warfare. After various skirmishes the enemy was so excited that they determined to destroy the fort Kauhanauka, (now the Tuscarora near Lewiston,) but the commander of the fort was aware of the danger, he sent messengers to the forts in the vicinity, and about eight hundred warriors were collected at fort Kauhanauka. The commander had sent runners to observe the movements of the enemy. The army marched towards the river, and hid themselves among the bushes under the mountain; the enemy came up; a bloody battle ensued; the enemy was repulsed and flies from the foe. The army retired to the fort; soon after the commander dispatched two runners to the forts on the Genesee river to procure assistance as soon as possible; the army received reinforcements; they made bark canoes and carried them to the mouth of the Niagara river; the canoes were ready, the commander sent a chieftain and offered the enemy an intermission of parley, but the proposal was not accepted; the army immediately crossed the river and made vigorous attack; the enemy was routed and fled from the bank without making resistance, retreated towards the head of the lake; after burning the huts, the army returned to the fort: but the commotions were not quelled; small parties of the Senecas often take the canoes and go by water towards the head of Ontario lake, in search of the enemy, but they avoid from attack of superior force; several engagements were made on the lake with small parties of the enemy; after a while the commander of the fort Kauhanauka, was ardent to attack the main body of the enemy; he sends runners beyond the Genesee river, and obtained two thousand warriors: the army again crossed the Niagara river and proceeded towards the head of the lake, but before reached the beach met a strong force of the enemy; after a desperate contest the army retreated; the commander soon perceived that it was impossible to gain the conquest, sued for peace and offered to restore the prisoners which he took from them, which was concluded. About this time the Stonish Giants were diminished, but very few found in the north regions; the Giants understood the language of the five nations, but they were a most savage tribe, and often attacked the hunters, but that set of hordes were extirpated. At the Onondaga two men went out to hunt beaver, and crossed the river St. Lawrence, and went far in the north, and discovered a number of beaver dams, and killed many beavers. One day a man went alone in search of the beaver, but unfortunately he was taken prisoner by the Stonish Giant; the man was compelled to run a race with the Giant, a considerable distance; after the midday the man gained and almost went out of sight, but the giant whooped, by which the man was so effected that he fainted and fell down. The giant took advantage of him, and soon passed him; the man was dismayed and turned his course, and sought to escape and endeavoured to hide himself: he climbed a small tree and bent it to another tree, and leaped from tree to tree, until he reached a large basswood stump which had sprouted several branches, and seated himself in the midst of it, and watched the pursuer: in a few moments the giant came up and examined about the stump for some time; at length the giant exhibited a curious instrument, a small hand, which was called a pointer, and possessed a power of the nature; it directed where to find the game; the giant could not live without it. The man observed the motion of the hand, and as it was about to point to him, he jumped from the stump and seized it by the fingers, and instantly possessed the valuable instrument; the giant was defeated and immediately entreated for the pointer, and offered to mention the medical roots as a mark of friendship, which was accepted; the pointer was restored to the owner, after which the giant retired; the man came home and began to doctor, and cured many diseases; he was skilled in the business and drew hair and worms from the persons whom the witches had blown into their bodies. It was supposed that the Skaunyatohatihawk, or Nanticokes, in the south, first founded the witchcraft. Great pains have been taken to procure the snakes and roots which the stuff was made of to poison the people. The witches formed into a secret society; they meet in the night and consult on various subjects respecting their engagements; when a person becomes a member of their society he is forbidden to reveal any of their proceedings. The witches in the night could turn into foxes or wolves, and run very swift, attending with flashes of light. The witches sometimes turn into a turkey or big owl, and can fly very fast, and go from town to town, and blow hairs or worms into a person; if the witches are discovered by some person they turn into a stone or rotten log: in this situation they are entirely concealed; about fifty persons were indicted for being witches, and were burnt to death near the fort Onondaga, by order of the national committee. About this time a strange thing happened near the village of Kaunehsuntahkeh, situated east of Oneida Creek: a man and his wife and another person returned from hunting, but before they reached the village, the night was getting late; they went into a house to stay over the night; the house where the dead bodies were deposited; they kindled a fire and went to sleep, but when the fire was out, the room became dark, the man heard something was gnawing: the man kindled the fire, he discovered the person was dead eaten by a ghost; he was so frightened that he trembled; he immediately told his wife to quit the room as soon as possible; he remained a few moments and also left the house and followed his wife and overtook her, but she became faint and could not run fast; they saw a light coming and supposed the ghost was chasing; fortunately they gained the village. The next day the people went and burnt the dead bodies. This important event was soon made known among the Five Nations, and afterwards changed their mode of burying, by setting posture face to the east; but again they were troubled with the dead bodies, and were compelled to make some alterations in burying.

In each Nation contain set of generations or tribes, viz., *Otter*, *Bear*, *Wolf*, *Beaver*, *Turtle*. Each tribe has two chiefs to settle the disputes, &c. If a man commits murder, the nearest relation of the slain despatches the murderer with a war-club: the slain and the murderer are put into one grave. Sometimes their relation of the offender present a belt of white wampum, to make the atonement. The adulterous woman are punished by shaving their heads, and banished from the town. The thieves are punished by whipping severely. To recover debts, they generally apply to the chiefs; the payments are made up by the relatives of the debtor. They have a certain time of worship; the false faces first commences the dances; they visit the houses to drive away sickness, &c. Each town or district are allowed to sacrifice a couple white dogs: the dogs are painted and ornamented with strings of wampum: they throw the dogs into the fire, and some tobacco, and addresses the Maker. They pretend to furnish him a coat of skin and a pipe full of tobacco; after which, have dances for several days. The private feats are guided by the dreams. The sixth family, Esaurora, or Tuscaroras, was visited by a person, and went to see their amusements, but he was abused by some of the ball-players. He punished the offender by throwing him into a tree; he suddenly disappeared, but the person came again and released the fellow from the tree. The visitor appeared very old man; he appeared among the people for a while; he taught them many things; how to respect their deceased friends, and to love their relations, &c., he informed the people that the whites beyond the great water had killed their Maker, but he rose again; and he warns them that the whites would in some future day take possession of the Big Island, and it was impossible to prevent it; the red children would melt away like snow before the heat. The aged became sick, and he told them to get different kinds of roots, to cure the diseases; and also showed them the manner of mourning, &c. The aged man died among them, and they buried him; but soon after some person went to the grave and found he had risen, and never heard of him since.

In the reign the King Atotarho IX., perhaps 350 years before the Columbus discovered the America. About this time the Kanneastokaroneah or Erians sprung from the Senecas, and became numerous and powerful nation, occupying the country lying between the Genesee and Niagara Rivers. It was supposed that the national sovereignty was confirmed by the Senate of the Five Nations. A Queen, named Yagowanea, resided at the fort Kaunahauka, (said Tuscarora.) She had an influence among the people, and extended her authority over twelve forts of the country. A treaty of peace was concluded between her and the Twakannah, (Messisaugers). After a time dissensions broke out between the Five Nations and the Messisaugers, and soon commenced hostilities; but the war was regulated under her control. The Queen lived outside the fort in a long house, which was called a Peace House. She entertained the two parties who were at war with each other: indeed, she was called the mother of the Nations. Each nation sent her a belt of wampum as a mark of respect, but where the Five Nations were engaged in the warfare she admitted two Canandaigua warriors into her house; and just as they began to smoke the pipe of peace a small party of the Messisaugers too came into the house. She betrayed her visitors—she advised the Messisaugers to kill the warriors, which was soon executed; the Messisaugers soon retired. The Queen was informed that the two warriors of Canandaigua had been over the river and killed a young prince of the Messisaugers: this offence was too great to pass without condemning the murderers; the reason she gave them up. She immediately went and consulted the chieftain of the band, stationed at Kanhaitauneekay, east of Onondaga village, Buffalo reservation, and from thence repaired to fort Kauquatkay, situated on the Lake Erie, the residence of the Kaunaquayouhar, a chief commander of the Erian forces. She dispatched two runners to assemble the people at Kanquatkay: the Queen too sends an embassy to form an alliance with the Nay-Waunaukauraunah, a savage tribe, encamped on the Lake Erie, to unite against the Five Nations. During the absence of the Queen from the fort Kauhanauka, a woman went privately and took a canoe and proceeded on the Lake Ontario, towards Canandaigua, as fast as possible; she left the canoe at some place and went thro' the woods, and came late in the evening at Canandaigua, a fortified town, and immediately informed the Governor, Shorihowane, that the Erians were making preparations to destroy the people living on the east side of Genesee river. The woman gave directions how to send the spies: the governor rose in the morning and sent out two fast runners to the fort Kauhanauka, to ascertain the matter; the two spies came to an old cornfield south of the fort, where they met some boys hunting squirrels: the spies made inquiries and received all necessary information respecting the Erian's Council at Kauquatkay, and went home as fast as possible. The Governor Sorihowane, obtained the news. The business was so in haste that it was impossible to procure any aid from the allies. He collected the warriors from the neighbouring forts, amounting to fifteen hundred besides the women and the old men. The Governor separated the people into three divisions; first the men, between thirty and fifty years of age; second division, the men were from twenty to thirty years of age; third division, were women and old men. The Governor had commanded the leaders to be in good courage and use all the means in their power to defeat the enemy. After parading the divisions they marched towards the Genesee river; the army halted at the fort Kawnesats, situated on a small lake east of Genesee. The Governor had sent runners to observe the motions of the enemy. The women and old men were to remain at fort to cook and provide provisions for the people. The runners came in and announced that the Erians had crossed the Genesee river; the divisions immediately proceeded and laid an ambush on both side the path; the first division was in front to commence the action at the advance of the enemy. With a stratagem a certain warrior was dressed with a bear skin, and was seated on the path a little distance from the front of the division, meanwhile the enemy came up and saw the bear sitting at ease; the enemy chase it, which brought them in the midst of the division; at once burst a most hideous yell, followed with a rattling of war clubs. After a severe contest the first division was compelled to retreat, but the assistance of the second company came up and the battle was renewed. At last the Erians fled from the field, leaving six hundred warriors slain. The enemy hurried to cross the Genesee river; the Governor declined to chase the enemy, but returned to Canandaigua. About this time the King of the Five Nations had ordered the great war chief Shorihowane, (a Mohawk,) to march directly with an army of five thousand warriors to aid the Governor of Canandaigua against the Erians, to attack the fort Kauquatkay, endeavour to extinguish the council fire of the enemy, which was becoming dangerous to the neighbouring nations; but unfortunately during the siege a shower of arrows was flying from the fort, the great war chief Shorihowane was killed and his body conveyed back to Genesee, and was buried in a solemn manner; but however, the siege continued for several days. The Queen sued for peace,—the army immediately ceased from hostilities, and left the Erians entire possession of the country. The Skunantoh or Deer was the most useful game of the Five Nations; the animal can run considerable distance in a day. The people have a small dog in aid to overtake, but very seldom stop when pursued by the dogs.

These creatures generally go in the river or lake; in this situation the dogs are compelled to leave the deer. The wolves are also prevented from catching these animals; the hunters have never seen a deer lying dead, except in some instances; if a person find one it was considered a bad sign; that person some of his relatives will die in the course of a few moons. When the deer get old they throw themselves into the river and die. Another way has been discovered: if a deer runs off and barks at the hunter, it was a bad sign; his wife has committed adultery, in consequence he cannot kill any deer. When a person intends to hunt deer he procures a medicine, and vomits once daily for twelve days, after which he procures some pine or cedar boughs and boils them in a clay kettle, and after removed from the fire, he takes a blanket and covers himself over with it to sweat; the person that uses the medicine does not allow a woman with child or uncleanness to eat any of the venison. The people sometimes go out to hunt as the corn begins to grow on the ears: they make a long brush fence and remove the leaves on both sides of the fence, the deer will follow the path; the person can easily kill the game. In the hot days of the summer, they go and watch in the night at the salt licks. Another mode of killing the deer; they take slivers of basswood bark and proceed to the place and obtain a canoe and go into the river or lake in the night, provided with a light of slivers.—The bear, elk and buffalo, were found in the territory of the Five Nations. The moose inhabit the spruce country and the heads of the Mohawk river; this country was never inhabited by any kind of people in the winter season; the snow fell so deep it was supposed that country would always remain a wilderness

About this time the Oneidas killed a very poisonous blue otter; the meat was very carefully preserved; some are used to hunt, and others to poison the arrows when go out to war; some of the witches obtained the meat to poison the people. In the river and lakes are found various kinds of fishes. The people had particular time of the moon to make sugar, plant corn, and hunt deer and other animals. The seasons of the year they are directed by the seven stars of the heavens: when warriors travel in a great forest they are guided by a northern star; if the sun or moon is eclipsed they believe that the Bad Spirit darkens it: the people are assembled, and make a loud noise to scare the Bad Spirit from the orb. They believe that the clouds in the moon were earth and inhabited by people. The six families made resident near the mouth of Neuse river, in North Carolina, and became three tribes, the Kautanohakau, Kauwetseka, and Tuscarora, and united into a league and were at war with the Nanticokes, and totally on the sea shores. About this time the Long House became numerous and powerful; each nation could muster as follows:—the Mowhawks, 5000 warriors; Oneidas, 3500 warriors; Senecas, 6000 warriors; Onondagas, 4000 warriors; Cayugas, 4500 warriors: total amount, 23,000 warriors. The Mowhawk was considered an eldest brother, and was appointed to keep a watch towards the sunrise, the Senecas were appointed to keep a watch towards the sunsetting. The Senators met annually, at the fort Onondaga, to promote their national prosperity.

The Long House were free and independent nations, and have been acknowledged in such treaties made with them by the neighbouring nations. Every independent nation have a government of their own: they have a national committee meet occasionally: they have a Chief Ruler, named *Aukoyaner*,[1] a peace-maker, who is invested with authority to administer the government. Each nation have a right to punish individuals of their own nation for offences, committed within their jurisdiction; each nation are bound to oppose any hostile invasions of the enemy.

In the reign Atotarho X., perhaps about 250 years before Columbus discovered America. The Oyalkquarkeror, Big Bear, continue invade the country at Onondaga; a party went out to hunt and encamped a day's journey distance from the Village; they hunted and killed a few deer. One morning a woman left the camp and was going home to pound some corn and to supply the men with provisions; but before she reached half way she was attacked by the monstrous Bear, and was soon devoured as she did not return. The men were anxiously waiting, and were suspicious about her; a man was sent to see if she was coming; he advanced where she was assaulted, and discovered the place of her remains; he soon perceived her fate; he immediately reported and the men immediately proceeded to the place; but while examining her remains the Bear made a vigorous attack; the men met a severe engagement, but in a mean time the monster was killed: they procured some of the meat for useful purposes.

Atotarho XI., perhaps about 150 years before Columbus discovered America. About this time the Tuscaroras sends messengers and renewed their intercourse with the five nations. The Tuscaroras were yet numerous, and had about twenty-six large towns, and probably could muster six thousand warriors. They possessed the country lying between the sea shores and the mountains, which divide the Atlantic states; but afterwards a contest arose and the southern nations, the Oyatoh, Kwntariroraunuh, Caweda. The war lasted for many years; unfortunately it became so distressed that the Tuscarora's frontier settlements were reduced considerably, but the Tuscaroras send expresses and received assistance from their brethren, the Five Nations, and war was carried on for some time: at last the enemy was compelled to suspend their hostility.

The Bear tribes nominates the Chief warrior of the nation. The laws of the confederation provides the Ononadagas to furnish a King, and the Mowhawks a great war chief of the Five Nations.

About this time an earthquake was felt throughout the kingdom, supposed a large comet fell into some of the lakes; and other signs were seen in the heavens. The defender ceased from visiting the people in bodily form, but appeared to prophet. In a dream he foretells the whites would cross the Big Waters and bring strong liquors, and buy up the red people's lands; he advises them not to comply with the wishes of the whites, lest they should ruin themselves and displease their Maker; they would destroy the tree of peace and extinguish the great Council Fire at Onondaga, which was so long preserved to promote their national sovereignty.

In the reign Atotarho XII., perhaps about 50 years before Columbus discovered America, the Tehatirihokes, or Mowhawks, was at war with Ranatshaganha, supposed Mohegans, who occupied the opposite bank of the river Skaunataty, or Hudson. The warfare was maintained by small expeditions: the Mowhawks would cross the river and attack the enemy: the canoes were kept in the river continually to recover their retreat; but after a while the Mohegans expaliated the war: the chief of the Mowhawks received orders from the King, and invited the two confederate nations, the Oneidas and the Onondagas, to unite against their common enemy;

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[1] *Aukoyaner*, i. e., Lord. No one can hold this office except a Turtle tribe; he governs the nation, but not allowed to go out to war, his duty to stay home and preserve peace among his people.

the band of the combined forces immediately crossed the river and revenged a part of the country, and the enemy was compelled to sue for peace.

In the reign Atotarho XIII., in the year 1492, Columbus discovered the America. The Keatahkiehroneah, were fighting with their neighbouring tribes and were injurious to the frontier settlements. The five nations sends Thoyenogea with an army of five thousand warriors and defeated the Keatahkiehroneah and drove them west side Ohio River; and they lay waste the enemy's country, and attacked other tribes, &c. About this time the Erians declared a war against the Five Nations; a long bloody war ensued; at last the Erians were driven from the country, and supposed were incorporated with some of the southern nations; after which the Kingdom enjoyed without disturbance for many years.

The Mowhawk was considered the oldest language of the confederacy:—

Mowhawk.	*Tuscarora*
1. Wus-kot,	1. Vntchee.
2. Tack-ny,	2. Nake-tee.
3. Au-suh,	3. Au-sh.
4. Kau-yaly,	4. Hun-tock.
5. Wisk,	5. Whisk.
6. Yua-yak,	6. O-yak.
7. Gia-tock,	7. Gih-nock.
8. Sot-tai-gon,	8. Nake-ruh.
9. Tew-do,	9. Ni-ruh.
10. Oyaly,	10. Wots-huh."

2. SKETCH OF THE EARLIEST EXPLORATIONS OF THE FRENCH IN CANADA AND THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI. REV. E. D. NEILL.

The desire for wealth and the extension of commerce, by the European nations, led to the discovery of the American continent. To reach India by a western passage, was a desideratum with sovereigns, even before they were willing to afford the requisite means to ardent navigators. Spain, England, and France, claimed the whole of our country by virtue of the different discoveries of their respective navigators and explorers. France led the way in exploring the north and interior parts of the north-west.

Jacques Cartier, a vice admiral in the French navy, discovered the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, which name it received from him. From representations of the Indians, who called the river St. Lawrence the great *Hochelega*,[1] he was induced to ascend it as far as the Isle of Orleans. In his boats, he proceeded up the river to the Indian village of *Canadā*, where he wintered. His vessel lay wedged in ice, six feet thick, with four feet of snow upon her decks through the winter.

In the spring, he took formal possession of the country, in the name of his sovereign, and in July, 1536, returned to St. Malo. In 1540, Cartier again sailed from St. Malo, entered the St. Lawrence, and ascended it to near the present site of Quebec, and erected a fort.

In 1538, Hernando de Soto sailed from Cuba to the coast of Florida, and landed in the Bay of Spiritu Santo. He passed up into Georgia and Alabama, warring with the natives as he went; and, after encountering great hardships and sufferings, finally reached the Mississippi, about the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, in 1541. He was a Spaniard, and the first European whose vision rested upon the great "Father of Waters," on whose banks he was destined to find his grave. M. de Roberval, who had been appointed to the vice-royalty of New France, as Canada was then called, did not arrive until Cartier had departed on his second return to St. Malo, in 1542. He made no permanent settlement, and soon after was lost, with many of his followers, on a second voyage.

The fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland were carried on by the Normans, the hardy "descendants of the Northmen," and was "the only connecting link between Old and New France" for half a century. In 1598, the Marquis de la Roche arrived, with the commission of Lieutenant-General of Canada, and attempted a settlement on the Isle of Sable, which failing of success, he returned to France, and soon after "died of chagrin." New France was granted to an association of one hundred persons, at the head of which was appointed Samuel Champlain, an energetic and experienced mariner, of Brouage.

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[1] Cusic says, *Kanawaye*, p. 633.—S.

He founded Quebec in 1608, the site of which he fixed upon for a fort in 1603. The French owed their early success in trade, and the friendly reception of their missionaries among the Indians of Canada, to the alliance which Champlain formed with the Hurons and Algonquins against the Iroquois, between whom war was carried on.

This state of things necessarily brought the native Hurons and other tribes to Quebec; and here commenced the *Fur trade* and traffic with the Indians. Champlain's settlement grew and prospered; and he prosecuted, by traders, discoveries into the interior. The zeal of the missionaries was excited, and the French Jesuits now entered on the task of converting the native in his *wigwam*. Trade and religion, the Jesuit's crucifix and the trader's pack—symbols of mercy and mammon—together entered the forest. The solemn chant of the "*Ave Maria* and *Pater Noster*" is succeeded by the Canadian boat song of the "*couriers des bois:*" the cross and the stockade were erected together. In 1634, two Jesuits, Brebeuf and Daniel, established a mission on the shores of Lake Huron among the Huron tribe, a party of whom they accompanied on their return from Quebec. The imprudent alliance of Champlain with the Hurons and Algonquins in their war against the Iroquois, excluded the French from the waters of Lake Ontario and Erie; and the only communication left open for them to the west, was by the way of the Ottowa river. In 1641, Charles Raumbault reached the Falls of St. Mary, attended by some Hurons, and there heard of the powerful and warlike nation of the Nadowesies, whose fixed abode was "eighteen days' journey farther to the west, beyond the great lake." The Huron country was invaded by the Mohawks, the mission-houses and villages burnt, Brebeuf and Daniel perished by tortures at *their* hands; yet the zeal of the Jesuits remained unabated. The fagot and stake, the tomahawk and scalping-knife, failed to terrify; and the cross moved westward to Keweena and the Bay of Che-goi-me-gon.*

In 1654, two young fur-traders accompanied a party of the Ottawas, and, in bark canoes, proceeded westward five hundred leagues; and after spending two years among the different tribes who roamed in the vast region west of Lake Superior, returned, attended by a large party of Indians, to recite the history of their adventures, and describe the lakes and rivers of the west, and the numerous tribes that dwelt upon their banks. Their glowing accounts stimulated equally the pious and fervent zeal of the Jesuit and the desire of the trader; the former, to erect the symbol of his church in the wilderness, and the latter to reap a rich harvest of mammon.

The Iroquois were extending their battle-grounds still farther west. Having exterminated the *Eries*, and roved with impunity along the southern shores of Lake Erie, they pushed their conquests into the country of the Miamis and Illinois.

The early acquisition of fire-arms by the Mohawks from the English and Dutch, soon created a necessity for assistance; and the western tribes readily sought an alliance with the French.

The French Government was heartily engaged in promoting the fur trade; and their colonial governors extended every facility to the traders. Their ecclesiastical establishment, with Francis de Laval, bishop of Quebec, at its head, resolved, that its missionaries should penetrate still farther west and establish missions.

Laval himself desired to lead the way, but the fate of martyrdom was decreed to Réné Mesnard.

He was directed to proceed to Green Bay and Lake Superior, and fix upon a central place for assembling the neighbouring tribes. With a trustfulness of heart and reliance of spirit, in the Providence which feeds the little birds of the desert, and clothes the wild flowers of the forest, that a presentiment of his doom could not shake, this aged and service-worn guardsman of Calvary departed never more to return. He reached a bay on the southern shore of Lake Superior, which he named St. Theresa, and which is supposed to have been the Bay of Keweena. Here he tarried eight months; and then, accepting an invitation of the Hurons who were residing in the Isle of St. Michael, he departed, with only one attendant, for the Bay of Che-goi-me-gon.

While making the Keweena Portage, it is said, he missed sight of his attendant, who was carrying his canoe, and was lost in the forest.

In what manner he met his death is not known; but his cassock and breviary, long afterwards, were found in the possession of the Sioux, among whom a tradition still exists, that their tribe killed the first white man who visited them.

In August, 1665, Father Claude Allouez, — unterrified by the fate of his predecessors — proceeded by the way of the Ottowa river to the shores of Lake Superior, which he reached in the following September. He passed the Bay of Keweena, and spent some time in a fruitless search for copper; and, on the first of October, reached the village of La Pointe, "the ancient residence of the Ojibwas," in the Bay of Che-goi-me-gon. Here he founded the mission of the Holy Spirit, displayed to the mute and astonished Chippewas a *panorama* of *hell* and *the judgment-day*, and taught them "to chant the *ave* and *pater*." For nearly two years did Allouez continue on the southern shore of Lake Superior, instructing the different tribes of the Northwest, and collecting information of the wild warriors of the Sioux, whose residence was on the banks of the *Messippi*. In 1667, he returned to Quebec to procure assistance in his field of labour, and to urge the planting of a small French colony in that distant region. Successful in his efforts, he began his return, two days after his arrival, accompanied by a Jesuit priest, Louis Nicolas, as a fellow-labourer among the Indians.

In 1668, two missionaries, Claude Dablon and James Marquette, whose destined field of labour was the north-west, reached Canada, and proceeded to the Sault, where they established the mission of St. Mary.

From this period to 1673, they were employed in visiting the surrounding tribes, teaching the rude nations, and confirming the influence of France and their church among them. It was while thus engaged, and whilst listening to the magnificent exaggerations of the natives, that Marquette cherished the purpose of visiting the Mississippi in 1669; but the mission de St. Fr. Xavier had been established at Green Bay, to which Allouez had been sent, which created a necessity for his continuance at Che-goi-me-gon until another could take his place.

"Father Joseph Marquette," says Charlevoix, "a native of Laon in Picardy, where his family still maintains a distinguished rank, was one of the most illustrious missionaries of New France. This person travelled over all the countries in it, and made several important discoveries, the last of which was the Mississippi, which he entered with Sieur Joliet, in 1673."

Two years after this discovery, as he was going from Chicago to Michilimackinac, he entered the river which bears his name, and flows into Lake Michigan on its east shore. "Here he erected his altar, and said mass. He went afterwards to a small distance, in order to return thanks, and begged the two men to leave him alone for half an hour.—This time having passed, they went to seek him, and were surprised to find him dead. They called to mind, however, that on entering the river, he had let drop an expression, that he should end his days at that place. However, as it was too far to carry his body to Michilimackinac, they buried him near the bank of that river, which from that time has retired by degrees, as out of respect for his remains, as far as the cape, the foot of which it now washes; and where it has opened itself a new passage."

Marquette, according to Herriot, made the settlement of the old town of Michilimackinac in 1671, with some Hurons who accompanied him to that place, where he persuaded them to locate. A fort was afterwards built, which became an important frontier-post. "This was eight years before La Salle's expedition through the lakes, and was the first point of European settlement made north-west of Fort Frontenac, or *Cadaracqui*, on Lake Ontario. Neither Fort Niagara nor Ponchartrain, (the present site of Detroit,) was then built. The foundation of the former was laid by La Salle, in 1678,—the latter had not been erected when La Hontan passed through the country, in 1688."

The old town of Michilimackinac passed into the possession of the English, after the surrender of Quebec in 1759, and it is to *it* that Hennepin, M. Tonti, and Charlevoix, allude, when speaking of "the old peninsular fort." It was a long time before the Indian tribes of the north-west could overcome their repugnance to the English and become reconciled to their rule. For a century they had been in constant communion and intercourse with the French, to whom they had become greatly attached; and so strong was their animosity against the English, that one of their traders, Alexander Henry, who arrived there in 1761, was compelled to carry on the *fur trade* with them in the name of a Frenchman in his employ. When the Indians discovered the deception, they determined to destroy his goods, which were only saved by the timely arrival of 300 British troops.[1] But this very garrison was doomed for destruction by the exasperated natives, who, in 1763, burnt the fort, butchered the troops, and destroyed the town, which had been the seat of the fur trade for ninety-two years." After this the English built a fort and established a post on the Island of Michilimackinac, which is now known by the abbreviated name of *Mackinac* or *Mackinaw*.

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[1] They did not *burn* the fort after the massacre.—S.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

3. INDIAN CUSTOMS OF CALIFORNIA. E. M. KERN.

PHILADELPHIA, March, 1853.

SIR:—Accompanying, I send you some sketches of the Indians of California, made by me during a residence there in 1846–'7. I have read your Queries, and find much in them that I cannot answer—my observations having been mostly confined to their domestic habits, in which there is but little variety between the tribes of the San Joaquin and Sacramento valley.

The men are generally tall—living in a state of nature, as far as dress goes, not even possessing that natural article of Indian clothing, the breech clout. The dress of the female consists mostly of a Talé (bullmish) skirt, fastened round the waist with a cord, and extending loosely to a little below the knees. They wear their hair long behind; but cut in front, so as to shade their eyes. They tatoo their chins with three lines—wearing as ornaments in their ears the leg bones of cranes and fowls, ornamented with carving, and used also as a pipe.

Their houses vary in form—the tribes living in the valley of the San Joaquin river inhabit houses formed of mats laid on a framework of willow or cotton-wood.

The Sacramento tribes construct a more permanent habitation—being made of a framework of heavy timber, covered with mud and grass; the floor is about two feet below the level of the ground. A small door forms the entrance, and a hole at the top, in lieu of a chimney, for the escape of the smoke of their fires (which they build on the floor), are the only apertures in the buildings, rendering them warm and oppressive. Their sweat houses are built in the same manner, only more capacious. In the latter buildings they perform most of their medicines, dances, and ceremonies.

The men are indolent, doing only the lighter labour—making their arms and nets, and attending wares; while to the women belong the task of collecting the grass seed, acorns, &c., in which occupation they are generally attended by one or more of the elders of the villages; though I do not think that these women labour as much as those of the tribes inhabiting the Rocky Mountains.

The manufacturing of grass seeds and acorns into meal for their mush and bread, is done by pounding it in a mortar (Fig. 2), made in a rock or hard wood, with a stone pestle (Fig. 1), weighing three or four pounds. To bake their bread, they first smooth a place on the sand, throwing up a circular embankment, into which they pour a paste of meal and water; the sand absorbing the moisture, leaves a cake, over this grass is laid, and a fire built upon it; by this process it is rather steamed than baked, and never has a hard crust. This process removes the deleterious properties of the acorn as well as its bitter taste—this same process answers for all food of this class.

FIG. 1.

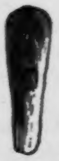
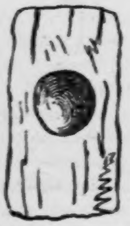
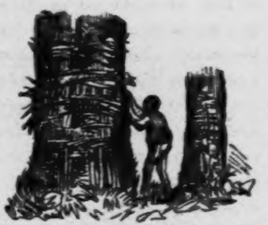


FIG. 2.



As soon as the acorns commence falling, they lay in great quantities of them, which they put up in cylindrical stacks, made of willows bound together by cords of wild hemp, from eight to ten feet high (Fig. 3).

FIG. 3.



Grasshoppers and crickets form also articles of food. These they procure in great quantities by setting fire to the prairies; as, for instance, a party of a dozen or more persons will form a circle, set the grass on fire, moving at the same time towards the centre, and driving these insects into the flames, by which means their legs are burnt off. They are then collected, and pounded with deer tallow, or any kind of grease they may have, and used for food.

In the manufacture of their baskets and socks, they display much neatness and taste, particularly in those covered with feathers, generally, from the summer duck, and scalps of the red-headed woodpecker, bound round the top with beads of their own manufacture.

In cleaning the grass seed, they use a flat basket; this operation they perform with great rapidity, throwing the seed up and catching it again, the wind separating the chaff from the seed. They are also very expert in weaving a blanket of feathers—many of them having really beautiful figures worked on them. Their weapons for the war and chase consist of bows and arrows. The bows are formed of a kind of cedar, and covered with the sinews of a horse or elk on the back, making them very elastic and strong. The arrows are chiefly of cane — those used in the chase having a point of hard wood, while for war they are pointed with small heads of flint, beautifully barbed.

They are superstitious — making offerings to propitiate the favour of the good and bad spirits, dances, and other religious ceremonies. Of the Christian religion they know but little, and that they have received from association, either from the whites, or other Indians who have been educated at the old Catholic mission, under Spanish rule. The first fish of the season they have offered to the deity — a platform is erected in the middle of the stream; the fish hung on a high pole, which is decorated with feathers and such like ornaments — by this the medicine-man takes his place, and harangues for nearly the whole day. Here the fish is left to decay.

Every village has its sweat house, which is generally built near the edge of a stream, that the individuals may, when they have perspired sufficiently within its walls, have the pleasure of an immersion into the cold water. This is their common mode of relieving fatigue. They have but few traditions of their early history, believing that their present residence has always been their home. The tribes of California are much divided into small bands, speaking different languages, and warring on each other, though living within a few miles. Their general domestic habits vary but little, feeding upon the same kind of food, and preparing it in the same manner.

They are not in their dispositions warlike, like the tribes inhabiting the Rocky Mountains. Treachery and theft, as with all Indians, form part of their creed. Yet these can be easier taught the simpler arts of planting, &c., than can those residing on the prairies; and, as far as I have seen, evince a willingness to labour, rarely to be found among a wild people.

Their animal food consists of the game of the country, except the grizzly bear, which the uncivilized ones will not eat. Horses, both wild and tame, form (particularly among those residing near the coast settlements) their principal article of animal diet. Their country abounds in elk, deer (black tailed), grizzly bears, antelopes, wild cats, panthers, wild horses, and a great variety of wild fowl.

Their musical instruments consist of a drum, made by stretching a piece of raw hide over a circular frame; a whistle, made of the leg bone of a crane or some large fowl, and a stick with a long slit in it, which they hold in their hand, and when dancing, the motion of their bodies and hands causing the stick to open and close, produces a clapping sound, which keeps admirable time with their voices and the other instruments.

Very respectfully,
Your ob't serv't,
EDW'D M. KERN.

4. A SCENE ON THE PRAIRIES. REV. S. M. IRVIN.

We were travelling over an extensive, high, and lonely prairie, on our way to make peace with the Pawnees, when the watchful eye of one of our company descried a body of persons moving towards us. "A war party," said one. "A visiting party," said another. "A hunting party," said another. But as they advanced so that we could see the slow march, heavy burdens, and melancholy appearance, our fears of a war party, and hopes of a visiting or hunting party, gave way to more gloomy apprehensions. They were identified as Otoes, and when we came together both parties halted. The Otoes laid down their burdens, and with their loads many of them prostrated themselves silently on the ground; while some of the more resolute commenced the doleful tale. Three days previous, a band of Sioux warriors, four or five hundred in all, had, as their custom is, made a stealthy attack upon the Otoe village. Twenty-three Otoes were killed, the village plundered and partly burnt, and all the horses that could be found driven off. Though it was daylight, the invaders were not heard of, or observed, until they were nearly upon the village. Had warning been given, the Otoes were not able to defend themselves in their village, and when taken thus by surprise, their case was desperate. There were, at the time, but few men, and perhaps not a loaded gun or strong arrow, in the village; and all that was possible, was almost a hopeless flight.

The Platte river swept close by the village on the side opposite from the enemy, and the first rush was for the river. Men, women and children, snatching up such light things as they could run with, fled with the utmost haste to the river. Some were killed before they left their houses, some on their way to the river, and some in the water while swimming from the shore. The Sioux prowled over the village the remaining part of the day, and in the evening left the ground. Some of the Otoes had gone back and gathered up a few things that remained, and the party we met had resolved to abandon the village for the present, and sojourn during the summer at a place some sixty miles distant. In this party there were some widows and orphans, as well as some bereaved parents and friends. A majority of them were women and children. There was not a horse in company; and each one, even the children, had a heavy load to carry, which load contained all that they possessed in the world. Dreary and disconsolate they thus sat and told this melancholy tale, as much as thirty miles from any thing like even an Indian habitation. Among others, we saw some old gray headed women, whose infirmities required the help of a staff. Evening was drawing near, and I here leave the reader to reflect farther on their condition.

We afterwards met with a poor widow woman, who gave us an account of her escape with two children. Upon the first alarm, she fled with her two little ones to the river; but, knowing that she could not support both of them in swimming water, she fortunately happened to light on a place in the bank where the long grass hung over to the water's edge. Under this she sunk herself with the two children, one on each arm, as low as they could breathe in the water, and there remained with breathless silence, while the heavy tread of the warrior in search of blood, passed several times so near as to shake, as she said, the ground against which her shoulders and head rested.

At the agency we were told of a more desperate case. An old woman had taken shelter in a small cornfield, where she would probably have remained safe, had it not been for the courage of her little dog challenging the warriors as they passed by. This led to her being discovered. She was beaten, scalped, and left for dead. But life still remained; she was taken to the agency and carefully nursed, but in four days she died. Other incidents were related to us, some of which were equally thrilling. On our way home, the party pointed out to us the place at some distance from our path, where, a few years ago, a company of nine Pawnees, eight men and one woman, were killed by a party of Ioways and Sacs combined. This was a dreadful outrage. The Pawnees were coming on a friendly visit to the very nations into whose murderous hands they fell; but the murderers were a war-party, and we are told that these parties sometimes start out under the sweeping and shocking vow, that they will kill and scalp the first Indians that may come in their path, if in their power. Our party, however, seemed to speak of this affair with a good deal of indifference. "There," said they, "their bones are lying unburied, the wolves and birds having devoured the flesh." This brings forcibly to mind, a passage in Deut. 28, "Thy carcass shall be meat," &c., verse 26, to the end.

The foregoing painful facts are mentioned, with a hope that they may awake in some feeling heart a deeper sympathy for these poor people. A simple exhibition of truth is, in some cases, the most cogent appeal; and it would seem that the voice of suffering humanity would always be heard; yet a thoughtless world is strangely deaf to many of its most urgent appeals. The sight and prospect of gold can awaken, and strengthen and prolong, the feeling of avarice; threatening dangers can call out the princely energies of patriotism; insult and neglect can arouse the manly feelings of the soul; but the voice of suffering humanity meets but a feeble response from humanity itself. But if humanity, so called, cannot feel, *Christianity* must. Its author felt, and all his followers must; and the professed Christian who can look with cold indifference on the condition of these poor people, has some grounds to suspect the sincerity of his profession.

Respectfully submitted,
By your ob't serv't,
S. M. IRVIN.

5. CONCERNING THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, THE SUPERSTITIONS, &c., OF THE INDIANS IN OREGON. MAJOR B. ALVORD.

The instructions of the General, request that the report shall embrace information concerning "their kind of government; their customs at marriages, births, deaths and funerals; their mode of living, as to houses or shelter, food and raiment; a description of their agriculture, and other arts, if any; their traffic; their modes of punishment; their superstitions, rites and ceremonies; their amusements, dances, ball plays, if any; their domestic animals, if any. The general features of the country they inhabit, rivers and mountains; the proportion of arable land; the natural products; the game," &c. &c.

To give anything satisfactory upon some of these topics, would require the observation of years, and the record of long volumes. It will be in vain for me to attempt to fill up such a programme. I shall select a few prominent heads, to give briefly what I have gathered during the few months which I have passed in the country; also premising that, at this remote post, I have not access to various works upon Oregon, which would enable me to avoid the repetition of items already set forth by former travellers.

On the following points, upon which I shall endeavour to give some information, the manners and customs of all these tribes are generally altogether similar. I have enjoyed the best opportunities of learning the characteristics of the Nez Percés and Waskows, but they apply, with slight variations, to nearly all the Indians in the territory. Concerning the former, I have derived much information from Mr. William Craig, long a resident among them.

The Murdering of their Doctors, and Mode of Initiation to the Order of Medicine-men.

The form of government is patriarchal. They acknowledge the hereditary principle — blood generally decides who shall be the chief. It is the same, among the Nez Percés, with the medicine-men — they are a distinct order in the tribe, and inherit the position from father to son.

With the Cayuse, Walla-Wallas, and Waskows, the candidates for medicine are not always the sons of a doctor. With them any child of the tribe may be trained for the office.

A universal belief prevails among all the tribes, that the medicine-man possesses wonderful faculties of conjuration and a godlike power of killing those against whom he shall hurl his direful charms or glances. His mere look, if inimical to the victim, can kill. They will hide or avert their heads in his presence, to escape his glances. Such is the fixed faith of these poor Indians; and I have had occasion to witness frequent instances, among the Waskows, in my immediate vicinity. If once possessed with the idea that they are subjected to the dire frown of their medicine-men, they droop and pine away, often refuse to eat, and die of starvation and melancholy, if not of necromancy; thus confirming and verifying, with their neighbours, a belief that this portentous power is actually possessed. The natural consequence of such deep-rooted faith in these powers is, that when a death occurs, it is often attributed to the doctor, who is murdered by the relatives of the deceased, to avenge the fate of the victim. All the murders which I can hear of among them occur in this manner, and three doctors have been killed in the last four months, in different tribes, within the distance of forty miles of this post. It is therefore a perilous, as well as a powerful and honoured craft; but perhaps this very danger operates, as with the soldier, to give additional fascination to the profession. Certain it is, that I cannot learn that the custom of killing the doctors, in any tribe, has operated to deter the novitiate from entering the profession.

I will now describe the process by which these novitiates receive their call and are initiated into their order. As before stated, the position of medicine-man is often inherited, running in families from father to son. Some daughters are also trained to the profession. But the female doctors (or sorceresses) are not so much feared, have not the same power over life and death, and are not murdered, and held to such strict responsibility as the male doctors. But it seems that not all his children receive a call; but a mode is adopted, in their early youth, to determine which shall be the favoured ones.

Children who are candidates are sent out, when they arrive at eight or ten years old, to sleep by themselves on the ground or in a lodge, there to await communications or visitations from their good spirit or "Tamanoise." This spirit appears in the shape of a bear, eagle, cayote, buffalo, or some wild bird or animal. If the child, when he returns in the morning, has heard nothing, he is sent back again, and (if bent on making him a candidate) they will continue to send him, day after day, to sleep alone in this way; and he is often made to fast the whole time, until he is worried into believing or asserting that he has had some wonderful visitor, in his sleep, in the shape of the spirit of some animal. He will tell to some medicine character what he has heard and seen, who will instruct him, that when he is in want of anything he must call on that spirit (good genius) to assist him in all his undertakings. This seals his character as being destined to the profession, but until grown up they do not act as doctors. Long fasting, and stoicism under it, is regarded as an essential part of the process. With the Waskows, if the boy when sent out to sleep by himself should, on his return, ask for food, he is looked upon as utterly unfit for any such high trust On reaching manhood, the novitiate is initiated into his sacred profession, in a medicine dance, which is partly of a religious character, or a mode of worshipping their idols. Those idols are the spirits of certain animals. They will move in the dance, imitating those animals; as the bellowing of the buffalo, or the howling of the wolf.

One curious instance was described to me by an eye-witness, as occurring last winter. The novitiate wished to imitate the elk, who has, from his youth, been the good spirit or guardian genius of his life. At certain seasons the elk has a habit of wallowing in the mud. The Indian poured several buckets of water into a low place, in the ring in which they were dancing, and after whistling like the elk, laid down to wallow in the mire. During the ceremony of initiation, some of the chief doctors chant certain songs or incantations, and go through certain passes, not unlike mesmerism, to put the candidate to sleep. When awakened from this sleep, he is pronounced fit for practice in his lofty and potent profession.

Notwithstanding all this ceremony of initiation, they are far from being a harmonious brotherhood. A rival doctor often breeds mischief, and causes the murder of the one first called in; in visiting a patient already under treatment, he inquires, "What is the reason you dont get well?" The patient answers, "I dont know, the disease holds on to me." He slily hints, "Perhaps your doctor is working on you with his baleful charms." If the patient acknowledges before his relations that this is so, the doctor who has charge of him will probably be killed.

They are prophets as well as physicians. If one of them prophecies that a patient cannot live beyond a certain length of time, he may be so possessed with faith, in the power and foreknowledge of the doctor, that he gives up, thinks he is fated to die, and gradually wastes away and expires, perhaps in perfect agreement with the ill-boding prophecy.

The doctors are often killed for the mere failure to cure a patient, though it is always attended with a belief, on the part of the bloody avenger, in his having exercised a malign or necromantic power. In a recent case, a doctor of the Nishrams, when the small-pox was raging, was foolish enough to threaten openly what havoc he would spread among them, making use of the pestilence to magnify his office, and to surround his person with greater elements of power; boasting that he held the fearful quiver in his own hands, ready to hurl the arrows of death in any direction. The people rose in a body and hung him in the most barbarous manner. Tying his hands and feet, they put a rope around his neck, threw it over the pommel of a saddle, and starting the horse, his life was taken in this shocking manner. This might be deemed a judicial murder, performed by the mass of the tribe.

The superstitions so firmly rested in their minds, and leading to such sanguinary results, form one of the most prominent features in the character of the Oregon Indians, and have had a direct bearing upon the most important event which has occurred in their relations with the whites. I refer to the massacre by the Cayuse, in November, 1847, of the family of Dr. Whitman, and other white persons, (seventeen souls in all) at the Presbyterian Mission in the Cayuse County. There is no doubt, that the immediate impelling cause of the murders, was the fact that Dr. Whitman had endeavoured to cure them of the measles, and still many had died under his treatment. It pervaded the whole Cayuse tribe. The misfortune was, that they would not follow his advice. They would, with fever on them, plunge into the cold water of their streams, which often caused a fatal result. Notwithstanding the exceeding kindness of Dr. Whitman, the imbruted superstition of the Cayuse got the better of every recollection of his benevolent deeds. They were also possibly in part impelled to the crime, by the fact that the emigrants who arrived that fall had brought the measles with them, and some of them were wintering with Dr. Whitman, and were massacred with him. In the spring of 1849, an expedition of Oregonians against the Cayuse, led to some bloodshed on both sides, and the seizure of a great number (some 500 head) of their cattle and horses.

In the spring of 1850, five of the murderers surrendered by Ta-wai-ta, their head chief, were tried and hung at Oregon City. This punishment has made a deep and salutary impression on all the surrounding tribes, and will affect their conduct and colour their history for a long period of time.

Punishments.

It will be asked if these murderers of the doctor are sanctioned among the Indians. The answer must be, that the punishments inflicted are very inadequate and inefficient.

A council of head men is called by the chief, and he decides that a certain number of horses and blankets shall be turned over by the murderers to the family, or the relations of the deceased. It is remarkable that the murderer never attempts to run away, and indeed generally comes forward and confesses his crime. It may be edifying to remember, that superstitions just as direful, were dominant in Massachusetts 200 years ago, where witches were burned at the stake, who were more innocent than the murdered medicine-men, martyrs to the healing art among these savages. Strenuous exertions have been made by the missionaries and the commanding officer of this fort, to induce the chiefs to cause punishments for murder to be made by hanging. As yet, no such punishment has been inflicted. On the contrary, the effect of our advice has, it would seem, fallen thus far on one of the doctors, instead of being used for their protection.

In the case of the doctor among the Nishams, as narrated above, he was duly hung, though in a savage manner, for the mere threat of the exercise of his dangerous functions. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, candidates are still found eager to enter the order of medicine-men.

But these crimes are rare among some of the tribes. I am informed that but two murders in twelve years have occurred among the Nez Percés, but they were of doctors.

Remarkable simplicity and purity of conduct and manners exist among some of the tribes most remote from the whites, such as the Pend d'Oreilles, Spokans and Flatheads. Crime of any kind is almost unknown among them. The principal punishment is the reprimand of the chief. Among the Pend d'Oreilles, I am informed that the rebuke of the chief is very efficient; but it is made this point of honour with them, when charged with any offence, to come and submit to the chief, whose severest punishment is a tap of a stick upon his shoulders, inflicting, it is understood, temporary disgrace upon the unfortunate recipient.

Rarely, among any of these tribes, is whipping resorted to. Their laws against prostitution are very severe upon the women. They are often punished among the Nez Percés, with from 50 to 100 lashes on the bare back. But it is a very rare vice. They are generally remarkable for their chastity.

Under the head of punishments, it will be proper for me to allude to their treatment of prisoners taken in war. From time immemorial, they have been in the habit of making slaves of them. In that manner, the Cayuse acquired their numerous slaves.

In Lower Oregon, by which I mean the part west of the Cascade Mountains, I was told of a recent act of cruelty and superstition of a remarkable character. Within a year or two, upon the death of a master, his slaves have been killed, that they might accompany and attend his spirit in the other world. I was also informed from a credible source, that in that portion of Oregon, a revolting custom had prevailed among some of the tribes, of putting out an eye of a slave, in order that if he escaped, he might be marked and known as such by the surrounding tribes.

My memoir is intended mainly to treat of the Indians east of the Cascade mountains; but the manners and customs of all are very similar. It would seem, however, that those residing near the Rocky Mountains, and living less on fish, and more on buffalo and other game, are and always have been superior races to those living on the lower Columbia, or who subsisted mainly upon salmon.

Marriage.

In all the tribes of this region polygamy is acknowledged. Generally they confine themselves to two wives, but sometimes have three or four. The Catholic priests have labored to inculcate the propriety of having but one *wife*, but have failed. When partially successful, their efforts have only resulted in making them have but one at a time. When dissatisfied with a present wife, the Indian turns her off and gets a new one, and the priest has been compelled to be satisfied with making them abandon, to that limited extent, their ancient habits.

The Presbyterian Mission established among the Nez Percés, by the American Board of C. F. M., succeeded better than any known in training the Indians to the habit of having one wife. When the Mission was abandoned, upon the occurrence of the Whitman massacre, a large body of the tribe adopted the rule for about eight years. However, for some time previous to that event, the Nez Percés began to relapse, from the contagion of example, seeing all the neighbouring tribes adhering to their old habits.

In their marriages they have no wedding ceremony. To be legal, it would seem that the consent of the parents is all that is necessary. The suitor never, in person, asks the parents for their daughter; but he sends one or more friends, whom he pays for their services. The latter sometimes effect their purposes by feasts. The offer generally includes a statement of the property which will be given for the wife to the parents, consisting of horses, blankets, or buffalo robes. The wife's relations always raise as many horses (or other property) for her dower, as the bridegroom has sent the parents, but scrupulously take care not to turn over the same horses or the same articles. He likewise graduates his gifts to the parents to their power, and that of her friends, to raise an equal amount. This is the custom alike of the Walla-wallas, Nez Percés, Cayuse, Waskows, Flatheads, and Spokans. With all of them, marrying the eldest daughter entitles a man to the rest of the family, as they grow up. If a wife dies, her sister or some of the connexion, if younger than the deceased, is regarded as destined to marry him. Cases occur in which, upon the death of a wife (after the period of mourning referred to below expires), her younger sister, though the wife of another man, is claimed, and she deserts her husband and goes to the disconsolate widower.

The right of a man is recognised, to put away his wife, and take a new one, even the sister of the discarded one, if he thinks proper. The parents do not seem to object to a man's turning off one sister, and taking a younger one—the lordly prerogative, as imperious as that of a sultan, being a custom handed down from time immemorial. He seldom has his wives in the same lodge. Their lodges are sometimes in different villages, but they are generally in the same camp. When they will not agree well in the same camp, he dismisses one to preserve harmony.

After the death of a wife, a man will not take another for one or two years, even if he has no other with him in the same lodge. He helps take care of the children, who go into the immediate charge of the wife's mother. A man having in the same lodge but one wife, who is sick and likely to die, will sometimes make haste to seek another wife, so as to avoid the force of the law, that upon the death of the former, he must go unmarried for a year.

Upon the mother devolves all the care of the children, and she is never relieved from her other labours on that account. Thus polygamy works a degeneracy and depopulation in the races, as the women cannot take proper care of so many children. Contact with the whites leads to their decay; but even without that destructive influence, degeneracy seems to have been their doom. However, they never will (or but rarely) marry a cousin; thus that mode of degeneration is avoided.

When a wife is discarded, the rule is that the children must go with the mother. A wife is often taken back after she has been banished for a year or more. After a separation, the father has no care or responsibility connected with the children, and will not visit them, even when they are sick.

Sometimes, when the parents refuse their consent to a marriage, a runaway match occurs; but it is not regarded as a legal marriage, and the woman thereafter is considered a prostitute, and is treated accordingly. The parents have a right to seize the man's property wherever they find it, and they frequently get back their daughter.

When about to be confined, the wife is placed in a separate lodge; a little girl or an old woman lives with her, to build a fire and take care of her. She remains there until a month after the birth of the child. If the camp is moved, a separate lodge is again provided for her. They generally wean their children when about eighteen months or two years old.

Deaths.

The sick are neglected. The women generally look after them, and have so many other cares, that this duty is neglected, or cannot be properly attended to. Such faith is placed in the conjuring powers of the doctors, that they look blindly to them for aid, and neglect the sick. But when a man dies, then there is much parade and exhibition of empty feeling, which we would say comes rather late. The dead body is wrapped up in a blanket. If the grave is too distant to carry it by hand, they make, with a blanket and two poles, one on each side of a horse, a kind of drag (or litter which drags on the ground), and place the body in it. The Nez Percés bury in deep graves. The Waskows and Chinooks, residing along the Columbia river, were in the habit of burying on islands, in small houses above ground, and in canoes, piled one above another, or lodged in trees. To this day some of the Waskows resort to the islands, but most of them are learning to bury in the ground.

The women howl and cry at the death of a relative. If a man's wife dies, he shows grief by tears, but rarely by howling. If a child or father dies, little grief is evinced. The death of a father naturally excites less grief than that of a mother, as so little care is taken of a child by the father.

Missions.

Much good was effected for the Nez Percés by the missions established among them. They had learned much of agriculture. They are now even strict in observing the Sabbath. A white man who stayed the past winter in the Nez Percés' country, informed me that in a small band of two hundred Indians, with whom he lived, they assembled every morning and evening for prayer and psalm-singing. It should be noted that this is five years subsequent to the breaking up of the missions. It is to be regretted that missions, so permanent in their influence, should have ever been abandoned. The Cayuse were also on the high road of improvement when the Whitman massacre occurred. They often now express their regret at the event, and have wished that similar missions could be re-established.

Catholic missions are now kept up at the —— Dalles, at Fort Colville, at Cour d'Alene, at the Chandiere, on the Yackman river, and in the Cayuse country. They have no doubt exercised a softening and beneficial effect upon the Indians. But from the Protestant missionaries I suppose they have learned more practical and useful arts, including the cultivation of the soil.

It is but just to say, also, that the course of the Hudson Bay Company has been undoubtedly very beneficial to the Indians of Oregon, teaching them agriculture, introducing ploughs and hoes, and in training them to boating, herding, and various kinds of labor. Their transactions with the Indians have been of a fixed and systematic character, no doubt looking well to their own interests. Acting in good faith themselves, they have exacted good faith and good discipline from the Indians, and prevented the introduction of spirituous liquors.

Game.

The region is very poor for game, until you approach the Rocky Mountains. Elk, deer, and big-horn sheep, black, brown, and grizzly bears, are found in all that portion of Oregon east of Walla-walla; but no buffalo range west of the Rocky Mountains. Parties of Indians leave every summer to hunt them on the other side of those mountains, although they often have to encounter and fight their hereditary enemies, the Blackfeet. Salmon fisheries abound in all these branches of the Columbia, as high up on that river as the falls just above Fort Colville, and on Snake river to the falls above Fort Boise. It is said that there is a marked difference between the salmon-eating Indians and those near the Rocky Mountains, who live on buffalo meat; the physical development of the latter being much superior. As examples, the large frames and finely developed forms of the Blackfeet, Flathead, and Nez Percés Indians, are instanced.

Productions.

I can hear of no nuts being found in the country. Wild cherries, the cranberry, the raspberry, the blackberry, whortleberry, and in some places the strawberry, are found.

There are two kinds of wild roots, used by the Indians for food, which are almost as universal as the potato with us. They are the "couse" and "camas" roots.

The "couse" is dug in the spring of the year, in April or May. It is found in poor, rocky positions, on hills and mountains, and will grow where grass does not or cannot grow. It is a white root, and tastes like the parsnip. The Indians dry it, and pulverise it into a white flour, which they keep for consumption throughout the whole year. It is found in great quantities, and is sometimes called the bread or biscuit root. They sometimes boil it with meat, making a kind of soup.

The "camas" grows in great quantities, in wet, swampy land, and is dug in June and July, by which time the stalk of the "couse" is dried up and not to be seen. The camas, when taken out of the ground, resembles a white onion. In order to preserve it, it is baked in kilns or furnaces in the ground, and when cooked has a dark-brown colour. It is then dried in the sun, and will keep for one or two years. It is sweet in taste, and is used like sugar; when boiled, it is often made into a kind of molasses.

At the the proper seasons, the Indians leave their winter camp, and move *en masse* to the root grounds, making a regular business of laying in their supplies.

As to the amount of tillable land east of the Cascade Mountains, in the Territories of Oregon and Washington, it must be admitted that it is a very barren region, and not one-twentieth part of the soil will ever be fit for cultivation; though, in the latitude of Lower Canada, its climate probably averages that of Pennsylvania or Virginia. In the western portion, it is subject to the alternations of wet and dry seasons, common to Mexico and California. Approaching the Rocky Mountains, especially in the Flathead country, the rains are distributed throughout the year, as in the Atlantic States. The richest portions are probably in the country of the Flatheads, Spokans, Cayuse, and Walla-wallas; or, to describe these regions by the rivers and lakes, they are the valleys of the St. Mary's, the Umatilla, the Walla-walla, and Powder river, and in the vicinity of the Grande Ronde and the Cour d'Alene lake.

I do not doubt that the land west of the Cascade Mountains, especially that lying on Puget's Sound and in the valleys of the Willamette, Umpqua, and Roque river, contains highly fertile and desirable tracts. But the Cascade range appears to divide the country into two distinct parts. This eastern portion, which is seven-eighths of the area of both territories, embracing 180,000 square miles, is liable to the remarks I have made.

The surface of the country is generally one vast stretch of barren, rolling, hilly prairies, with trees skirting the rivers, along whose valleys some narrow tracts of fertile lands can be found, especially adapted to the cultivation of wheat. But those prairies and hills (some deserving even the name of mountains) are covered with the celebrated "bunch grass," so nutritious to all domestic animals, which will always make it a fine country. But this grass, valuable as it is, does not grow densely enough to cover the hills with verdure, and remove their desert appearance, scarcely even in the spring of the year. It does not redeem this soil from the epithet of barren, which I have applied to it. In vain do we look for that vernal green in April or May, so welcome after the snows of winter; and the artist or poet must resign the hope of receiving inspiration from such sources. He can only resort to the scenery, to the rocks, and mountains, and lofty snow-capped peaks, and the curious grotesque shapes of the columnar basalt, sometimes resembling old feudal castles, or immense amphitheatres, to excite his enthusiasm, and reward him for the toil of his pilgrimage.

Respectfully submitted,
BENJ'N ALVORD,
Capt. 4th Infantry, B'vt. Major, U. S. A., com'g the Post.

FORT DALLES, *Columbia River, Oregon,*
17th July, 1853.

ANTIQUITIES.

6. PERUVIAN ANTIQUITIES.

STEAMER QUITO, *Coast of Peru*, July 9th, 1852.

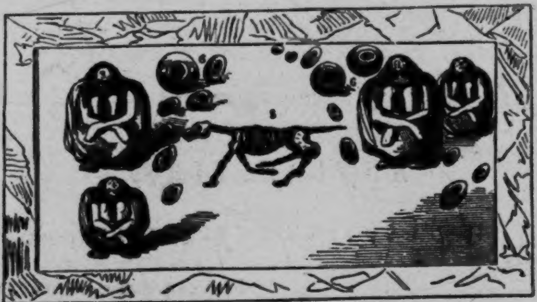
MY DEAR GILLISS: — I am now on my way from Arica to Caldéra, after having accomplished all that I went to the former place to do: viz., the preliminary survey of a railroad line to Tacna. I make the distance between Arica and Tacna 35$\frac{7}{10}$ miles, though on account of a great descent in the first eight miles from the latter city, it will be necessary to increase the length of the road to about forty miles. The descent referred to exceeds 1000 feet. With the exception of one mile of cultivated ground near Tacna, itself 1827 feet above tide-water, the country consists of remarkably smooth, though desolate, sand-plains. The proposed line of railroad crosses a few dry rivers and one living stream, which will require a bridge—the only structure demanding any mechanical skill, in the whole distance; and you may imagine how level and unobstructed is the line, when I tell you, that a correct level was run over it in three and a half days, with only a party of green sailors to aid me. The work of one day was nearly eleven miles. So pleased were the agents of the Peruvian government with the results, that at the completion of the work they doubled the sum previously agreed on for my services.

A few days were then spent in examining the country around Arica, and in opening some of the graves containing Peruvian mummies. The valley of Azapa, in the rear of Arica, being a perfect paradise in fruits and flowers, well repaid me for the trouble of the ride. Such orange trees I never conceived to be in existence, many of them being from thirty to forty feet in height, and bearing from 10,000 to 15,000 oranges each. They resemble large bunches of golden-coloured grapes, so thickly are the bunches clustered, and so few are the leaves to be seen. Besides oranges, there are sweet and sour lemons, citrons, limes, chaddocks, guavas, pears, plums, peaches, lummas, cherimayas, pomegranates, dates, olives, figs, apples, bananas, grapes, quinces, porayos, achachas, walnuts, and various other fruits, almost growing wild: for a more idle, vagabond, half-breed, semi-nude and savage race it would be difficult to find a counterpart for elsewhere. Had I time and paper, I would write you their whole history.

As I was fortunate enough to meet with people well acquainted with the localities in the valley, the journey proved most interesting. The white Cape jasmine, floripandia, roses, acacias, Daphne, algarobo, caracucho, &c., &c., grow in hedges, wild, ever in bloom, and ever giving to the breeze their loads of rich perfume. I envied the people this profusion, and could I but plant one of these orange trees in a garden at New York, just as it is, I should count on having every person of taste within the city to visit it within twenty-four hours.

Now for the mummies. My friend, Mr. Taylor, who has long resided at Arica, undertook to accompany me to the tombs, and introduce me to their occupants. They are near the sea beach and said to be about three miles from Arica, though, if permitted to judge of the distance, I should call it *two* miles. The formation of the ground is sand; but the entire superincumbent material is now a mixture of sand, shells, and guano, or other decomposed animal matter. The position of a tomb is discovered by a slight depression in the sand on the surface. Most of them have been opened, and the former tenants carried off; in which business the officers of Spanish ships of war, visiting at Arica, are said to have shown great industry, the Peruvian law against removing bodies to the contrary notwithstanding.

The tomb which I opened was covered with about three feet of the mixture before mentioned, and under it some two inches, apparently, of wood ashes. On removing the earth, there is a powerful odour emitted, like that of guano. Flag stones, two inches thick and well cut, immediately covered the top of the vault. Taking off these, I found a hole five and half feet long, four feet deep, and two and a half feet wide, with vertical walls, built of stone, and plastered smoothly inside. This contained four human bodies, arranged as in the following diagram, with the skeleton of a dog in their midst. Their faces were all to the *west*. Next the body, they were covered with well-made cloth of llama's wool, coloured red and figured; and outside of this the wrapping was a cloth prepared from a coarse vegetable fibre. They were in a sitting posture; their bodies strongly tied with small cords of reeds or rushes, with their knees well up to their mouths, and their arms encircling the legs. Indeed, it appears to have been an object, with those who made up the mummies, to arrange the limbs and bodies so as to make a bundle as compact as possible. In the lap, between the body, arms, and legs, there were ears of Indian corn, and alongside of them were pots, jugs, and utensils both of wood and clay, containing corn, beans, sweet potatoes, cocoa, and nuts, not in a very good state of preservation. Around each, and rendering them invisible to one another, were screens made of small reeds, quite strong enough to have served a mason.



1. Man. 3. Woman. 5. Dog.
2. Child. 4. Child. 6. Earthen and wooden ware.

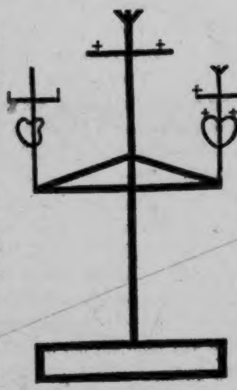
As is almost invariably the case, all the heads had good teeth in them; but the skeletons were so much decayed, that most of them fell to pieces, and I threw them away. After passing half an hour within the tomb, scratching about for something more valuable than first sight revealed, the odour of guano and decayed matter was so strong that I came out, quite sick, and almost disposed to desert what had already been got out. As it was, I left a well-made cloth covering, of the size of a handkerchief, which laid loosely over the woman's head. I regret this now, knowing that you take interest in such matters; but I saved and send you a part of the earthen and wooden utensils; a fishing line, with a stone sinker; a sling of llama's wool; a cap of the same; a well-made rowell or arrowhead; a needle made from the thorn of the cactus, with the thread still in it; a gold eyelet holemaker or punch, with a curiously worked head; some corn and sweet potatoes; and, when I next go to Arica, will manage to obtain a good mummy. In another tomb, I found the best arrowheads I ever saw, worked out of translucent flint. These tombs are believed to be several hundred years old, there being a tradition at Arica that when Alatmalpa come from the north (about 1524), whole families caused themselves to be buried alive. In the one of which I have given you account, there was evidently an entire family.

I have agreed with Mr. Hagan, who has a grant to fill the sea between the Mano and pier at Arica, to direct the operations for him, and propose to excavate for the purpose the hill of sand and rubbish which is between the church and Mano. As there is good evidence to prove that a part of the ancient city lies buried here (by the earthquake of 1608), in the course of the work we shall, no doubt, find something worth telling of. The French have more recently had a settlement here, and within a few years officers of French ships have traced the lines of the once existing streets. Proposing to remove about 200,000 cubic yards of the mass, I caused a hole to be dug to make sure that we should not encounter rock, and in so doing came across the best preserved mummy and cleverly-wrought agate arrowheads which I had seen. Afterwards, the governor told me there need be no apprehension of striking rock, as a portion of old Arica was undoubtedly beneath, himself having disinterred several gold idols from the spot, which are now in Lima. If the city actually contained a population of 50,000 souls at the time of the Incas, as is reported, and was one of the principal cities on the coast, there is no question but that we shall rescue from oblivion many objects of great interest. Should I be able to put my hands on them, instead of the peans, I will forward a collection to you, at Washington, for *our* cabinet.

But I must close, hoping you will try to make out this scrawl, and remember

Your sincere friend,
W. W. EVANS.

On the sloping face of the high land which bounds the southern shore of the Bay of Pisco (Peru), a striking object claims attention. As nearly as it could be sketched when passing in the steamer, it is of the subjoined form.



It is made apparently of white or light-coloured stones, set into the face of the rock, and from the shadows, each line seems to have been excavated, and the multitude of blocks inserted at the bottom. From the base to the top of the central cross, the height must be greatly more than a hundred feet; want of shrubbery or other objects of comparison, rendering an accurate estimate impossible. The dimensions of the inner parts are in good proportion.

By whom, or for what purpose, this huge emblem of Christian faith was constructed on so desolate a shore, there was no one on board who could tell satisfactorily. A good father of the church assured me that Christ himself wrought it in a single night during the rule of Pizarro, and as a warning to the Sun worshippers, whose country he had invaded; but he probably thought to influence a heretic by telling of a miracle in behalf of the true church.

There is also a most interesting specimen of picture writing near Tacna, of which Arica, in Lat., 18° 28′ S., is the part. It is probably of a date much anterior to the cross near Pisco, but I do not find it mentioned by any traveller whose works are accessible; and the only account is that given in the following extract from a letter written me by W. W. Evans, Esq.

"After my next campaign to Peru, I shall be able to present you something of interest, as I know of an extensive burial ground near Tacna, entirely occupied by Indians who were interred long before the conquest. On the bare face of the sloping mountain at whose base these towers are, I noticed huge characters traced in the sand. They can be perceived with great distinctness, and read with the unassisted eye, if I could understand them, at the distance of ten to fifteen miles. The whole side of the mountain or hill, as they call it in this country of collossal Cordilleras, is covered with them. They appear to be written as is Chinese, in vertical lines. Some of them must be ten or twelve hundred feet in length. I mean that each character is of this dimension, and they look as fresh as if just made. When I first saw them, I thought them windings and zig-zags made by mules traversing the sloping face of the hill, but the mistake was discovered before enquiring of any one. Every person in Tacna, from whom information was sought, assured me that they were ancient Indian records. I will write you at length when more is learned.

I shall also visit Cuzco, and give you an account of the Temple of the Sun, and while there, investigate the engineering of these people, or rather, of their ancestors. A gentleman, W. O. Leary, who has visited the ancient capital, tells me, to my great surprise, that blocks of stone were used in constructing the Temple of the Sun, which are thirty feet long, seven feet wide, and four feet deep; and yet there are no quarries in the neighbourhood of Cuzco. I confess my incredulity in the matter, but am convinced there are points enough of interest to induce the visit."

7. ANTIQUE MUSCOGEE BRASS PLATES.

TULLAHASSEE MISSION, CREEK AGENCY, *W. Ark.*, 14th Sept., 1852.

Having understood that the Tukkabachee town or clan of Creek Indians, were holding their annual festival, ("the green corn dance,") and that they would exhibit the much talked of "brass plates," I determined to examine them, and therefore proceeded to their town, and camped for the night, on the 7th of August, 1850.

Before daylight next morning, I was aroused by the singing, dancing and whooping, of the Indians, and was informed that the dance with the plates had commenced

On reaching the place, I found 200 or 300 men assembled in the Square, with fires burning to give them light. About 80 or 100 of them were formed into a procession, marching with a dancing step, double file, around their "stamping ground," which is about 240 feet in circumference. The procession was led by seven men, each of whom carried one of the plates with much solemnity of manner. After the dance was over, (which lasted about an hour,) I sent in my request for permission to inspect the plates.

The old chief Tukkabachee Mikko, came out and said that I could see them, on condition that *I would not touch them.* They profess to believe, that if any person who has not been consecrated for the purpose, by fasting or other exercises, six or eight days, should touch them, he would certainly die, and sickness or some great calamity would befall the town. For similar reasons, he said it was unlawful for a woman to look at them. The old chief then conducted me into the square, or public ground, where the plates had been laid out for my inspection. There were seven in all, three brass and four copper plates.

The brass plates are circular, very thin, and are, respectively, about twelve, fourteen and eighteen inches in diameter. The middle sized one has two letters (or rather a double letter) near its centre, about one-fourth of an inch in length; thus, Æ, very well executed, as if done by a stamp. This was the only appearance of writing which I could discern on any of them.

The four copper plates (or strips,) are from four to six inches in width, and from one and a half to two feet in length. There is nothing remarkable about them. Like the brass plates, they are very thin, and appear as if they had been cut out of some copper kettle or other vessel.

The Indians cannot give any satisfactory account of any of these plates. They say that they have been handed down from father to son, for many generations past, as relics of great value, on account of the blessing supposed to be attached to the proper attention to them. They hold, that the health and prosperity of the town, depend in a great measure upon the proper observance of the rites connected with them. It is said, that this town is known to have had these plates in their possession for 200 years past.

There has been much conjecture about the writing upon them. Some supposed that it was Hebrew, and hence concluded that they might be descendants of the Jews. I was, therefore, the more anxious to see the plates, and very particular in examining them. But I could discover no appearance of writing, and not a single letter, but the above mentioned Roman letters.

Some have supposed the brass plates to be old shields. The largest one, (which I could not examine very closely,) appeared more like the remains of a shield than any of them.

But upon the whole, I am inclined to adopt the opinion given me by one of their dancers in the procession, that "*they appear to have been covers for pots, or some other vessel, taken a great while ago from the Spaniards perhaps, in Florida.*"[1]

Yours truly,

R. M. LOUGHRIDGE.

8. RUINS OF AN ANCIENT FORTRESS IN OHIO.

Among the interesting discoveries which a prevailing spirit of inquiry respecting the early inhabitants of this continent has given rise to, will be found the following almost incredible narrative, for the details of which we have specially to thank the useful geological surveys ordered by almost every State in the Union. We hope this discovery will incite our State Legislatures and scientific societies, and those individuals who have wealth and leisure, and taste, to prosecute these inquiries. We may now believe in the alleged discovery of the ruins of an ancient city with brick walls, on Rock river, in Illinois,[1] and we trust the apparent counterpart to that and more wonderful collections of Egyptian ruins, colossal statues, hieroglyphics, obelisks, &c., at Palenque, in Mexico, will in some way or other be fully investigated and described.

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[1] It will be observed, by turning to page 283, that Major Swan, on his official visit to the Creek County, in 1791, alluding to these plates, observes, that they had been discovered by this tribe in the clay soil.

H. R. S.

While on the geological examination of Adams county, I observed from the heights of several mountains, there called "knobs," a conspicuous and insulated elevation several miles to the northwest, which, for the purpose of some topographical sketches, I determined to visit. I found it to be near Sinking Springs, on the road from Maysville to Chillicothe, and within the limits of Highland county. It is called, in the vicinity, "Fort Hill," from an ancient work which occupies the top of it. After groping my way, without a guide, one mile through a by-road, and another mile on foot through a forest, I reached the top, which is a level table of thirty-five to forty acres. Here I was surprised to find an ancient work, in many respects surpassing all others which I had seen in Ohio. The mountain is five hundred feet above the bed of Bush Creek, which washes its base, and eight hundred to one thousand feet above the low waters of the Ohio, and mostly of solid stone, interrupted only by thin layers of clay and marl. Yet it is covered with soil and with forest trees. The rocks proceeding upward are, in perpendicular height, ascertained by the barometer, one hundred and fifty feet of cliff limestone, two hundred and fifty feet of slate, and one hundred and fifty feet of freestone, covered by about twenty feet of clayey soil, being a natural stratum of slate and clay traversing the freestone formation, the upper part of which is here wanting. This terrace of soil produces a luxuriant forest of sugar trees, elm, poplar, oak, chestnut, &c., some of which are twenty-one feet in circumference. The whole is enclosed with a ditch and wall, which is one mile and five-eighths long and flanked by four regular bastions. The ditch is sixty-four feet wide, and, by descending at first abruptly, gives the appearance of a second or interior wall. From this it slopes gradually to the immediate foot of the wall, where it deepens suddenly again. The base of the wall is forty to sixty feet; and its outward slope is made to coincide with the precipitous slope of the hill, which, all around, is about one hundred and fifty feet, almost inaccessibly steep, and below that still a steeper hill to the base. Thus by nature and art the outward defence is a wall of stone one hundred feet in perpendicular height, down which the defenders might roll the broken fragments of freestone, abundant in the entrenchment,—each man, with his hands alone, being thus an efficient piece of artillery. The height of the wall from the bottom of the entrenchment is generally from four to seven feet, but in some places it is twenty feet. The substance of it has been determined by the nature of the materials excavated, and consists of stone mixed with earth. In many places the ditch has been excavated *by quarrying through the solid freestone.* In one place only I saw the stone laid in regular range-work, like masonry; and this might have been the natural strata of the freestone left in the wall by entrenching within.

I happened to have along with me my miniature instruments for surveying, of which my "microscopic compass," made by Troughton & Simms, is the principal; with these I commenced immediately a survey by "meandering." This was a difficult task, for the large trees, and an abundance of pawpaw bushes, did not permit us to range on an average more than one hundred and fifty feet at a time. I had no assistance except a lad, my son, who accompanied me. Yet, excited by the subject, I made not even a halt, until, after a whole day of fatigue in the heat, without food or water, we had, by forty-nine lines of course and distance, come round "to a sugar tree, the place of beginning."

I had not the least idea of the form of the work until I drew the plot, which "closed" within twenty feet. It consists of four unequal sides, curved inwards, and meeting in four acute "salient angles," at which there are peculiar open bastions, the wall curved outward a little, like lines of a parenthesis, and finally running parallel to each side of a road which enters at the *very angle.*[2] This road comes up along a ridge less precipitous than other parts of the hill. The north bastion is peculiar, and constitutes the citadel. The gorge to it is long and narrow. The bastion is large, and, having four concave sides, has three little bastions, thus constituting a complete fort within itself. The wall girts the hill at all points below the level of the table within; but at the citadel the ditch commences with a perpendicular precipice of freestone twenty to thirty feet high, leaving the interior like the top of a castle, girt with a moat and well at its base. At distances nearly equal, there are in the whole line of wall twenty-eight openings or gates. These were originally, in all probability, closed by woodwork, and the wall itself surmounted with palisades.

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[1] A mistake.—H. R. S.

[2] The outline of the fort is that of a naked leg and foot with a slender ankle and sharp knee, being cut off at the lower part of the calf by a line curving downwards. The two corners of the shin and calf, the heel and toe, form the four bastions, and the middle joint of the toe the citadel.

In the midst of the enclosed table is a pond, which, although it had recently been drained of three feet of its usual contents, still, on the 25th August, contained water. A chesnut tree, six feet in diameter, standing on the top of the wall, serves to mark its antiquity. Counting and measuring the annual layers of wood where an axeman had cut into the trunk, I found them at nearly two hundred to the foot, which would give to this tree the age of 600 years. How much longer the wall had been standing, I saw no means of determining. A poplar tree, seven feet in diameter, standing in the ditch, allowing the thickness to the layers which I have found in like poplars, one hundred and seventy to the foot, would give nearly the same result, 607 years.

This work differs from all others which I have seen, except that at the mouth of the Great Miami, which I had lately surveyed. A figure of this last work accompanies Gen. Harrison's address on the Aborigines, lately published in this city. These two works are as perfect a counterpart of each other as the ground and circumstances would permit, with the difference that Fort Hill is superior in magnitude, strength, and romantic site, to that on the Miami.

Probably no place in Ohio, and few places in the world, are better calculated by nature for a "stronghold" than Fort Hill; and no plans of "ancient works" yet discovered show more skill in the design or labor in the execution. Yet the traveller who, from the above sketch, shall be induced to pay the hill a visit, will likely be disappointed, for the dense forest will permit him to see only a few rods at a time, and not allow him to be impressed at once with its general grandeur. It is probably on this account that even the surviving pioneer companions of Gen. Massie, the patriarch of this part of the country, knew nothing of this curiosity.

A more particular account of this and other curiosities in the same neighborhood may be expected in the next geological report.

Very respectfully yours,

JOHN LOCKE.

CINCINNATI, Sept. 10, 1838.

9. NO ANTIQUITIES IN OREGON. G. GIBBS, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR:—Your letters only reached me a short time since on my return from the mountains, together with a mass of others, including notice of my appointment; and I have been so much engaged since reaching here, that I could not acknowledge them in time for the last steamer. I saw Mr. Moore in San Francisco, and begged him, if he saw you, to mention the subject of my journal.[1] I need not say that I feel very much gratified at your considering it worthy of a place in so valuable a work. I have spent this last summer and fall in the same portion of the country, Humboldt Bay and the Klamath, and have added very largely to my notes, as well as materially corrected and enlarged some of the most interesting vocabularies. These I am about to write out at once, and if you are not too far advanced with the publication, I will send them to you that you may incorporate them; otherwise, they may serve as an Appendix. I have had constant intercourse with these Indians, the two lower Klamath tribes, and am much interested in them, though the rascals did their best to shoot me on one occasion, and I had to aid in burning some of their best towns.

I am very much indebted to you for the interest you have yourself taken about it, and only trust that you have used the pruning knife wherever you thought it advisable. I shall be very glad indeed to receive the volumes you speak of. Please send them to my cousins, Gibbs & Co., California street, San Francisco, by Adams & Co.'s Express; or if there is no office in Washington, through my brother, Wolcott Gibbs, 261 Greene street, New York. I should be particularly glad to get half a dozen proof sheets as they are struck off, of the journal, and as many extra copies of the map as can be spared. If I had a copy of the latter, I could now colour in correctly the boundaries of most of the different tribes. By the way, if you have time, I should be very glad to have you drop me a brief of your opinion as to the relation of these languages, the one to the other; as also to inform me what principles have been decided upon in reference to naming tribes of Indians, where they themselves have no tribal names, but each ranch goes by its own. It has occurred to me to take their word for man, or for Indian, if they have a separate one; but you, who have considered this, undoubtedly have adopted some rule.

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[1] Vol. III. p. 99.—H. R. S.

As to Lavall's mounds,[1] I have inserted a notice in the Oregonian, calling attention to them, and will take all pains to give you a correct statement, as well as regards those of "Mound prairie" in the head of the Chickeles, near Puget Sound. I regret that the season will not allow me to visit them at once. I have some memoranda about matters in Oregon, that will be of use to you already, and the moment I get leisure, will transcribe and send them on. It is my intention to prepare a small work on this country, bringing it down to the organization of the territorial government; correcting Greenhow, Irving and others, where they have fallen into errors.

I am on the track of a very valuable ethnographical work, a *grammar* and full dictionary of the Chinook, prepared by a Jesuit priest, of which I shall try and get a copy, even if I can't get the original. I thank you for your letter to Mr. Beale. He was not in San Francisco when I passed through, but I have left the affair in the hands of a mutual friend.

Very truly yours always,
GEORGE GIBBS.

P. S.—On looking again at your letter, I infer that the map may have already appeared in the Senate journals. If so, pray try and get me some copies and send them out by mail. I forgot to mention, that Peter Skeine Ogden, Esq., late chief factor of Hudson's Bay Company, at Vancouver, is now in New York. He explored the sources of the Des Chutes some years ago, and can tell, if any one can, about the mounds. I intend, this summer, to bring down the history of Oregon, from the discovery by Gray, to the passage of the organic law.

To H. R. SCHOOLCRAFT, ESQ.

ASTORIA, O. T., April 1st, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have, as yet, been unable to learn any thing of Lavall's reported mounds on the Des Chutes, but as Gov. Ogden has now returned, I will write to him this week about them. The paper on the Chinook language, I am afraid I cannot furnish, as my knowledge of the science of grammar is deficient. I have, however, a vocabulary (that of 180 words) prepared with care, and much more correct than Hale's, which I will send you. I expect in the course of a month to make a visit to Shoalwater Bay, officially, and trust to get there the dialects of the northern coast of American Oregon, which Hale missed. The review of my journal has been delayed by pressing business, but I shall now put it through as soon as my quarterly accounts are forwarded, and make a finish. I have been exceedingly anxious to get a copy of the map, in order to lay down the limits of the Klamath tribes with distinctness. I have also requested a man, named Russell, who lives on Shoalwater Bay, to send you some of his notes. You must not trust him too far, but he may still prove of use in furnishing vocabularies.

I understand that Lieut. Beale is in Washington. I sent my papers to him at San Francisco, but he had left before they got there. If you have a chance, will you do me the favour to mention the subject to him.

Always very truly yours,
GEORGE GIBBS.

To H. R. SCHOOLCRAFT, ESQ.

ASTORIA, May 8th, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR:—When at Vancouver, a few days since, I saw Governor Ogden, who had just received your letter, and we had a conversation respecting its subject-matter. At his request, I write you the substance of it. Ogden is inclined to discredit Lavall's story, having never heard any reference to it among the Indians of the Willamette valley, who, had they been white men at the period referred to, would probably have retained the tradition. There is, however, no impossibility of a party having crossed the coast-range, on to the head of the Willamette, and thence over the Cascade Mountains to the Des Chutes. I have myself crossed from the valley to the sea, about 80 or 100 miles from here. Oddly enough, too, I saw a piece of a vessel long ago wrecked in the little bay on which we encamped; but I don't think it was your Frenchman's, But, at all events, Ogden concurs with others in denying absolutely the existence of any artificial earthworks on the Des Chutes. He has traversed the river through its whole length, as well as that entire section of country, and has never seen any mound attributable to Indians. He says, moreover, that he does not believe any to exist west of the Rocky Mountains — of course, however, not referring to Southern California. As regards the Des Chutes, you will see, by Frémont's journey, that he ascended it, and passed thence to the Klamath lake, and he evidently nowhere observed them. Dr. McLaughlin, also, the former chief factor at Fort Vancouver, a man of great intelligence and information, knows of none south of the Kee-e-teh-ra country, on the Colorado.

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[1] In a manuscript journal of adventures by V. Lavalle, a native of Philadelphia, put into my hands in Philadelphia, by James Duane, Esq., he describes a journey performed in 1809, with three men, from the Pacific, across the Rocky Mountains, till they reached the sources of Red River of Louisiana. On crossing the Willamette valley and Des Chutte river, he describes, near the latter, extensive ruins of earthworks. No testimony to the existence of such works, can be found in modern Oregon.—H. R. S.

As to myself, I have inquired extensively, but cannot hear of the existence of anything properly to be called an earthwork. Belcher, in his "Voyage round the World," Vol. I., p. 124, speaking of the Sacramento valley and the floods to which it is exposed in the rainy season, says, indeed, "they produce one immense sea, leaving only the few scattered eminences which art or nature has produced, as so many islets or spots of refuge. Upon these spots, the tribes who inhabit these low lands are frequently compelled to seek shelter, principally however on those artificially constructed, as all were which we examined. They consist merely of a rounded pile, raised about fifteen feet, at the apex, above the surrounding level — the space from which the earth is removed forming a ditch to carry off the superfluous water." I have never visited the valley, but do not doubt the truth of the statement; but these hardly would come under the class of works for which you inquire: still less would the small piles of dirt and gravel which the squaws of the Callapooyas, in the Willamette valley, throw up with their hands, when secluded from the village, at the menstrual period. Of these there are many around some of their old ranches. The "mound prairie," situated on the head waters of the Chihalis, between here and Puget's Sound, you have doubtless seen the account of, in Wilkes. These, singular as they are, and unaccountable, at least to my mind, by the ordinary action of water, are evidently not the work of hands. They bear no marks of such construction, and the extent of country they cover — some fifteen miles — forbids the idea. I noticed, in the hilly country on the Columbia river, between the mouth of the Des Chutes and the Dalles, a great number of similar small elevations, freckled, as it were, over the hills, and at a distance resembling corn hills. They covered an extensive tract, and I could only attribute them to the destruction of the forest, at a very remote period; the trees having probably been killed by the fires which overrun the mountains, and gradually crumbled away, leaving an elevation at the base. I had, however, no time to dig into them.

I think that you may safely assume, as a general fact, the non-existence of artificial earthworks of a character similar to those of the Mississippi basin, to the west of the Rocky Mountains, unless it be towards the Mexican frontier. The mounds of the Shasta valley, and the two or three in the neighbouring basin of Scott's valley, were, as I wrote you some time since, evidently natural, though some are sufficiently regular in form to excite curiosity — some being conical, others ovate.

By the way, I notice you spell Willámette, Williamétte. The name is, properly, "Wa-láhmt," but the spelling and pronunciation of Will-ām-ette has been *quasi* officially adopted.

I propose to remain at Astoria a couple of months, to write up my old journals, &c., before taking a fresh start; unless, which is possible, the gold fever should have a fresh accession, in which case the pen must give way to the pick.

I am looking with anxiety for your work, which I told my brother to send out to me here by express, as also some copies of the map, if he could get them. Could you not obtain and send me the Documents accompanying the President's Message, for the last three years? I want to get the Indian Reports, and the different journeys of officers, &c; also, Bartlett's Report. You ask for a paper on the Chinook language: I am no grammarian, and should make but a poor fist of it; but I have got several vocabularies, including one of the Chinook, differing from Hale's, which you shall have, "tenas teli," by and bye.

Very truly, yours always,
GEORGE GIBBS.

FORT VANCOUVER, November 25th, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have just reached this place, on my return from Captain McClellan's branch of Governor Stevens's survey, embracing the district included between the Cascade range and the Columbia river, or rather the Spokan, and, on my return, find your letter of August 3d.

I have succeeded, at last, in discovering indications of earthworks, which are perhaps attributable to a previous race, in the valley of the Yakama, a branch of the Columbia, rising in the Cascade range. The Indians assure me that the work in question is that of the "Elip Tilicum" ("first people," or perhaps "*before* people"), the Pre-Adamites of the Oregon tribes, of whom I shall give a more particular account in my Report. This consists of two concentric circular embankments, formed by throwing up the earth from ditches, and enclosing the cellars of houses, as in the figure on the other side. It is not, however, more than fifty yards in diameter, and the enclosed space occupied by circular holes, about twenty feet across and some three deep. It *may* be ancient, as the soil and climate would favour its preservation. The Indians, also, attribute some hieroglyphics upon rocks, noticed at various points on the Columbia, to the Elip Tilicum. Of these I have some drawings, and there appears to be a repetition of some remarkable figures in them. Mr. McKinlay, and other old Oregonians of the Hudson's Bay Company, however, all agree with Mr. Ogden, in declaring that they know of no others, anywhere, of an ancient date; and even these may turn out to be forgotten works of the present or some contemporaneous tribe.

I could not satisfy myself, on my late visit, whether there were any traditions, among the Yakamas, of an emigration. All these points, however, I shall pursue, if Governor Stevens continues me in my present employment.

I intend, this winter, to re-examine fully the "mound prairies," so called, near Puget's Sound, of which Wilkes speaks, and in which I have little confidence, as regards their artificial, or rather, perhaps, human, origin.

It is recently stated, that there are very peculiar works on Vancouver's Island, and I hope to get orders to go there, and examine them, in connection with this subject.

I have been employed, during the summer, as Ethnologist to the Survey of this Territory, and have collected much material. If I am continued for another year, I hope to give you a Report which will embrace full *grammars* of all the languages, as well as vocabularies of the languages; but of this I am uncertain — much will depend on a new appropriation by Congress for the Survey of the Northern Railroad Route.

I write in great haste, as I am ordered to Puget's Sound, and merely to tell you that I am at work. I have not yet received your book, but shall write to tell my brother how to send it.

If you can spare them, send me two or three copies, by mail, of your quarto pamphlet, containing directions and points of inquiry. Also, send one to General M. J. Vallejo, Sonoma, California.

Yours always, truly,
GEORGE GIBBS.

10. ANTIQUE COPPER IMPLEMENTS DISCOVERED IN THE VALLEY OF THE GREAT MIAMI.

On a farm, owned by the undersigned, in the south part of section No. 9, St. Clair township, Butler county, Ohio, are three artificial mounds, fifteen rods apart, being thirty rods between the north and south mounds, which are about fifteen feet high.

The hill upon which these mounds are located, overlooks the Four Mile and Seven Mile valleys, and the Eaton and Hamilton railroad, for the distance of several miles, and also commands a beautiful view of the Great Miami valley, for ten or twelve miles. I know of no place where a more extensive and beautiful view of the surrounding country can be obtained. The Four Mile valley opens to the west; the Seven Mile valley, with its railroad, extends to the north and northwest, and the Great Miami valley to the northeast and southwest. This hill, which is a rich limestone soil, is perhaps four hundred feet above the valley of the Miami, and is protected on the west by a deep ravine, and north and east by the Seven Mile river, which flows at the foot of the hill.

Three years ago, the land, which was covered with a large growth of sugar trees, ash, hickory, and white oak, was cleared. Large trees were standing upon these mounds, which appeared, from their size, to be more than two hundred years old.

Four days ago, while Mr. R. Long was ploughing on the slope of the mound, he turned up four copper axes, or pieces of copper, which are from six to nine inches long, and three to four inches wide at the widest part, and tapering to two or three inches at the small end. These implements might, perhaps with more propriety, be called spades, being apparently better fitted for digging than for chopping.

Two young men, who were assisting Mr. Long in planting corn, found, at the same place, some other axes or pieces of copper, some of which appeared to have been left in an unfinished state. One of the young men also found, near the same spot, a large nugget of apparently native copper, which weighs eight pounds. Five of the axes weigh fourteen pounds. The six pieces of this copper, which I now have in my possession, weigh twenty-two pounds.

J. M. Millikin, Esq., has in his possession two of the axes or spades; Mr. Long kept two, and one of the young men retained two others. The twelve pieces, which would weigh about thirty-five pounds, were found at the same place, near the foot of the north mound, and were probably all together until they were scattered by the plough.

Further examination will be made, to ascertain whether these mounds contain any other relics of the past generations by which they were constructed.

During the construction of the Cincinnati, Hamilton, and Dayton Railroad, I dug out of a mound north of Middletown, on the land of D. Barkalow, through which the road passes, a species of chaned cloth, made of vegetable materials, with a quantity of charcoal and human bones; specimens of the cloth, some of which were fine and others coarse, were sent to several eminent antiquarians in the United States.

Specimens of the copper axes or spades, and the nugget of native copper, will be placed in the cabinet of James McBride, Esq., of Hamilton, where they may be seen by persons wishing to examine them.

JOHN WOODS.

HAMILTON, *Ohio*, May 14th, 1855.

11. ABORIGINAL ANTIQUITIES AND HISTORY OF WESTERN NEW YORK.

ELMIRA, Chemung County, N. Y., Sept. 10, 1853.

SIR:—Yours of the 31st ult. was received by me yesterday morning. I accompanied Capt. E—— to "Fort Hill," three miles west from this village, and enabled him to examine and take drawings of the ancient embankment upon its summit. The hill is on the south side of the Chemung river; the side next the river being almost perpendicular, and composed of slate-rock. On the opposite side it is equally precipitous, a narrow ravine being located between it and another hill, the sides of which are equally steep. A small stream passes between the two mountains through this ravine, emptying into the Chemung, where the point of Fort Hill is formed at the junction.

The ascent (from the junction of the streams) of Fort Hill is very difficult; for some one or two hundred feet it is barely wide enough for one person to ascend, aided by the scattered shrubbery. As you ascend, the path widens, so that two persons might ascend abreast, though with some difficulty, for the next two hundred feet. At the top it widens to about ten or twelve feet, and from thence gradually increases in width a distance of seventy to eighty rods, where the embankment is found. The embankment is about 270 feet in length, and, as it now appears, from six to nine feet wide at the top, and from three to four feet high above the surrounding earth. The timber is much larger west of the embankment than between it and the point of the hill, showing evidently that the space between had once been cleared. On the inner or easterly side of the embankment, a row of holes two feet apart are very distinct, running the whole length of the embankment. In these, most probably, palisades had been placed. In the centre there is a vacancy of about twelve feet, at either end of which are holes much larger than the others, as if a gateway had been located there. When I first saw this embankment in 1810 or 1811, it was much higher than it now is, probably five to six feet. Col. John Hendy, who settled here in 1788, whose farm was located on the north bank of the Chemung, directly opposite Fort Hill, informed me that when he first saw the embankment, almost seventy years ago, it was "higher than his head." He was a very tall man, measuring over six feet. He informed me that he had inquired of the oldest Indians about here, but they could give him no account of its origin, or the object of its erection. It commands the river, and one person located at the top of the ascent could keep down any number who might attempt to ascend, simply by rolling down the stones which are scattered about in great profusion. Capt. Eastman thinks it of older date than the era of the French. We saw evidences of the location of a large tree which had stood in the centre and near the southerly termination of the mound, which Col. Hendy informed me had been cut down some sixty years since. He told me it was a large white oak, exhibiting some two or three hundred concentric circles; and he supposed it to have grown up in the embankment after its erection. We also saw other stumps two feet or more in diameter, which are still remaining. The object of this work can now be matter of conjecture only. There is room enough within its bounds for several hundred persons to rally. It is approachable only from the west. To guard against such approach it would seem to have been erected, as it is protected on three sides. The difficulty of procuring a supply of water from the river or brook below, might indicate that it was designed as a temporary refuge: though, as there are a succession of high grounds above it on the west, water may have been found within the enclosure.

I had not time during the limited stay of Capt. Eastman, to take him to the site of "Fort Sullivan," at the confluence of the Newtown creek and Chemung river, at the eastern extremity of the village of Elmira. It was a pallisaded enclosure of several acres, thrown up in 1779 by Gen. Sullivan, for the protection of the boats and provisions which were left here during his march from hence to the Genesee river, near Rochester, where I believe his progress terminated. On his return, he remained here several days, to rest and refresh his troops before their return passage down the Chemung and Susquehanna to Wilkesbarre, as well as to await the return of the troops who had been sent to ravage the Indian settlements on either side of the Cayuga lake.

I should also have been pleased to have walked over the battle-ground, six miles below here, with Capt. E. Here, on the 30th August, 1779, Sullivan fought the Indians and Tories, under the command of Brant and the Butlers, and defeated them. It was the only engagement of consequence during the expedition. There are similar embankments on "Spanish Hill," some sixteen miles south of Elmira, on the Chemung river, very much alike. Both command the river, and both are very difficult of ascent.

At this date, there are but very few of the early settlers remaining, from whom Indian traditions may be gathered. They have mostly gone to the land of spirits, as well as the remains of the Indian tribes who were scattered about, when the whites took possession of their hunting-grounds, about 1786 to 1790. My father came to this country in 1788, from Virginia. At that time, there were many of the Indians along the Chemung and Susquehanna. The country between the Chemung and the Seneca lake, though perhaps strictly belonging to the Senecas, was occupied as common hunting-grounds by the Six Nations. The present site of Elmira was a favorite spot for the holding of councils. I was born near here in 1792, and was old enough before the Indians left here (about 1801) to learn something of their manners and customs, and to be adopted in an Indian family of the Tuscarora tribe;—but I am now, in this section at least, "the last of the Tuscaroras."

There stood in this village, until a short time since, an immense black oak tree, called the Council tree, where the Indian councils were wont to be held. My father was here in 1791, as a kind of amanuensis for Col. Pickering, when he held a treaty with the Six Nations. This tree was the spot where the Indians met to deliberate upon the propositions of Pickering. It was held to investigate certain complaints which the Indians had made in reference to the purchase of the Seneca lands by Phelps and Gorham. Details of these proceedings and the examination of some of the witnesses are in my possession.

A previous meeting or conference had been held at Tioga Point, or Athens, twenty miles below Elmira, on the Susquehanna, in November, 1790, by Colonel Pickering, on the part of the United States, commencing on the 16th, and continuing until the 23d November, 1790. It was convened in consequence of the murder of two of the Senecas by a party of whites in the neighbourhood of Pine Creek, in Pennsylvania, at which the Indians were much exasperated; and Col. Pickering was directed by Gen. Knox, then Secretary of War, to hold this council, to reconcile the feling which existed among the Indians. The tribes there represented were the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Chippewas, and Stockbridge Indians. Hendrick Appaumut, a captain of the latter tribe in the revolutionary army, was present, as were also Red Jacket (the keeper-awake, Sa-go-ye-wat-ha), Farmer's Brother, Little Billy, Hendrick, and Fish Carrier, an able and distinguished warrior of the Cayugas. The Indians came to this council much excited, and were greatly exasperated by the artful speech delivered on the occasion by Red Jacket; but Pickering succeeded in settling the difficulty.

This having been disposed of in an amicable manner, Red Jacket brought up the controversy between the Six Nations and Phelps & Gorham, in reference to the sale of their lands at Fort Stanwix, in October, 1784, alleging that they had been cheated in the contract. In December of the same year, a deputation of the Indians attended at Philadelphia, to remonstrate against the treaty at Fort Stanwix, still insisting that it was a fraud, and invoking the aid of Gen. Washington (called by them Honondaganius) in the matter. From a statement signed by Gen. Knox, in my hands, dated 26th December, 1791, I take the following paragraph:—

"The Cornplanter, a war captain of the Senecas, and other Indians of the same tribe, being in Philadelphia in 1790, measures were taken to induce their interference with the northwestern tribes to prevent further hostilities, and an agreement was made that Cornplanter should accompany Col. Thomas Proctor on a mission to the Miami villages for that purpose." Further measures were taken in April, 1791, to draw the Six Nations to a conference at a distance from the seat of war, and Col. Pickering was appointed to hold the conference. It was appointed to be held at Painted Post on the 17th June, 1791, but from the papers returned by him to the Department of War, it seems to have been held at *Newtown Point* (now Elmira), though always spoken of as the "treaty of Painted Post." There are yet living at this place many persons, who were present at the treaty. On this occasion, Col. Pickering went into an investigation of the alleged fraud in the treaty of Fort Stanwix.

I have a statement entitled "Queries proposed by Captain Hendrick *Aupamunt*, chief of the Moheconnock (or Stockbridge) tribe of Indians, and the answers to those queries by Timothy Pickering, a commissioner in behalf of the United States, for holding a treaty with the Six Nations of Indians, at *Newtown*, in the State of New York, June 27, 1791." These queries relate to the assurances which Hendrick was authorised to make to the Western Indians, to induce them to cease hostilities against the United States.

Among the papers reported by Col. Pickering on that occasion, is a copy of the release to Phelps & Gorham, and a certificate signed by Pickering, dated at "Newtown Point, in the State of New York, July 7, 1791," stating that he had shown the release to Fish-Carrier, and other Indian chiefs then present, who stated the terms of the release to be the same as the one then presented; and another certificate signed by Pickering, and dated "Newtown, in the State of New York, July 16, 1791," stating that the day before, the principal chiefs and sachems of the Seneca nation, "now attending the treaty held by me with the six nations *at this place*," assured him that they were satisfied with the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and that Red Jacket and Cornplanter understood it as they did, and that the statements made by them at Tioga Point, in November, 1790, were without foundation. In another certificate of Col. Pickering, dated at Philadelphia, January 18, 1792, he refers to the treaty held by me with the *five nations* at *Newtown*, relative to the Cornplanter's complaints respecting Phelps & Gorham's purchase of the Seneca lands.

There is also the examination of Matthias Hollenback, respecting the same treaty, taken before Brinton Paine, one of the judges of Tioga county, N. Y., at *Newtown*, on the 14th July, 1791, and the examination of Elisha Lee, in presence of Col. Pickering, before the same judge, on the 4th July, 1791. Also, the deposition of Thomas Rees, of Northumberland, Pa., who states that he accompanied the Seneca nation of Indians from the treaty held at *Newtown* Point to the Genesee river. Also, the examination of Eleazer Lindley, on the same question, taken at *Newtown Point*, July 5, 1791, before Jonathan Gazlay, J. P.; appended to all which is Pickering's statement of the proceedings and allegations made by Red Jacket, on the 27th November, 1790. There are abundant proofs that the treaty was held here, although Gen. Washington, in transmitting the proceedings to Congress, calls it "*the Treaty of Painted Post.*"

It is a difficult matter now to ascertain what tribes of Indians occupied the territory on the Chemung and Susquehannah, though no doubt principally by the Six Nations. In a communication written by Joseph Brant, (*Thayendanagea*,) which I have somewhere seen, he says that this territory was conquered by the Six Nations from the Eries, whom they exterminated, and a tribe residing at Tioga Point, whose name is not given.

In my researches on this subject, I have found in the writings of Mr. Jefferson, a list of American Indians and their residence, and a census taken about 1779, by Dodge and others, who thus locate the Six Nations.

Mohawks	100	On the Mohawk river.
Oneidas	200	E. side of Oneida Lake, and head branches of Susquehanna.
Tuscaroras	200	Between Oneidas and Onondagas.
Onondagas	230	Near Onondaga Lake.
Cayugas	220	Cayuga Lake, and N. branches of Susquehanna.
Senecas	650	Waters of Susquehanna, Ontario, and heads of Ohio.
Oquagos	150	E. branch of Susquehanna and Oquago rivers.
Nanticokes	100	Chenango (*Ui-so-nen-go*), Choconut Owego.
Mohiccans	100	Same parts.
Conoies	30	
Saponies	30	At Diahoga (Tioga,) and other villages on the N. branch of the Susquehanna.
Munsies	100	

Delawares; or, ... } .... Same parts as Sapoonies and Munsies.
Lenalinepies .... } .... Sus-que-*sa*-han-nah: this was pronounced by some of the Indians who were there 50 years ago.

I made minute inquiries on this subject from Red Jacket, whom I saw at Bath, in 1828, accompanied by Parish, Jones and Clute, interpreters, from whom I learned that immediately preceding the settlement of this valley by the whites, it was occupied by Sapoonies, Delawares and Munsies, with straggling parties of Senecas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras; it being, as they stated, common hunting ground. Within my own recollection, the greater part of the Tuscaroras occupied the valleys of the Tuscarora, Cohocton and Cawanesque, which are streams falling into the Chemung, at or near Painted Post. Red Jacket, with other Indians and their interpreters, were attending a Circuit Court at Bath, in 1828, held by Judge Nelson, for trial of Sundown, an Indian, charged with the crimeof murder. I attended the trial, and had much intercourse with them and the interpreters, desirous of obtaining information in regard to Indian names, their interpretations and Indian traditions in reference to the localities of the neighbourhood.

In conversation with Red Jacket on the occasion referred to, he informed me that when a boy, he was present at a great council fire held in the valley of Shenandoah, in Virginia. Many of the Indian nations were there represented by their most distinguished orators and wise men, but that the greatest among them all, was Logan, who had removed from the territory of his tribe to Shamokin, on the Susquehanna. He was the son of Shikillimus, a distinguished Cayuga chief, and was well known as a friend of the pale faces before the Revolution.

On this occasion, he remarked that he was so charmed with the manner and style of Logan's elocution, that he resolved, if possible, to attain the same high standard of eloquence, hazardous as seemed the attempt to equal his distinguished model. He stated, that after his return to Canadesaga, near Geneva, he frequently incurred the reproofs of his mother, for his long-continued absence from her cabin, without any ostensible cause. When hard pressed for an answer, he would reply, that he "had been playing Logan." He informed me that he was in the habit of repairing to the woods where he could find a waterfall, where he exercised his voice, amid the roaring waters, to acquire the necessary command and tone to address large assemblies. One of his favourite resorts for this purpose, was at the head of a waterfall near the village of Havana, in Chemung County, the Indian name of the stream being *She-qua-gah*, variously interpreted as meaning "roaring waters," "rolling waters," and "tumbling waters."

Thus, unconsciously, was this celebrated forest orator, an imitator of the eloquent Greek who tuned his voice on the sea beach amid the roaring of the surge, while he caught his inspiration from the altar of nature. From this revelation of the eloquent chief, it is evident that his power of swaying the multitude, was acquired by long and laborious preparation in the depths of the forest. How near he approached Logan, his celebrated model, in attitude, gesture and intonation, can be explained only by older heads than mine. That he was a profound, though unlettered student, is abundantly testified by those who have heard him.

I subjoin a list of the names of streams falling into the Chemung and Susquehanna, and of places situated on their banks, as obtained from him and the interpreters who were with him.

Canisteo, "board in the water," a branch of the Chemung.

Cawanesque, "at the Long Island," a branch of the Chemung.

Cohocton (*Co-hoch-ta.*) *Trees in the water*, a branch of the Chemung.

This, I was informed, is the conclusion of a much longer name ending with *Co-hoch-ta*, meaning "a stream rising in a black alder swamp, with trees hanging over it. This is characteristic of the stream whose banks are low, and the branches of the trees on the banks overhang the stream, so as to render it difficult of passage in freshets.

Chemung, "big horn." A large horn or tusk was found in the stream, from whence arises the name. A similar one was found in the river, imbedded in sand, by some of the early settlers, about 1794. It was sent to England for examination by a distinguished naturalist, who pronounced it the tusk of an elephant or some similar animal.

One of much the same character was found on an island in the river below Elmira, a few weeks since, and is now here. I have recently examined it. It is about four feet in length, of the crescent form, perhaps three to four inches in diameter. Capt. Eastman saw it yesterday, and with others who have seen it, pronounces it to be ivory, and a tusk of some large animal, probably now extinct. This is the third horn or tusk which has been found in the Chemung, so that the name is likely to be perpetuated.

The original Indian name of Elmira, was Ska-ne-do-na, meaning, it is said, *at the great plain*; sufficiently characteristic of the spot. In the journal of Capt. Gansevoort, who belonged to Clinton's brigade in Sullivan's expedition, he states that they found here an Indian village which they destroyed, the name of which he writes Kanaweholée. From the pronunciation of Red Jacket, I should write it Ka-na-we-o-la, which he said means "a head on a pole;" and stated that about the commencement of the revolutionary war, an Indian council was held here, at which one of their chiefs was tried for some offence; that he was condemned, beheaded, and his head affixed upon a pole, which he described as standing on a knoll, a little west of "the council tree," being the spot where the court-house stands in the village of Elmira. I do not know what is designed particularly for incorporation into the work upon which you are engaged, which I have not seen, but have a great desire to possess. I have a somewhat extensive collection of reminiscences connected with Sullivan's expedition, and the early settlement of the country; but it is probable that they may not be applicable to the design of your publication. I need not assure you that they are at your service, as well as any information in my power to contribute. I have also many collections and notes of Indian manners and customs, and have delivered some lectures on the subject. These, of course, can be of no service to one so much better versed in Indian lore; acquired, too, from a personal intercourse with the aborigines, and from a knowledge of their language; advantages which have not fallen to my lot. I recollect, with great satisfaction, our early acquaintance at Geneva, more than forty years since.

I have made many enquiries in reference to the *Painted Post*. It was erected near the spot where the Cohocton or *Ka-ha-ta*, falls into the Chemung, and I have always understood that it marked the spot where a distinguished Indian chief was buried. It probably was nothing more than a grave post. I saw in the garret of a log house which stood on the bank of the river, then occupied by Capt. Samuel Irwin about fifty years ago, a post which was said to have been taken up as the original post, its place having been supplied by another. This, if I recollect aright, was in size about a foot square, its sides smooth, and had been painted a reddish brown. The names of visitors were cut upon it with a knife. There were several hundred of these names, and I had taken a list of them, but it cannot now be found. The place has ever since been called "Painted Post," and is now the site of a thriving village. It was well known as having been long used for holding councils among the Indians. It seems they were in the habit of assembling at the confluence of streams. Elmira, on the Chemung, and Ty-o-ga (now Athens, Pa.,) at the confluence of the Chemung and Susquehannah, were places where the Indian councils were frequently assembled.

I shall endeavour to send you the information I possess or may gather, in reference to Catharine Montour. She was confounded with Queen Esther, whose residence was near Ty-o-ga. The residence of Catharine, was near the head of the Seneca. We have recently obtained the narrative of a Mrs. Whittaker, which was taken from her lips by Judge Avery, of Owego. She gives many interesting details of Queen Esther, Catharine Montour, and Joseph Brant; all of whom she had seen, when a prisoner among the Indians, some sixty or seventy years ago. I suppose Judge Avery may have sent this narrative, but if not, I will send you such extracts from it as may be interesting.

I remain, your old friend,
TH. MAXWELL.

ELMIRA, Oct. 18th, 1853.

DEAR SIR:—I had supposed that you might have been in communication with Judge Avery of Owego, who has in his possession the manuscript narrative of Mrs. Jane Whittaker (which has never been published), having reference to Joseph Brant, Queen Esther, and Queen Catharine (or Catharine Montour), with all of whom she became acquainted while a captive among the Indians, during the war of the Revolution. The Judge, some time since, delivered a lecture, in this village, on the subject of the early settlement of the Chemung and Susquehanna valleys and the Indian traditions connected therewith, and has published a series of essays on the Susquehanna valley, in a periodical published at Owego, called "The St. Nicholas." From all these, I gather the following facts:—

Mrs. Whittaker died a little more than a year ago, at the house of her son, in Toulon, Illinois, surrounded by friends who knew and appreciated her worth. Her father, Sebastian Strope, emigrated from Catskill, in 1773, with his wife and children, and settled at Wysox (then called Wysockton, and sometimes written Wesau-kee), in Bedford county, Pennsylvania. Her grand-parents, and three sisters of her mother, making three other families in the neighbourhood, together with the whole of her father's family, were made captives by the Indians, in the month of May, 1778. The capture was in the morning, while the family were at breakfast. During the preceding evening, a friendly Indian sought the shelter of her father's house, and remained there all night. He communicated to her father the unpleasant announcement that he had fallen under the displeasure and suspicion of the Indians, on account of his frequent visits to the forts of Wyoming, and that soon his own settlement was to be molested. He also stated, that formidable preparations were making for a descent upon Wyoming. The father left, in the morning, to procure aid from Wyoming, to escort his family to the fort, which was promised; but on his return to Wysox, he found his house in ashes, and every member of the family in the hands of the Indians.

The captives were taken at once to Tioga Point, and there given up to a British officer at the head of the rangers and Indians. They remained at that place during the whole of the preparation for the attack upon Wyoming; and were there, also, when the combined forces of the English under John Butler, and the Indians under Gi-en-gwah-toh, embarked in canoes and batteaux for that ill-fated place.

In the latter part of July, all the prisoners, including the narrator, together with the Indians and other forces, went up the Susquehanna to Owego, thence to Bainbridge and Unadika, in the vicinity of which places they remained several weeks. From thence they were sent in canoes to Tioga Point, where they continued until a short time after the appearance of Colonel Hartley and Major Zebulon Butler, in the fall, at the head of a respectable force, which had been placed there to prevent a second attack upon Wyoming and to protect the frontier. They achieved a victory over the Indians, near Tioga Point, in a sharp engagement, which, with the news of the contemplated invasion under Sullivan, induced the Indians to send all the captives up the Chemung, under escort, on their way to Fort Niagara. Here they saw Queen Esther, whom they had known before their captivity. She then resided near Tioga Point, at a place called She-she-quin (and now known as Queen Esther's Flats), and was exceedingly kind to the captives. Mrs. Whittaker, in her narrative, states many facts of interest, connected with the manners, appearance, and residence of Queen Esther, who was a notable personage in the valley of the Susquehanna. It is generally supposed that she had been taken captive, at an early age, from the French settlements in Canada, upon some one of those hostile incursions, made by the Iroquois into that country, in retaliation for the hostilities of De la Barre, Count Frontenac, and other French governors. From the description given of her, she was probably of French and Indian extraction.

Mrs. Whittaker narrates that, prior to her captivity, she had often seen Queen Esther at her father's house, where she was always a welcome visitor, and hospitably received; that she talked English poorly, yet making herself understood on ordinary subjects. She boasted, however, that there was another language, with which she was quite as familiar as with the Indian. Although not so stated by the narrator, this was probably the French. Mrs. Whittaker describes her as tall, but rather slight in form: cheek bones, not high; complexion, not as dark as that of the Indian; hair black, but soft and fine, unlike the heavy black hair of the squaw; her form erect and commanding, and her appearance and manners agreeable. A sister lived with her, whose name was Mary, who was tall, and resembled the Queen in personal appearance, except that she was much heavier. Both of them had often been at the house of Mr. Scrope, and were on friendly terms with his family. They were reputed to be of French and Indian parentage.

Queen Esther's influence with the natives was unbounded. When she appeared among them, she was treated with the greatest deference. Her costume was rich and showy, with a profusion of glittering ornaments, and comported well with her claims to deference and queenly dignity. She wore a necklace of pure white beads (probably wampum beads), from which was suspended a cross of stone or silver. If there was no other badge of her probable French extraction, the cross alone would afford a fair presumption that some portion of her early life had been passed in one of the Canadas (then French colonies), and that her early religious impressions had been formed under Jesuit auspices. Some traditionary accounts represent the material of the cross to have been silver, while Mrs. Whittaker thinks it had been neatly and smoothly carved out of a whitish stone, and had acquired a polished surface by long-continued use. Upon one occasion, it is recorded that Queen Esther visited Philadelphia, in company with a delegation of Iroquois chiefs, and that she was treated with marked attention by many respectable families in that city. (Some accounts, however, have it, that it was Catharine Montour who accompanied the delegation — the two females have evidently been confounded by various writers, as well as the early settler.) She was hospitably entertained, and seemed to reciprocate the kindly feelings which were elicited in her favour.

After her capture, Mrs. Whittaker received many marks of kindness from the Forest Queen. During the preparation for the attack upon Wyoming, the family of Mr. Strope were detained at Tioga Point, as has been stated. At this time, they were visited in a friendly way by their old friend, Queen Esther, who showed them great kindness. Mrs. Whittaker crossed the river, and rambled over the premises of the Queen. The plain, upon which the so called "Castle" stood, was on the west side of the Susquehanna, near the mouth of the Chemung, not far from, and in full view of, the Point, at the confluence of these two rivers. The main building was a long, low edifice, irregular in shape, built of hewn logs and planks, but neatly done, with a porch at the doorway of some architectural pretension, and surrounded by quite a number of other buildings.

Mr. Miner, in his History of Wyoming, cites a paragraph from a Journal of one of General Sullivan's officers:—"August 10th, 1779. After advancing about a mile, through a rich bottom, covered with strong and stately timber, which shut out the sun, and shed a cool and agreeable twilight, we unexpectedly were introduced into a plain as large as that of the She-shu-ko-nah (Sheshequin), called "Queen Esther's Plantation." It was in the plains, near the bank of the Susquehanna, that Esther, queen of the Seneca tribe, dwelt, in retirement and sullen majesty. The ruins of her palace are still to be seen. In what we suppose to be the chapel, was found an idol, which might well be worshipped, without violating the third (second) commandment, on account of its likeness to anything either in heaven or earth. About sunrise, the General gave orders for the town to be illuminated, and accordingly we had a glorious bonfire of upwards of thirty buildings at once."

This woman was not the same person whom Mr. Stone, in his life of Thayendanegea, calls Catharine Montour; although, by having confounded the two, he leads us to infer that he believed them identical. Mrs. Whittaker states that on one occasion, when Queen Esther visited the settlement at Wysox, she was accompanied by a half-breed woman called Catharine, who, it was believed, was her sister. It is more than probable that she was the Catharine Montour whose name and partial history is given by Col. Stone. Her residence at that time was reputed to be about a day's journey westerly from the mouth of the Chemung. Mrs. W. states further that when the captives were on their way to Niagara, they remained, before crossing to the Conhocton (Ka-ha-ta), for a week or two at Catharine's. That while there, she saw again the same woman. She was probably the true Catharine Montour, found at that place by Gen. Sullivan the following year (1779), at the time of his invasion of the Indian country, and from whom the town of Catharine (or Catharinestown, as it was anciently called), near the head of the Seneca lake, has received its name. Among other events which occurred while Mrs. W. was detained at that place, a great dance, with imposing ceremonies, was held by the natives. It was doubtless the harvest-dance or festival. The season of the year when the captives reached that point, corresponds with the time when that festival annually occurred. Among other particulars connected with the Wyoming expedition, Mrs. W. states that before embarking in their war-canoes for that ill-fated place, the Indians streaked their faces with a "yellowish-red" paint, varied with black. When fully ready, they stood up in their canoes and sung their war songs. She recollects distinctly to have heard of the ceremony of sacrificing the white dog, and thinks it was performed both before and after the Wyoming battle. She witnessed the singular and cruel custom of prisoners running the gauntlet at Tioga Point and Oquago. Female prisoners were never subjected to the ordeal, and the male relatives of Mrs. W. belonging to the captive party, escaped the infliction through the interposition of Queen Esther. The captive party were restored to their friends in the fall of 1780.

Mrs. W. says: "I saw Brant at Fort Niagara often. I became well acquainted with his children and family. I saw him for the first time at the Fort. I do not recollect seeing him at Tioga Point, when the expedition was fitting out for Wyoming, nor when it returned. I think I should have recognised him if I had ever seen him before. I knew the English officers by sight; heard their names, and also saw the Indian in command at Tioga, but it was not the man whom they called Brant at Niagara. I was young; but things that happened during our captivity, I remember with great distinctness."

The early histories and current belief of the day identify Brant with the massacre at Wyoming. The poet Campbell, in his Gertrude of Wyoming, taking as the basis of his information those early accounts, and that being at the time the generally-received belief in England, spoke of him as the "monster Brant."

It appears that John Brant, one of the sons of the chief, was in England in 1822, and presented documents to the poet, to convince him that he had wronged his father's memory. A note is appended to the next edition of the poem, making a full explanation and correction. The evidence of Mrs. W. on the subject goes far to confirm the allegations of the Brant family, that the chief was not at Wyoming battle. In speaking of Jos. Brant, Mrs. W. says: "The expression of his face was severe and frightful. He was quite spare, and above the medium height of Indians. His dress was very fine. He wore a broadcloth blanket over his shoulders in the usual Indian style. It was of the finest make, with a deep, rich red border. When he showed himself about the Fort, he was always in full and careful costume, glittering with brooches, &c."

These extracts are made from the essays of Judge Avery. In one of them he adds a note: "It is due to historical truth that a fact which has come to the knowledge of the writer since the foregoing was written, should be stated in this connection. A Seneca Indian, of thorough education, and, it may be added, a gentleman of the utmost integrity, whose name the writer does not feel at liberty to give, states that an aged chieftain, now on the Cattaraugus Reservation, known to the whites as Governor Blacksnake, and to his own people as Ta-wan-ne-ars, participated in the tragic affair of Wyoming. This chief is now 106 years of age, or thereabouts, and is still unbent with infirmity. He is very tall, being about six and an half feet in height. He is much respected where he is known, both by his own people and the whites; and every lineament of his face, of which there is a very life-like and correct painting in this village (Owego), is expressive of patriarchal goodness, benevolence, and truth. (It was taken by Mr. Phillips, a talented American artist, now in Edinburgh, and was presented to W. H. C. Hosmer, Esq., of Avon, by whose courtesy the writer now has it in his possession.)

At several times, when he has allowed himself to talk with his people upon the subject of the massacre at Wyoming, which is not very often, he has said, and has always maintained a consistency in his statement, that Brant was there; and he states incidents in his narrative which seem to make good his assertion; but the facts bearing upon both sides are so conflicting, that a satisfactory solution seems nearly out of the question. A single fact, as narrated by the Governor, will be given. He says that after the battle, several soldiers of the colonists fell under his charge and into his custody as prisoners; that among them was a man who appeared to be one of the principal citizens of Wyoming; that while having them in his charge, Brant came toward them, and after a brief interview with the leading man of the prisoners, he directed them to be taken to a point in the valley, a little removed from the scene of carnage; that the prisoners were taken there as ordered, and, by Brant's direction, were freed. His unbounded influence among the Indians was sufficient to have produced this result, but the cause of his sudden sympathy was unknown to the Governor. Brant, it is known, was a Mason; and, even in the hour of battle, was never deaf to the entreaties of a brother, as many instances on record would prove, that would solve the mystery of the escape."

I have but a single copy of these essays, which I am preparing for binding, or I would send you the whole of them; but I have extracted such as bear upon the questions you ask in respect to Catharine Montour and Joseph Brant. They contain much information connected with the early history of the Susquehanna and Chemung Valleys, which is interesting.

My own inquiries on this subject (and I have taken much pains in reference to it), running back more than forty years, lead me to the conclusion that Brant *was not at* Wyoming. The incidents referred to, I am well satisfied, occurred at and after the *Minisink battle*, or massacre, in which Brant was the leading spirit. It was on *that* occasion that several Masonic captives were spared by Brant, one of whom was a personal acquaintance of mine, and resided here for many years.

I am equally satisfied that Catharine Montour, instead of Queen Esther, was the female who visited Philadelphia with the delegation of chiefs. I have just seen Mrs. Tuttle, a member of the family of the late Col. Hollenback, of Wyoming, who was long a trader among the Indians, was himself in the battle of Wyoming, and escaped by swimming the Susquehanna, under a galling fire of the enemy. Mrs. Tuttle was born at Wyoming, in 1774, and lived there for many years after, and she says she never heard of Brant being in command of the Indians at the battle. She also recollects hearing much of Queen Esther, who was represented as exceedingly cruel and blood-thirsty, and was held in universal horror and detestation by the whites. Mrs. Hollenback, the mother of Mrs. Tuttle, informed me many years since, of the attendance of Catharine Montour at Philadelphia with a delegation of Indian chiefs, and that she excited much attention there. I have inquired of many of the soldiers who accompanied Sullivan's expedition in 1779, as to these matters; several of them have told me that Queen Esther was killed while the army lay at Tioga Point, by a party of Sullivan's troops, in revenge for her atrocities at Wyoming and elsewhere; while Catharine Montour was found at her residence near Seneca lake, and treated with kindness by Gen. Sullivan; and I think Sullivan mentions the fact in his official despatches. Besides, all the old settlers with whom I have conversed, speak of Queen Esther as no longer alive when they settled here, in 1788 to 1790; while Catharine Montour lived many years after. The delegation must have been held at Philadelphia, while Congress was in session there, which was after 1788.

The patrimony of Catharine is a beautiful flat near the village of Havana, on the inlet of the Seneca lake, about three miles south of its head. On the premises, near the Chemung canal, is a natural mound, on which is the burial-place of the McClure family, who for many years were the owners of the land upon which her residence stood. On this mound the general belief is that the remains of the Queen repose; though George Mills, an aged man, upwards of eighty, who has resided in the neighborhood some sixty years, thinks she was buried on the west side of the Seneca. The general belief, however, is otherwise; and as this beautiful mound is the fitting place for her burial, the current opinion should stand. At Havana, Charles Cook, Esq., has erected a splendid public house, which, in honor of her memory, is called the "Montour House." The citizens of Catharine contemplate the erection of a suitable monument on the mound, commemorative of her; and as it is a public-spirited neighborhood, I hope it will be done.

I do not know that these details will interest you, or can be made serviceable; but it has been a pleasure to me to furnish them, and you must take them for what they are worth.

Respectfully yours,

TH. MAXWELL.

H. R. Schoolcraft, Esq.

TRIBAL HISTORY.

12. THE INDIANS OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

There are two distinct tribes of Indians in New Brunswick, who inhabit portions of the Province widely apart, and speak entirely different languages. Each tribe shall be noticed separately.

The Milicite Tribe.

These Indians frequent the river St. John and its tributary waters, and they speak a dialect of the Huron language.

Champlain's voyage, Paris, 1613; reprinted by Quebec Historical Society.

The earliest notice of these Indians, is found in Champlain's narrative of his voyage to America, in 1604. Champlain entered the river St. John, on St. John's Day, (24th June) 1604; and thence the river assumed its name. He found the country in sole possession of the Indians, who called themselves "*Les Etchemons.*" They received their strange visitors with hospitality, and on their first landing, with great rejoicing. Champlain and his party understood that they were the first Christians who had been seen by the savages. "When we were seated," says Champlain, "they began to smoke, as is their custom, before making any discourse. The savages made us presents of game and venison. All that day, and the night following, they continued to sing, dance and feast, until day reappeared. They were clothed in beaver skins."

Copy of this grant, dated 15th January, 1635, in possession of the writer.

In 1635, the Company of New France, under their Royal Charter, granted a tract of land between the 45th and 46th degrees of North latitude, of five leagues in length, on the banks of the river St. John, and ten leagues in depth, to Charles St. Etienne, Sieur de la Tour, Lieut. General of L'Acadie, and of fort La Tour, on the river St. John.

Fort La Tour stood at the mouth of the Jemseg.

Gov. Hutchinson's New England and Massachusetts Records.

This fort, afterwards celebrated for its gallant defence by the wife of Claude de la Tour, became the rallying point of the Indians of the St. John. They there learned the use of fire-arms; and first obtained possession of cooking utensils of metal, and the tools and instruments of civilized life. The few French settlers on the St. John, intermarried with the Indians, and conformed to their habits. A close alliance was thus formed; and the Indians were often excited to acts of violence against the English settlers in New England, between whom and the French there was almost perpetual warfare.

Same authority.

In 1654, Major Sedgwick, (under the orders of Oliver Cromwell,) with an expedition from New England, captured fort La Tour, and took possession of the country bordering on the St. John. La Tour then placed himself under the protection of England; and in 1656, Oliver Cromwell granted the whole country now known as New Brunswick, to Claude de la Tour; with Sir Thomas Temple, and Sir William Crowne, who had paid a certain sum of money to associate with him.

Letters patent, under the great seal of England, dated 9th August, 1656.

By the treaty of Breda, Charles II. again made over the whole of this country to France; and an order under the Royal Sign Manual, was sent to Sir Thomas Temple, to deliver up the forts and all the country to the French.

Treaty of Breda, 1667.

Order of Charles II., dated 8th March, 1669.

Fort La Tour was delivered up to the French commission on the 27th of August, 1670; and the country was evacuated by the subjects of England.

A copy of the *process verbal*, drawn up on delivery of the fort, in possession of the writer.

By the treaty of Utrecht, France ceded to England the territory known as L'Acadie; but continued in possession of the country on the St. John, contending that it did not form part of L'Acadie. The French settlers and the Indians were exceedingly troublesome to the English settlements in New England and Nova Scotia. In 1760, after the taking of Quebec, the French settlers were expelled from the banks of the St. John by a body of Raughs, under Captain Rodgers.

Massachusetts Records.

On the 19th of May, 1762, the late James Simonds, Esq., with eighteen or nineteen others, landed in the harbour of St. John, from Newburyport in Massachusetts. This party soon after proceeded up the river St. John, as far as the plain of St. Auns, (now Fredericton,) where they found cleared land, and the ruins of a French settlement. They encamped, and commenced the survey of a township. While thus engaged, there appeared a large party of Indian chiefs, dressed in their war habits, and attended by a numerous body of followers. With great solemnity, the Indians informed the surveying party that they were intruders; that the country belonged to the Indians, and that unless the party desisted from further operations, they would be compelled to do so.

From the statement of the late Jas. Simonds, Esq., taken down by the Hon. Charles Simonds.

Israel Perley, grandfather of the writer, was the crown surveyor on the occasion.

The surveying party promised to comply with the wishes of the Indians; but told them that they had received authority to survey lands on the river St. John, from the Governor of Nova Scotia. The chiefs contended that by the treaty made between them and Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, it was stipulated that no English settlement should be made above Grimross.

Mr. Simonds's statement.

Fort La Tour stood near Grimross.

The surveying party then dropped down the river about twelve miles, and there made the survey of a township; of which possession was taken, in 1763, by a party of settlers from Massachusetts, under the leadership of Israel Perley and Samuel Peabody.

In 1770, the Governor of Nova Scotia sent to Pierre Thoma, chief "of the *Mareachette* Indians on the river St. John, in consideration of the good behaviour of his tribe, a medal of silver, with a picture of the King and Queen; also, a gorget and medals to five others."

Minute of Council in Nova Scotia, Feb. 28th, 1770.

On the 4th of July, 1776, Michael Franklin, superintendent of Indian Affairs in Nova Scotia, entered into a treaty of peace with the Indians of the St. John, "when they delivered up to him an agreement which they had made with the rebels of New England, to furnish them with 1200 fighting men."

Minute of Council in Nova Scotia, 1776.

On this occasion, the Indians were met at the head of the Long Reach, embarked in ninety canoes, by the late James White, Esq., (deputy superintendent under Michael Franklin,) who was very popular with the Indians. They were induced by Mr. White, to abandon their intended attack upon the English settlement at the harbour of St. John. This was the last threat of an Indian war on the St. John; since that time, there has been no difficulty with the Milicite Indians.

Statement of James White, late High Sheriff of St. John.

In 1778, Mr. Franklin informed the council of Nova Scotia, that he had held a meeting with Indian chiefs of the river St. John, and sworn them to fidelity to the British Government.

Minute of Council in Nova Scotia, Nov. 5th, 1778.

Mr. Franklin's account of expenses and table money on this occasion, 537£. 2s. 6d.

In 1779, Mr. Franklin forwarded a grant of land on the river St. John, to himself and six of the chiefs, in trust for the use of the Indians; and in 1781, he held a

Original letter of Mr. Franklin, dated Aug. 14th, 1779, in possession of the writer.

public talk with the Indians of the St. John, at Barton, in Sunbury; at which the Indians complained of the encroachments of the white settlers, and interference with their hunting and trapping.

This original letter, dated Oct. 8th, 1781, is in the possession of the writer.

Mr. Franklin thereupon addressed a letter to the resident magistrates, begging them to do what they could in the premises.

License of occupation, dated Sep. 4th, 1801.

After 1783, the Indians were driven back to the wilderness without much ceremony; and no record appears of anything being done for the *Milicites*, until 1801, when a license was issued to Neville Bernard and his tribe of Milicite Indians, to occupy sixteen thousand acres of land at the Sobique.

A copy of this agreement, certified in 1807, by the Gov't Commissioner, is in possession of the writer.

A tract of land at Meductic Point, occupied by the Indians, having been inadvertently granted by the Crown, the Indians refused to give it up. A meeting took place between the Indians and a Commissioner, on the part of the Government, at Meductic Point, on the 29th of July, 1807; when a written agreement was drawn up and signed, by which the Government became bound to repurchase the land in question, and admitted that it had been upwards of two hundred years in the possession of the Indians. Only two hundred acres were repurchased, the title to which was vested in the justices of York, in trust for the Indians. A squatter, named Watson, has taken possession, and now holds it.

Minute of Council in New Brunswick, May 6th, 1814.

Assembly Journals, 1816.

The sum of £300 having been granted in 1814, in aid of the *Milicite* tribe, it was, at their request, applied by the Governor and Council, to the purchase of 330 acres of land in Kingsclear, about ten miles above Fredericton. On the 29th of February, 1816, the Assembly resolved that this purchase of land was a misapplication of the money; and contrary to the meaning and intention of the grant. Upon this land, the Milicite Indians reside at present. This is their chief station, and the only land they can really call their own.

Surveyor General's schedule of Indian lands, dated April 19th, 1842, in Appendix to Assembly Journals, 1843.

Louis Bernard's statement made to the writer in 1841, on the spot. Numerous relics of the Indians were found there, and everything tended to confirm his statement.

The Indians of the St. John, have long occupied a tract of land at the mouth of the Madawaska river, said to contain 700 acres, which has been always admitted to belong to them. They claim one mile and a half in front on the river St. John, including both banks of the Madawaska river. Louis Bernard is now the sole survivor of the numerous band of Indians who formerly occupied this tract; where, in his infancy, there was a large village of wigwams arranged in regular streets. Of the 500 or 600 Indians who formerly lived here, all have perished, save Louis Bernard, now an aged man.

The Sobique river, and the small tract at Madawaska, Meductic Point, and Kingsclear, with their small rocky islands, near St. John, containing fifteen acres, constitute all the lands now held or claimed by the *Milicites*, in the country which was formerly their own.

The Micmac Tribe.

These Indians occupy the whole northern coast of New Brunswick; they form a part of the Micmac Nation, which is spread over the whole of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton and Newfoundland, Prince Edward's Island, and the District of Gaspé. They are always found near the sea coast; whence the Milicites, who are accustomed to roam the forest, and frequent the small streams and lakes in the interior of the country, call them the "*salt water* Indians." They speak a dialect of the Algonquin language, which has much smoothness and elegance. The Baron de la Honton, very justly describes the Algonquin language, as having "neither accents nor aspirations, being as easy to speak as to write, there being no useless letters in the words."

La Honton's letters, 1692, second edition, at the Hague, 1703.

Hakluyt's voyages.

Sebastian Cabot first visited the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in 1497; and it is supposed, that the three natives whom he took on his return to England, were Micmac Indians.

Voyage of Cartier, published at Paris, 1545, and at Rouen, 1595, reprinted in 1843, by the Quebec Historical Society.

Jacques Cartier, who visited the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and discovered the Bay of Chaleur, in 1534, mentions, that in one part of the bay, he met and traded with 300 savages, who received him with great rejoicings.

All the early voyagers speak of the great numbers of Indians on the northern coast of New Brunswick, and of their fierce and warlike character, which those of the Micmachi and Richibucto retained until a late period. The first settlers on that coast were Basques and Bretons, who were enabled to maintain their position by intermarrying with the Micmacs, living among them, and adopting their habits and customs. When L'Acadie was ceded to England, in 1713, by the treaty of Utrecht, the Micmacs were much astonished at being told they were the subjects of the king of Great Britain, transferred to him by a treaty to which they were not parties.

Cartier, Robewal, and Champlain.

The known hostility of the Indians, long prevented any attempt at forming British settlements on the northern coast of this province; but in 1760, a treaty of peace and friendship was concluded, at Halifax, by Charles Lawrence, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of L'Acadie or Nova Scotia, and Michael Agustin, Chief of the Richibucto Indians, who were reputed to be the most warlike and formidable of the whole nation.

The original treaty, dated 10th March, 1760, now in possession of the Richibucto Indians.

Very soon after this treaty, in 1764, two persons from Scotland settled themselves on the Micamichi, and commenced trading and fishing.

Their establishments were repeatedly robbed by the Micmacs, and the "Viper" sloop-of-war was sent to Micamichi, for the purpose of protection, in 1779. The Indians were severely chastised on this occasion. Their chief (caiffe) fled, and was proclaimed as a rebel. A treaty of peace was then entered into, by Captain Augustus Harvey, of the "Viper," and John Jullien, who was declared chief of the Micamichi Indians.

An original letter of Mr. Franklin, dated 14th August, 1779, which describes the proceedings of the "Viper," is in the possession of the writer.

The original treaty and the original proclamation of Captain Harvey, both dated 28th July, 1779, and in the possession of the writer.

On this occasion, two hostages were sent to Halifax, as security for the good behaviour of the Indians; these were subsequently released, and two persons who had been sent to Quebec, were sent back, by the governor-general of Canada, with a dispatch (in French), accompanied by a large wampum belt, as a token of peace and friendship.

The original dispatch and wampum belt are now in possession of the writer; also, three original letters, dated in 1779, 1780, from Mich. Franklin to John Jullien.

In September, 1779, a formal treaty was entered into, at Windsor, N. S., between delegates from all the Micmac settlements at Shedrac, Richibucto, Micamichi, and Restegauche, and Michael Franklin, the Superintendant of Indian Affairs. By this treaty, the Micmacs bound themselves to ratify and carry out the treaty before entered into with Governor Lawrence, and all other treaties entered into by them, and to treat the subjects of King George in an honest, friendly, and brotherly manner. In consideration of which, the superintendent did promise, on behalf of the government, "that the Indians should remain in the districts mentioned, quiet and free from any molestation of any of his majesty's troops, or other his good subjects, in their hunting and fishing."

Both copies of the original treaty, dated 22d Sept., 1779, duly sealed and witnessed, are now in possession of the writer.

No further disputes or difficulties occurred with the Micmacs, subsequently to this treaty, by which it is clear the government only stipulated with them for a joint occupation of the country.

Minute of Council in Nova Scotia, 1779.

In 1783, license was granted by the Governor of Nova Scotia, to John Jullien and his tribe, to occupy 20,000 acres of land on the North-west Micamichi, at the Little South-west river.

License of occupation, dated 13th August, 1783.

In 1789, license was granted, by the governor of New Brunswick, to John Jullien and his tribe, to occupy 3030 acres of land, on the North-west Micamichi, being the tract now known as the Eel ground.

License of occupation, dated 10th January, 1789.

In 1802, license was granted the Indians inhabiting the Jabusintac district, to occupy 240 acres at Burnt Church Point, 1400 acres on the north side of Burnt Church river, and 9035 acres on the Jabusintac river.

Minute of Council, dated 18th February, 1802.

In 1805, license was granted to John Jullien and his tribe, to occupy the several lots and tracts of land, on the North-west Micamichi, surveyed for them by Dugald Campbell. These tracts consisted of 8700 acres, now known as the Big Hole Tract, and 750 acres, now called the Indian Point Reserve.

License of occupation, dated 5th March, 1805

With reference to these several reserves, it may be stated, that, in 1808, an order was issued, by the surveyor-general of New Brunswick, to William I. Odell, as deputy surveyor, directing him to proceed to Micamichi, and survey the Indian lands there. Mr. Odell obeyed this order, and it would seem that the tract of 20,000 acres, at the Little South-west Micamichi, was then reduced to 10,000 acres.

The original return and report of W. F. Odell, dated 15th Sept., 1808, is now in possession of writer

Mr. Odell, in his return to this order of survey, furnishes the names of all the Indians of Micamichi and Jabusintac, among whom it was desirable to apportion these lands. He closes the return by saying, that he had "pointed out to the Indianss, on the plans, the boundaries of the several tracts allotted them, and *informed them that they must not expect to claim anything more;* with which they expressed themselves satisfied."

The original license is in possession of the Richibucto Indians, with a plan.

At a very early period, license was granted, by the Governor of Nova Scotia, to the Richibucto Indians, to occupy a portion of land, ten miles from Nicholas river, up to Indian brook, four miles east side of Richibucto river, and containing 50,200 acres.

Minute of Council, 9th Sept., 1805.

This quantity was reduced by minute of council, in 1805; and further reduced, 25th February, 1824, to 4600 acres — some valuable portions within the reserve having been granted to applicants.

In 1810, license was granted the Buctouche Indians, to occupy 3500 acres, on Buctouche river. A small portion of this reserve was sold, in 1837, at ten shillings per acre; and another portion, in 1839, at three shillings per acre. The proceeds of both sales were paid into the casual revenue.

Minute of Council, May, 1804.

In 1804, a tract of 2600 acres, on Johemouche river, was ordered to be surveyed for the Indians of that river. The survey was not made until August, 1811.

Minute of Council, 26th April, 1841.

In 1841, a tract of 1000 acres, on the Nepesiguit river, which had been long claimed by the Micmacs, was ordered to be surveyed for them, and of this tract they have now possession.

Surveyor General's Report, 19th April, 1842.

In addition to these several reserves, the Micmacs also claim and occupy 400 acres of land at Eel river, in the county of Restegauche, and about 250 acres at Aboushagan, in Westmoreland; but neither of these tracts is of any value, save for fishing and fowling. No minute of council, or other modern authority, appears, respecting these two tracts: they are held by a title "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary."

It will be observed, that 10,000 acres have been struck off from the original reserve on the Little South-west Micamichi river, and 46,600 acres from the original reserve on the Richibucto river; besides sales of small portions of the remaining reserves, for which no compensation or equivalent has been obtained by the Indians.

Legislative Proceedings as to the Indian Reserves.

Assembly Journals, 1838, page 188.

The first legislative proceedings with reference to the Indian reserves were had in 1838, when the Assembly addressed the Lieutenant Governor, praying that the reserves in the county of Kent might be sold to settlers, and the proceeds appropriated to the benefit of aged and distressed Indians interested in such reserves. To this address Sir John Harvey replied, that he should have much pleasure in adopting the wishes of the House. The urgent remonstrances and strenuous opposition of the Indians prevented this sale taking place; which, as they represented, would have rendered the Richibucto tribe mere outcasts, and without a foot of land in the country of their forefathers.

Assembly Journals, 1839, page 521.

A dispatch from Lord Normanby, with reference to a sale of the Indian lands, was communicated to the Assembly, in 1839, in which his lordship said he would not venture to give any instructions, but commended the Indians to the careful superintendence of the Lieutenant Governor. Their settlement on land, and the introduction among them of the arts and habits of civilized life, Lord Normanby said, should be constantly kept in view, as the only means of permanently improving their condition.

In 1840, the Assembly again addressed the Lieutenant Governor, praying that such parts of the Indian reserves in Northumberland as the commissioners in that county might recommend, should be sold at public auction, and the proceeds applied to the benefit of the Indians in that county, as might be most beneficial for their interest. To this address Sir John Harvey replied, that he would take the subject into his most favourable consideration in Council; but no action took place on this address.

Assembly Journals, 1840, page 144.

Assembly Journals, 1840, page 158.

In 1837, the writer was appointed a Commissioner for Indian Affairs, by Sir John Harvey; and, in 1841, was directed, by Sir William Colebrooke, to visit all the Indian settlements in New Brunswick, and report thereon. Several reports were presented as to the Milicites and Micmacs, and their receipt was acknowledged by Lord Stanley, who approved the measures proposed to be adopted in conformity with these reports.

See Reports in Appendix to Journals of Assembly, 1842.

Lord Stanley's dispatch, 26th August, 1842.

In 1843, a Committee of the Assembly presented a very remarkable report as to the proper course to be adopted with reference to the Indian lands and the improvement of the Indians. In this report the writer concurred, with the exception of that part which recommends the absolute sale of portions of the reserves.

Assembly Journals, 1843, page 206.

Mr. Perley's letter to Mr. Reade, 26th May, 1843.

In order to carry out the measures suggested in this report, a bill was prepared to be introduced, in the session of 1844, but instead of the measures therein proposed, an act of very objectionable character was passed by the Legislature. The late Attorney-General's opinion being very decided upon certain questionable points, submitted for his consideration, the act was recommended for the royal assent, which it subsequently received. The opinions of the late and present Solicitor General are decidedly averse to the opinion of the late Attorney General.

See Act of 1844, as to Indian Reserves.

Lord Stanley's dispatch of 1st August, 1844.

In 1845, commissioners were appointed in and for the several counties of the province in which the reserves are situated.

The reports of these commissioners were submitted to the Legislature in 1846, together with a report, from the writer, of a mission, in 1845, to the Micmacs of Northumberland, and the minutes of conferences held with them, by the writer and the local commissioner.

Mr. Perley's Report of 15th Oct., 1845, with original Minutes of Conference.

A Committee of the Assembly was appointed to take the state of Indian affairs into consideration, but was discharged without making a report.

Assembly Journals, 1846.

In 1847, the same questions were again submitted to a Committee of the Assembly, which recommended that those portions of the reserves in Northumberland occupied by the squatters should be sold during the year; and that in all cases where portions of the Indian reserves, in any part of the province, might be advantageously sold, they should be disposed of, for actual settlement, as soon as practicable.

Assembly Journals, 1847, page 357.

During the year 1847, some portions of the reserves in Northumberland were sold to settlers thereon, and others. Although a very considerable quantity of valuable land was thus alienated from the Indians, yet a very small sum was raised towards an Indian fund.

The defective working of the law of 1844 was again brought under the notice of the Legislature, by the Lieutenant Governor, in opening speech of the session of 1848. The matter being once more referred to a Committee of the Assembly, a report has been made, and an address presented to the Lieutenant Governor, praying that the provisions of the act of 1844 may be carried out, *and that no time should be lost* in the sale and disposal of such parts of the Indian reserves as are fit for settlement, and not required for the use of the Indians.

Assembly Journals, 1848.

It is now quite evident that the Assembly are determined, if possible, to break up the Indian reserves, and dispose of the lands of the Indians to squatters and speculators, without reference to the peculiar circumstances under which those lands were set apart for the Indian population, nor to the manner in which the aborigines of this colony were at first encroached upon, then hemmed in, and finally driven out of their ancient possessions.

From the foregoing historical statement, it will be seen, that the first step was a joint occupation of the country by the Indians and British settlers; the second was assigning to the Indians certain districts of country, within which they were not to be disturbed; the next, confining each tribe to a certain tract or portion of land, called a reserve; and finally, reducing those reserves by degrees, until, in 1842, only one-half remained of what forty years previously appertained to the Indians — and to conclude by selling all that remains, without any present advantage to the Indians, and without any provision for their future welfare!

13. MORAVIAN MISSIONARIES IN DUTCHESS COUNTY, NEW YORK.

The period of prosperity in the Moravian missions in Dutchess county, New York, and the adjacent parts of Connecticut, extends through only about four years: or from August 16th, 1740, when Christian Henry Rauch arrived at Shekomeko, till about the same time in 1744. In 1740, the brethren purchased a tract of land near the Lehigh river (*Lecha* in the volume before me), in Pennsylvania, and from that time forward, Bethlehem and Nazareth, on the borders of that stream, became the centres of their operations within the United States. In June, 1741, the missionary at Shekomeko paid his first visit to the brethren in Pennsylvania. Having strengthened himself in faith and love during his abode with his brethren at Bethlehem, he returned to his mission. Bishop David Nitschman went with him, wishing to see with his own eyes the seed of the gospel spring up, and to observe the work of grace prevailing among the Indians. He found great reason to rejoice at the blessing attending the preaching of the word of God, and upon his return made a very favorable report of what he had seen in Shekomeko. In October, 1741, the brethren Buettner, Pyrlaeus, and William Zander, arrived in Pennsylvania from Europe, to assist in the mission, and Count Zinzendorf came at the end of the year. Soon after his arrival, Brother Gottlob Buettner was sent on a visit to Brother Rauch, in Shekomeko, to invite him to a Synod of the brethren to be held at Oly. This visit proved a true cordial to him: Brother Buettner spent ten days with him, rejoicing with amazement at so glorious a work of God begun amongst these wild heathen.

The Indians hearing that these two brethren intended setting out for Pennsylvania, Shabash, Seim, and Kiop obtained leave to accompany them, to visit the brethren there; but Tschoop being lame, could not undertake so long a journey at that time. They left Shekomeko, January 22d, but being on foot, and in the company of Indians, were refused admittance at some inns, and at others not only laughed at, but their bills were purposely overcharged. However, the Lord helped them through all difficulties, and they arrived at Oly, February 9th, by the way of Philadelphia. Here they found Count Zinzendorf and many laborers and ministers of various denominations assembled together. The appearance of the three Indian visitors, whose hearts were filled with the grace of Jesus Christ and the love of God, made a deep impression upon all present. They likewise declared to the brethren how much they wished for baptism. Having received the Gospel with a believing heart, been faithfully instructed in the doctrine of salvation, and earnestly desiring to obtain mercy and pardon in the blood of Jesus, the Synod first declared them candidates for baptism, and then resolved without delay to administer holy baptism to them in the presence of the whole assembly. February 11th, 1742, being the day appointed for this important transaction, was indeed a day never to be forgotten in the annals of this mission. The presence of God was sensibly felt during the morning prayer. Preparations were made in a barn belonging to Mr. Van Dirk (there being no church in Oly), for the baptism of the above-mentioned Indians, which was to be administered by the missionary, Christian Henry Rauch. The whole assembly being met, the three catechumens were placed in the midst, and with fervent prayer and supplication devoted to the Lord Jesus Christ, as his eternal property; upon which Brother Rauch, with great emotion of heart, baptized these three firstlings of the North American Indians into the death of Jesus, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; called Shabash, Abraham; Seim, Isaac; and Kiop, Jacob. The powerful sensation of the grace of God, which prevailed during this sacred transaction, filled all present with awe and joy, and the effect produced on the baptized Indians astonished every one.

Soon after this, they set out with Brother Rauch, went first to Bethlehem, and having spent some days with the brethren to mutual edification, they proceeded on their journey full of spirit and life, in the company of their beloved teacher. On the 16th of April, in the same year, the first sacramental transaction (baptism) was performed in Shekomeko in the midst of an heathen country. Brother Rauch had then the comfort to administer holy baptism to his dearly beloved Tschoop, whom he called John. This man, who formerly looked more like a wild bear than a human creature, was now transformed into a lamb; and whoever beheld him, was amazed at so evident a proof of the powerful efficacy of the word and sacrament of the Lord. The account of this baptismal transaction, and, above all things, the visible and in every point of view remarkable change effected in the minds and conduct of the four new-baptized converts, raised the astonishment of all the savages far and near. And indeed the difference between the countenances of the believing Indians and those of the savages was such, that it was remarked by all who saw them. The fire of the Gospel began now to spread, and kindle in the hearts of many heathen; nothing could be more enlivening than to see them coming from different places, from twenty-five to thirty miles distant, to Shekomeko, to hear the new preacher, who spoke, according to their expression, of a God who became a man, and had loved the Indians so much, that he gave up his life to rescue them from the devil and the service of sin.

Having a great desire to see the missionary, Christian Henry Rauch, at Shekomeko, Count Zinzendorf left Bethlehem again on the 21st of August, 1742, with his daughter Benigna and Brother Anthony Seyffart. They passed over the Blue Mountains to Minissing and Sopus, where they were joined by another party of brethren coming from New York, and arrived on the 27th in Shekomeko, after passing through dreadful wildernesses, woods, and swamps, in which they suffered much hardship. The missionary received them into his hut with inexpressible joy, and the day following lodged them in a cottage of bark, erected for them. Count Zinzendorf afterwards declared this to have been the most agreeable dwelling he had ever inhabited. The joy he felt at seeing what the Lord had done in this place was very great, and his heart was filled with the most pleasing hopes for futurity. His chief, and indeed most agreeable employment, was to converse with the four baptized Indians. In a letter written at that time, he mentions that his joy over them increased every day.

During the Count's abode at Shekomeko, the following articles were drawn up:

1. As the conversion of whole nations does not at present appear to be at hand, the missionaries ought not to seek for a speedy increase of numbers, but to do their utmost, that the firstlings be well established in faith and love.
2. To this end, great attention and faithful care should be bestowed upon the few who are converted.
3. The Gospel must be preached to all who will hear it; yet none must be baptized but such in whom true life from God, and a living faith in Jesus Christ, is perceptible.
4. Still greater caution is necessary in admitting the converts to the Lord's Supper; and none but such who have proved their faith by their works, and walk worthy of the Gospel, can be admitted to this sacrament.
5. The missionaries should endeavor to give the converts a clear insight into all divine truths contained in the Scripture; but must be careful, that not merely their heads be filled with knowledge, but that their hearts enjoy and experience the power of the word of God.
6. At the earnest request of the baptized, such regulations shall be made at Shekomeko (as far as circumstances permit) as may be necessary in establishing an apostolical congregation of Jesus, according to the wisdom granted unto us by God.
7. For this purpose, rules and statutes shall be agreed upon, and their observance duly attended to in love and meekness.
8. The four firstlings of the Indian nation shall be first taken into consideration, and appointed assistants of the missionaries in the important work of God amongst their nation, not because they were the first who were baptized, but because a peculiar power of grace and spirit evidently rests upon them. John shall be appointed Indian teacher and interpreter; Abraham, elder; Jacob, exhorter, and Isaac, servant. Further, it was
9. Resolved, That six heathen, who were very desirous to receive this seal of the remission of their sins, should be baptized.

Agreeably to these resolutions, a Christian congregation was established in Shekomeko, statutes and regulations were made and agreed upon, and the above-mentioned four firstlings were appointed assistants, and blessed for their office with imposition of hands. The Count frequently declared that they were true servants of God among their nation, to whose conversation he and his company had often attended with astonishment. On the same day, the missionary Rauch administered holy baptism to the six above-mentioned catechumens: three men and three women. This transaction was attended with particular grace and unction.

Thus the first congregation of believing Indians established by the brethren in North America, consisted of ten persons. Their sincerity, faith, and love, afforded inexpressible joy to the brethren; and it was remarkable with what esteem they were treated, even by the wildest savages. September 4th, the Count took publicly an affectionate leave of these worthy people, and, surrounded by a large number of Indians, sung a hymn of thanksgiving in the Dutch language; upon which he with his company set out for Bethlehem, accompanied by some unbaptized Indians as guides. Two of them, having answered several questions put to them in presence of the whole congregation with cheerfulness and great emotion, were baptized by the Count and Gottlob Buettner, and called David and Joshua. This was the first baptism of Indians in Bethlehem.

It is a very pleasing example of the genuine fruits and effects of Christian faith and love, this long journey of the Saxon Count and his daughter, through dreadful wildernesses, woods, and swamps, in which they suffered much hardship, to visit a little handful of believing Indians in the remote parts of Dutchess county. I believe, but am not certain, that the descendants of this daughter, Benigna, are now living in the United States. It is stated in Barber's Connecticut Historical Collections, that Count Zinzendorf came to the town of New Milford, and preached (to the Indians) there. This is pretty certainly a mistake. He left Shekomeko for Bethlehem on the eighth day after his arrival, and appears to have been occupied with forming an acquaintance with the baptized Indians, and organizing the congregation, during the whole time of his stay. He sailed for Europe in the beginning of the year 1743, and never returned. It was not till the 28th January, 1743, that a Moravian missionary (Brother Mack) made his first visit to the Connecticut Indians at Pachgatgoch (Scaticook), in the township of Kent. They *afterwards* went to Wechquatnach, or New Milford.

This communication is in the main a transcript, with slight changes, and of course large omissions, from Latrobe's translation of Loskiel.

14. MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND HISTORY OF THE INDIANS OF SOUTH-WESTERN TEXAS.

Burlington, March 14th, 1855.

Sir:—Yours of the 10th inst. has been received, and enclosed you will find a portion of my notes, which, being readily transcribed, I send for your inspection.

I have not mentioned, heretofore, that I obtained *many curiosities*, such as weapons, ornaments, pottery, &c., drawings of which might be interesting among your illustrations.

If I had your work to compare with my notes, it might save me some trouble in transcribing, as you may have obtained much that I have.

When you write, acknowledging the receipt of the enclosed, let me know respecting *anecdotes* and *stories*.

I have, in writing my notes out, illustrated traits of character, &c., among the tribes, by appropriate stories or anecdotes; and, also, their customs, by some of their legends and oral traditions.

Hoping to hear from you soon—I am

With much respect,
Your obed't servant,
WM. B. PARKER.

H. R. Schoolcraft, Esq.

Traditions, &c.

The Caddos, Ionies, and Ah-nau-dah-kas, have a tradition, that they issued from the hot springs of Arkansas, and from that went to Red river, near Natchitoches, and finally came to the Brazos.

They (with the Waccs and To-wac-o-nies) live in houses built of a framework of poles, in a conical shape, thatched with long prairie grass, with low doors; the fires built in the centre of the lodge; the lodge circular, about twenty-five feet in diameter, and twenty high.

They live in great harmony together, on the Brazos, below Fort Belknap; speak the Caddo language, as a general means of communication; intermarry; and raise corn, beans, melons, squashes, &c., and keep up their stock of horses and mules by stealing from the whites.

The Witchitas live in the Choctaw territory, on Kush creek; are the greatest horse thieves known, and have given more trouble to the settlers in Texas than any other tribe.

These tribes are all of pure Indian blood, and though their women are notoriously unchaste, they do not mingle with white men.

The Toukaways have a tradition, that their progenitor come into the world by the agency of a wolf, and commemorate the event by the wolf dance, which is conducted with great secrecy, and which white men are only allowed to witness after great solicitation, and then by stealth.

When the spectator is admitted to the interior of the dance lodge — a long, low building, appropriated specially to this ceremony — he sees a number of performers, all dressed in wolf skins, so as perfectly to represent the animal.

They go around on all-fours; howl, and make other demonstrations peculiar to the wolf.

After a time, one stops, smells the earth at a particular spot, howls, and commences scratching. The others gather round, and a general scratching takes place; and pretty soon, a genuine live Toukaway — who has been interred for the purpose — is unearthed. As soon as he is dragged out, a general council is held, and the Toukaway addresses them thus — "You have brought me into the world, and I know not what to do for a subsistence: it would have been better to let me remain as I was. I shall starve in this world." After mature deliberation, the *wolves* put a bow and arrows into his hands, and tell him, he must do as the wolves do — rob, kill, and murder, from place to place, and never cultivate the soil.

The tradition of the Delawares, respecting their origin, is, that they sprung from a great eagle, who always hovers over them, and, when pleased, descends, and drops a feather; when displeased, he rises into the clouds and speaks in thunder. The feather is supposed to make the wearer invisible and invulnerable.

The Comanches suppose that their forefathers came from a country towards the setting sun; but have no custom commemorative of any peculiarity in their origin; nor any tradition, except that, originally, all men were white, but the Great Spirit became angry, destroyed the whites, and substituted Comanches; for which reason they deem themselves the greatest nation in existence.

I tried to convince a Comanche of our numerical superiority, by representing the whites as the spears of grass on the prairie, and the Comanches, in comparison, as the few musquit trees scattered on the surface; but all I got for my pains was an intimation that *he thought me a fool*, and the Great Spirit would not do so much injustice to his friends, the Comanches.

Polygamy is allowed among all these tribes — every man taking as many wives as he can support.

Wives are obtained by purchase, and the price among the Delawares, as told me by one of them, is "one horse, one fine blanket, and goods so high," holding his hand about a foot from the ground, of course, intended as meaning enough to satisfy the parent.

Some youths get their mothers to make the bargain for them; and, as there is no alternative for the girls, but to submit, much misery is entailed at times upon the families — feelings of dislike having carried individuals so far as to cause them to commit suicide.

When a Comanche wants a wife, he takes such goods as he thinks will be acceptable, and lays them down before the head of the family (which, according to their laws, is either the father, or, in case of his decease, the son who has most distinguished himself in war or hunting, even though he be a younger son), and then seats himself at some distance, to await the result. After smoking a pipe, the goods are examined, and, if acceptable, the girl is led out, and handed over. As she has no voice in the matter, repugnance often occasions "liasons" with former lovers. Should elopements take place in such cases, the husband and his friends follow until the fugitives are overtaken, when formerly the man was put to death; but now they compromise by purchase — the husband takes horses or mules, till he is satisfied; the girl remains the property of her choice, and all return to the village satisfied.

The old men get possession of all the young girls they can, and make profit out of them in this way, viz.:— A young man will pay a *bonus* to be admitted to a family and allowed to marry one of the female members; after which, part of all he obtains in war or hunting becomes the property of the old head of the family. Slaves are also often liberated on the same terms.

Young girls are not averse to marry very old men, particularly if they are chiefs, as they are always sure of something to eat — the chiefs always having the first choice of what is in camp.

Ke-tun-e-see, a chief of the Southern Comanches, had four wives — two *elderly*, and the others aged *sixteen* and *eighteen* — the chief about *sixty*.

The men are grossly licentious, treating female captives in a most cruel and barbarous manner; but they enforce rigid chastity upon their women — every dereliction being punished by cutting off the tip of the nose, as an indelible mark of shame.

Our surgeon discovered that *venereal disease* was common among them, and distributed medicine enough to treat *six hundred* patients, at the request of the chiefs.

The men are of middle stature, light copper-coloured complexion, and intelligent countenance; but the women are short, stoop-shouldered, crooked-legged, ugly, and squalid in the extreme, with careworn and prematurely old countenances, occasioned by the brutal treatment they receive; as they are looked upon as slaves and beasts of burden, and every degrading service that can be inflicted upon them falls to their lot; yet, strange to say, they seemed contented.

They are not prolific — a woman seldom having more than three children, which, if male, are nurtured with great care; whilst the females are abused, and often beaten unmercifully.

The greatest compliment a Comanche can pay his guest is, to assign him one of his wives, for his use during his stay in camp — a custom, to my taste, more honoured in the breach than the observance; as, I am sure, the most *animal appetite* would revolt at such a banquet.

The wild Indians never travel twice upon the same trail; and, upon leaving a camp, separate into small parties, each one taking a different route, and arriving at some appointed place.

Always travelling on an empty stomach, they ride fast and far; then halting, they eat enormously, and afterwards sleep immediately, when they are again ready for the road.

In trading, they are careful to have a good price fixed for a herd of horses and mules, when all the rest are expected to be taken at the same price; they also prefer variety rather than quantity, even though the goods are not so valuable.

They are all fond of ardent spirits — an acquired taste, as I am informed by an intelligent Delaware, as he says he can recollect when they would not drink it, saying that it made fools of them, and they did not like it.

The young man is not admitted into the ranks of the braves until he has stolen a number of horses and mules, and taken scalps; the consequence is, that small parties will go off, and sometimes be gone two years, until they can return with these marks of their manliness. They require no equipment, on these expeditions, but their horses and weapons — subsisting upon what they can find on their route.

When a Comanche chief wishes to go to war, he mounts on horseback, holding erect a long pole, with a red flag, tipped with eagle's feathers attached, and rides through the camp, singing his war song.

Those who wish to go fall in, in rear; and, after going around for awhile, they dismount, and the war dance commences. This routine is gone through with several days, until sufficient volunteers are collected.

Each warrior provides his own horse and equipments; and they manage to mount themselves upon white or cream-coloured horses, if possible, which they paint all over, in the most fantastic figures imaginable; and every morning their war exercises are gone through with.

The whole thing is voluntary; but one who behaves cowardly is disgraced; nor do they return until the wish to do so is unanimous.

Should the expedition prove unsuccessful, they separate into small parties, and, on their way back to their tribe, rob and kill whenever an opportunity occurs, as it is considered disgraceful to return empty handed; they also shave their horses' tails and manes, and put on mourning for a long time.

If it is successful, they send a herald ahead, to announce their arrival, when great preparations are made to receive them — the old women set up a shout of exultation; when they appear, the scalp dance commences, and is performed with all the ceremonies.

Religion, Funeral Ceremonies, &c.

These people have no more idea of Christianity than they have of the Hebrew language; and as in forming the vocabularies obtained, I could find no word signifying *virgin*, — nor could I make them understand it — my conclusion is, that it will be a difficult task for the missionary to make them understand the *atonement.*

The Comanches acknowledge a supreme ruler and director, whom they call the *Great Spirit;* but in their devotions, appeal directly to the sun and earth, saying, that one is the great cause of life, and the other the receptacle and producer of all that sustains life; accordingly, when they eat or drink, they sacrifice a good portion to the Great Spirit; saying, that otherwise he would be angry, and bring upon them ill fortune.

They say they cannot worship God, he is too far off; but they can worship the sun, who is between them and the Supreme Being. They believe all go up to a place above, where they are happy, that they are permitted to visit the earth at night, but must return at day light.

When a warrior dies, he is buried (upon the top of the highest hill near camp,) in a sitting posture, with his face to the east, his war horse is killed, and his weapons burnt up, the rest of his horses and mules having their manes and tails shaved; and the women have to cut their hair close, as a symbol of mourning.

A grave which I examined, was merely a shallow trench, long enough to contain the body, wrapped in the scanty garb worn at time of death, and a few brooches, beads, &c., were deposited with it; the whole covered with a large heap of stones.

For a long time after the decease, the friends and relatives assemble morning and evening, to howl and cry, and cut themselves with knives. This ceremony takes place outside of camp, and sometimes lasts a month.

They bury immediately after death, not permitting the body to remain above ground any longer than necessary to prepare the grave.

When a young warrior dies, they mourn a long time; but when an old person dies, they mourn but little, saying, that they cannot live forever, and it was time they should die.

The Osages and other Northern tribes, have the same custom of howling at the death of a friend, with this addition, that presents are distributed to the mourners; many, therefore, come to howl, in expectation of getting a present.

One of the Delawares told me, he knew one old woman, who at one death kept up such a howling and so long, that a friend of the deceased asked her what she wanted and what she howled for, she immediately said, for a horse, which was given to her, and she became silent.

He told me that the custom of cutting with knives, was done, in many instances, to promote tears by the pain.

The Caddoes howl when in want and distress, saying, that the *Great Spirit* will hear them, and assist them if they cry to him. An untutored and primitive idea of prayer.

The Creek green-corn dance and feast, said to be a religious ceremony, is very curious.

When the corn is edible, the different villages assemble, and after some preliminaries, begin to drink large quantities of a decoction, of a species of *Lobelia*, called among them the *Devil's shoe strings*, which brings on violent vomiting and purging, until the whole stomach and bowels are cleansed, when they proceed to gorge themselves with green-corn—the quantity consumed being enormous. They then sleep, and afterwards commence the green-corn dance, which is kept up until all are worn out with fatigue. A singular custom, and one scarcely to be imagined, even among savages.

WM. B. PARKER.

15. BLACKFEET INDIANS.

ST. LOUIS, January 26th, 1854.

SIR:—On looking over your valuable "History, Condition and Prospects, of the Indian tribes of the United States," I find no history or account of the Blackfeet. As this is a very important tribe, and one with whom it will soon become necessary for us to become better acquainted, I thought a brief traditionary history, embracing their manners, customs and peculiarities, might be interesting. During the seven years I spent amongst them, I frequently amused myself by collecting such historical information as the old *savans* of the tribe had learned from their forefathers; together with their own recollections of more modern times.

From all I could learn, the Blackfeet originally inhabited that region of country watered by the Sascatchawain and its tributaries, never extending their hunting or war parties farther south than the head waters of the Marias river, or farther east than the head waters of the Milk river, a tributary of the Missouri; falling in about one hundred and fifty miles above the Yellow Stone river.

The cause of their separation and dispersion over a wider range of country grew out of a civil war regarding the claims of two ambitious chiefs, each claiming sovereign powers. Like the houses of York and Lancaster, the two chiefs had different coloured banners or flags; the one red, the other black.[1] The red flag was called the bloody flag, on account of the sanguinary character of the contending chief. The black was one of mourning for the death of the legitimate chief, who had recently been killed in a great battle with the Assiniboins.

The warriors being divided, enrolled themselves under the two banners; the younger and more warlike, under the red; the old men contending for the hereditary claims of the black chief. After many skirmishes and assassinations, a pitched battle ensued, which resulted in the disastrous defeat of the black chief. In the figurative language of the old historian, "they fought three nights and three days. The sun and moon was made *red* by the smoke of the hot blood which flowed through the ravines; and the rocks along the banks of Belly river remain red to this day." In proof of this historical fact, they refer to ranges of a reddish sandstone, found along the banks of the Belly river, a tributary of the Sascatchawain.

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[1] The house of York had the *white* rose.—H. R. S.

After the defeat of the black party, they fled towards the south, still marching under their black banner, and clothed in deep mourning. They appear to have reached the Missouri during the fall, when the prairies were burning; and the black ashes of the burnt grass had coloured their moccasins and leggins. In this condition, they were first seen by the Crow Indians, who called them Blackfeet. The Crows made known the arrival of this strange tribe, to the Gros Ventres and Maudans, with whom they were on friendly terms; and from thence the name became known throughout the country.

Subsequently, another civil war broke out amongst the Missouri Blackfeet, which resulted in another division of the tribes. A chief, called the Peigan, or pheasant, contended for the chieftainship, and, after being defeated, fled across the Missouri, and took refuge among the mountains situated south of the three forks. The original tribe is now divided into three bands, viz., Blood Indians, Blackfeet and Peigans. The Blood Indians still remain in the north, though a portion of them make an annual visit to their relatives on the Missouri, when their friendly relations are such as to justify it. The Peigans formed a treaty of alliance and friendship with the Flatheads, which, with few interruptions, has been kept in good faith up to the present time.

The section of country that may now be considered as claimed and occupied by the *three* bands, generally known as the Blackfeet Nation, extends from the waters of the Hudson Bay, south to the head waters of the Missouri river, and to the northern sources of the Yellow Stone river. For a more definite description of their country, I refer you to a map accompanying the Fort Laramie Treaty. This partition of country, as there laid down, was agreed upon by the various tribes assembled on that occasion.

Like all prairie tribes, the Blackfeet are wandering hordes, having no fixed habitations. They are generally found following the ever-varying migrations of the buffalo, except when driven out of their trail by a superior force of their enemies. Their only occupations, beyond the social circle, are war and hunting. War, however, absorbs all other considerations, and this will be the case, so long as their present laws and regulations exist. As soon as a youth is capable of using the bow and arrow, he enlists under the *wolf skin* banner of some favourite war chief, and joins in the first campaign against their hereditary enemies, the Crows and Assiniboins. These campaigns will frequently last for one or more years; it being considered disgraceful to return without scalps. I once knew a war party, consisting of 300 young men, who were absent four years, without ever seeing or hearing from their own people. The cause of this extraordinary perseverance will be readily understood, when some of their fundamental laws (if they may be so termed), are explained. For instance: a young man is not permitted to marry, or have a lodge of his own, until he has taken a scalp, or performed some other military exploit, that would entitle him to rank as a brave. Neither is he permitted to sit in council, or be present at a feast; and what is still more mortifying to youth, he is not allowed to join in a war or scalp dance, when all the belles of the tribe are seen in gayest feathers, jingling bells and fancy paints.

The laws or regulations by which a Blackfoot camp is governed are well adapted to their peculiar condition. They are legislative, judicial and military. Their chiefs, as a general rule, are elective, though great respect is paid to hereditary chiefs. They have little or no power, unless they have distinguished themselves as warriors, and are supported by a band of braves. In every camp there is a military police. This consists of *all* the unmarried who rank themselves *as braves*. They have a lodge for their accommodation in the centre of the camp, which is generally of a circular form. When any matter of sufficient importance happens to occur, the subordinate chiefs are summoned to attend at the lodge of the head chief; there the subject is gravely discussed, and the decision made known to the war chief, whose duty it is to assemble his soldiers, and carry the orders of the chiefs into immediate execution. I have sometimes known these orders from the chiefs condemn to death a father or brother of one or more of the soldiers. Yet I never saw them hesitate to obey. I once saw a wife condemned by the board of chiefs, for infidelity. She was sentenced to be stripped of *all* her clothing, her nose cut off, and to be whipped out of camp, a slave for any one who chose to take her as such. Two of her brothers assisted in carrying the order into execution.

All questions of peace or war, time for raising camp, or regulations for a general hunt, are decided upon by the chiefs, and carried into execution by the soldiers. Though the camp might be in a state of starvation, and plenty of buffalo or other game in sight, no one, not even the head chiefs, would be allowed to disturb them without the consent of the council. The policy of this is obvious, as one individual might frighten off a herd of buffalo sufficient to feed the whole camp.

The Blackfoot has always been regarded as a treacherous, blood-thirsty savage; this is a mistake, growing out of our ignorance of his true character. It is true, they killed and scalped a great many of the mountain trappers; but it must be considered, that they were under no treaty obligations, so far as the United States were concerned. They found strangers trespassing on their hunting-grounds, and killing off the game upon which they relied for subsistence; any other tribe, or even civilized nation, would have done the same with less provocation. During my long residence amongst them, I always found them frank, generous and hospitable—ready at all times to repay any kindness they might receive from the whites.

As the extension of our settlements in Oregon and Washington Territories, will necessarily bring our people into occasional contact with the Blackfeet, I thought this brief sketch might be of some service, both to the whites and Indians.

Respectfully,
Your ob't serv't,
D. D. MITCHELL.

H. R. SCHOOLCRAFT, ESQ.

16. APACHES.—ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

The origin of the Apaches tribes, as well as the origin of most other aboriginal tribes of North America, is lost in the remotest antiquity. No one has yet ascertained from tradition, vestiges of language, or remains of monuments, the true derivation of their race. We must then offer a few conjectures and fabulous traditions, which may be of some service toward attaining the desired end. Among those so confused and imperfect traditions, we must not pass the following without notice, which is common among the tribes scattered in and around Mexico.

The features of this tradition are somewhat similar to the great event of the Flood, related in the Genesis, with this difference, that in the Indian version the storm lasted only *three* days, instead of forty, and the waters covered the *flat lands* only. It remains to be ascertained if the chronological data correspond. It runs thus:

In those times the land was covered with rich crops, and magnificent cities were spread all over the land—with powerful kings and numerous armies. But men were wicked and blasphemous; and God, seeing their foolish pride and sinful pursuits, determined to humble and abase them; then, for *three* days and *three* nights, He hid his bright face from the world;—the sun, the moon, and the stars withdrew their light. Darkness prevailed, and confusion and terror was among the mighty nations. Then the earth shook to its remotest foundations, and the fire of heaven communicated with the fire of earth—and the rain fell in torrents, and the swollen streams swept impetuous down the mountain-sides, carrying everything before them, and laying bare the whole country. But few of the people fled to the high mountains, though struck with terror, amid immense herds of buffalo and horses; and all kinds of wild beasts retreated instinctively toward the table lands.

At last, a cacique of great renown did invoke the Great Sun to return and warm again the land with his salutary rays—and he called on all the people to join their prayers with his; but all that remained, except he, struck dumb with terror, had lost their power of speech. He stood alone amid the prostrate crowd, like a mighty oak, solitary 'mid the wreck of a forest, which alone the tempest had spared. At last, his prayer was heard, and the moon appeared to him, and told him that for his great wisdom and fervent prayers, that she would intercede and persuade the sun to re-appear—and then this mighty prophet went among the people and gave them hopes, and cheered their hearts. And on the third day of the storm, the sun made its appearance as bright as ever; and the people, feeling its cheering influence, rejoiced greatly, and calm was restored to the world.

But nothing remained of the great people and powerful kings who had once been, except a few scattered tribes among the lofty mountains—terrified at the storm that had passed by, and fearing to leave their elevated position—existing upon nuts and roots alone. Thus they remained for many years, dreading another flood—till, bye-and-bye, there arose among them a great cacique by the name of Montezuma; and he communicated with the Great Spirit—and the Great Spirit told him that his wrath against man was no more; that he could go back to the plains, and take the people with him; and he preached to the nations, and told them the words of peace of the Great Spirit. Some followed him to the rich plains of Mexico; and he was the founder of the mighty empire of the Montezumas, still existing, and in a greatly advanced state of civilization when the Spaniards first landed on their shores.

Such is one of the traditions existing now among many tribes of Indians in New Mexico; and to this day they venerate the name of Montezuma, and hope in his empire to come, in future ages. This tradition, compared with others, might perhaps give a clue to further discoveries relative to the origin of the Apaches. Upon consideration, it would seem that at the epoch of the flood, there existed in America a powerful nation—and if we compare this with the writings of the ancient Jews and others, we learn that in Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Isles, were existing powerful nations also, who *must* have had connection, by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, with the American aborigines. This intercourse was stopped at the time of the Flood; and who knows but that the ark of Noah was nothing more than one of those large ships used to connect the two continents, belonging to some distant colony of the Jews, bound home at the time of the flood; and the crew of which, finding everywhere about a desolating waste of water, settled upon the first point of dry land that appeared, and repeopled that part of the country.

It seems that the basin of the Mediterranean was once dry land, and contained a great number of cities, before the flood; but when an earthquake separated Africa from Europe, the waters of the Atlantic rushed on the dry land, and the evaporation caused by such a rush of water was perhaps the cause of so great a convulsion, viz.: the earthquake.

We will here make a quotation from Josephus, which he himself quoted from an older historian (though some little in opposition from the Bible version), that at the time of the flood, "the water covered *six* cubits above the highest mountain of the world." (Book I. chap. iv.) Nay, Nicholas of Damascus, in his 96th book, adverts specially to this subject: "There is a great mountain in Armenia called Mingas, called Baris, upon which it is reported that many who fled at the time of the deluge, were saved; and that one who *was* carried in an ark landed on the summit of this mountain; and that the remains of the timber of which the ark was constructed, were for a long time remaining."

This might be the man regarding whom Moses, the Jewish law-giver, wrote (viz.: Noah). But let us endeavor to seek our proofs from vestiges of languages, as none can be elicited from ruins of monuments. This tribe has always been, as Holy Writ says, a nation that build no houses, but "live under tents, herding flocks." Their language, then, must be derived from a very ancient one.

But it requires very careful research, and a good knowledge of the ancient dialects, with a choice bibliotheque, to ascertain, beyond doubt, this important fact. We can therefore only advance a few observations that have been made on this point, as we are not an ethnologist, nor have we on hand suitable works to consult. The Indus, the ancient name of a river which flows through a country that has been considered as the cradle of the human race, was the origin of the name India, and Indians. This same root is *freely* used in the Apache dialect, and has the same signification. (See Vocabulary.) "I am," "to be," "to exist," are Indian, which is the principle of everything and existence, and therefore this root must be primitive; and its existence, with the *same* meaning, among a wild tribe of the Sierra Madre, must point to its true point of origin. Furthermore, the Apaches call a woman "Issa" (pronounced *Ee*-sah); and in connection with this fact, we will refer to a passage in Josephus Flavius (Book I. chap. i): "Now a woman is called in the Hebrew tongue Issa." Still again—Issa, in the Apache tongue, also means "bone," "meat," "flesh." (See Voc.) We read in the Bible that the first woman was made out of the bone of man. "And God said to Adam, She is flesh of your flesh." However, this must not be understood as an endeavor to prove a common origin with the Hebrew and Apache languages—for the former is a very old idiom, and its roots are scattered more or less through the different tongues of the world. In the same way we find some roots of words of Egyptian origin; and to prove this, we will have recourse again to Josephus (Book II. chap. vi.): "Joseph was now grown up to thirty years of age, and enjoyed great honors from the king, who called him "*Psothon Phanek*," out of regard to his prodigious degree of wisdom; for that name denotes "*The revealer of secrets*"—by which we can see that the root "*Phanek*" means "thought;" and as "*Phaneckteches*" in the Apache tongue means "to think," we see a common root and meaning to both idioms.[1]

These few examples must be sufficient to point the track to be followed in investigating the history of this tribe. Leaving to a sounder inquiry to bring forward abler proofs, we simply state that the object of what is written foregoing is to stimulate such inquiry among ethnologists and savans generally.

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[1] Frank Luchetti.

LANGUAGE.

17. LETTER ON AFFINITIES OF DIALECTS IN NEW MEXICO.

GOV. W. C. LANE.

WASHINGTON, 11th March, 1854.

H. R. SCHOOLCRAFT, Esq.

DEAR SIR: — The Indians of the pueblos of Laguna, Acoma, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Anna, Cochite, and Sille, are said to speak the same language, which I have heard called Chu-cha-cas, and also Keswhaw-hay, giving the letters their English sounds.

Those of Taos, Vicuris, Zesuqua, Sandia, and Ystete, and of two pueblos of Texas, near El Paso, are said to speak the same language, which I have heard called E-nagh-magh.

Those of San Juan, Santa Clara, Pojuaque, Nambe, San Il de Conso, and one Moqui pueblo, all speak the same language, as it is said: this I have heard called Tay-waugh.

Those of Jemez and Pecos speak the same language; and those of Zuñi speak a different language.

In six of the seven Moqui pueblos, the same language is said to be spoken.

All these languages are extremely guttural, and, to my ear, seemed so much alike, that I imagine they have sprung from the same parent stock. The traditions amongst all these Indians are the same, as to the fact, that their ancestors *came from the North.*

The Apaches, the Navahoes, and the Seepans (of Texas), speak dialects of the same language. The Jicarillas (Hic-ah-ree-ahs), Mescaleros, Tantos, and Coyotens, are all bands of the Apaches; and I am induced to think the Garoteros (who handled Aubrey so roughly) are also an offshoot from the Apache tribe.

The peublo of Pecos has been recently abandoned, and the inhabitants have gone to Jemez.

The peublos of Los Lentes, Abiquico, and Los Ranchos, have now become Mexicanized towns; and the tendency in all the pueblos is in the same direction.

The Spanish language, as well as their mother-tongue, is spoken in all the pueblos, except Laguna, Acoma, Zuñi, and the seven Moqui pueblos; and in these it is spoken by a few only.

The Rev. Sam'l Gorman, of the Baptist mission, resides at Laguna, and has some knowledge of the pueblo language — his daughter is said to speak it fluently. Rev. Mr. Shaw, of the same mission, resides at Fort Defiance, amongst the Navajoes. From these gentlemen, and the Catholic Bishop, Lamy, at Santa Fé, and the Rev. Lewis Smith, of the Baptist mission at Santa Fé, no doubt, vocabularies could be had upon application

Many of the inhabitants of the pueblos read and write the Spanish language.

With great respect,
Your ob't serv't,
WM. CARR LANE.

18. VOCABULARY OF THE PASSAMAQUODDY.

BOSTON, October 31st, 1851.

SIR: — Having seen, within a few days, Schoolcraft's Report on the Indians and their Language, I thought I might perhaps add my mite towards assisting to form a vocabulary of a small tribe in the eastern part of Maine. I take the liberty to enclose it, and believe it is reliable, as far as it goes, as I took the precaution to verify it by two or three individuals. It was taken down a few months ago, when I happened to be on a hunting excursion, near the Schodic lakes.

I have in my possession a vocabulary of the language spoken by the Seminole tribe, in Florida. It contains at least four or five hundred words, and was got up with much care, partly by Lieut. Casey and other persons, one of them an old Indian trader. It may be considered a pretty good dictionary of the language. I procured it a few years since, on the St. Johns river, Florida. Should you consider it of any value, you can have it, by sending me a copy of Schoolcraft's Report; and if you wish, I can obtain further specimens of the Passamaquoddy dialect. I hope you will succeed in rescuing from oblivion all our Indian remains.

I am, with respect, yours,
FREDERIC KIDDER.

To COMMISSIONER INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Vocabulary of the Openango or Passamaquoddy Language

Ah took	Deer.	Wabato	White.
Lo moos	Dog.	Wes, o, waik	Blue.
Sar mar quin	Water.	Mu quik	Red.
Sur a nom	Cranberry.	Kezo oke	Day.
Chewis	Come.	Obus	Tree.
Lucin	Lay down.	Lis	Small.
Bazole, uck	Boat.	Che, or, ge.	Big.
Keze, oze	Sun.	Ne masq	Fish.
Was, heese	Child.	Os oze um	Hat.
Ne, coose	Mother.	Poke, a ta wicht	Rum.
Pesu, zum	Stars.	Wa, tcht	Mountain.
Mine go sis	Island.	Pema neck	Hill.
Penobsq	Rock.	Sebo sis	Brook.
Ah pit	Woman.	Sepe	River.
Ske doh	Man.	Mo in	Bear.
Car zon	Sweetheart.	Wach ta waquin	Crooked.
Mos urgin	Love.	Cat he guin	Trap.
Ah quiden	Birch canoe.	Ma dagin	Skin.
No togen	Paddle.	Pic sa	Pork.
Squit	Fire.	Coo sa	Beet.
Pes gah cet	Gun.	Peel	Peter.
P'suo	Powder.	Hem we sok	Fowls.
Kistoo	Lead.	Peers cum	Corn.
Genas, san, gin	Awl.	Au hun	Yes.
Manar, loke	Sky.	Cau dama	No.
Attoke	Cloud.	Oblik mo	Land tortoise.
Skegin	Indian.	San ko	Big pine.
Muy, sa, way, u	Black.	Cu hus	Muskrat.

19. MILICITE NUMERALS.

1	Nékt.	13	N'sahncoo.
2	Tahboo.	14	Nai-oo-oncoo.
3	Sist.	15	Nahn-ahn-coo.
3	An. gen. Noohoo-uk.	16	Cahmah-chin kesahncoo.
3	In. an. gen. Noohúnul.	17	Elooeégunuk kesahncoo.
4	Nai-oo.	18	Oogumulchin kesahncoo.
5	Nahn.	19	Eskoonahduk kesahncoo.
6	Cahmáhchin.	20	Neesinsk.
7	Elooeègunuk.	21	Neesinsk chel nékt.
8	Oogumoòlchin.	22	Neesinsk chel nees.
9	Keshóonahduk.	23	Neesinsk chel neehee.
10	Nitulun.	24	Neesinsk chel nâioo.
11	N'coodahncoo.	25	Neesinsk chel nahn.
12	Neesahncoo.	26	Neesinsk chel cahmáhchin.

27	Neesinsk chel looégunuk.
28	Neesinsk chel oogumúlchin.
29	Neesinsk chel escoonahduk.
30	Neesinsk.
40	Naioo-insk.
50	Nahninsk.
60	Cahmáchin ke sinsc.
70	Elooegunuk ke sinsc.
80	Oogumúlchin ke sinsc.
90	Escoonadek ke sinsc.
100	N'coodáhtew.
101	N'coodahtew chel nekt.
102	N'coodahtew chel nees.
103	N'coodahtew chel neehee.
104	N'coodahtew chel naioo.
105	N'coodahtew chel nahn.
106	N'coodahtew chel cahmahchin.
107	N'coodahtew chel looegunuk.
108	N coodahtew chel oogumùlchin.
109	N'coodahtew chel eskoonaduk.
110	N'coodahtew chel coodinsc.
120	N'coodahtew chel neesinsc.
130	N'coodahtew chel n'sinsc.
140	N'coodahtew chel naiooinsc.
150	N'coodahtew chel nahninsc.
160	N'coodahtew chel cahmahchin kesinsc.
170	N'coodahtew chel looegunuk kesinsc.
180	N'coodahtew chel oogum ulchin kesinsc.
190	N'coodahtew chel escoonahduk kesinsc.
200	Neesahtew.
300	N'sahtew.
400	Naioo-ótew.
500	Nahnáhtew.
600	Cahmahchin kesáhtew.
700	Elooígunuc kesáhtew.
800	Oogumulchin kesáhtew.
900	Escoonahduc kesahtew.
1,000	N'coodáhm-ewahk.
2,000	Neesahmewahk.
3,000	N'sahmewahk.
4,000	Naioomewahk.
5,000	Nahnahmewahk.
6,000	Cahmachin kesahmewahk.
7,000	Looígunuk kesahmewahk.
8,000	Oogumoolchin kesahmewahk.
9,000	Escoonahduk kesahmewahk.
10,000	Coodinsc kesahmewahk.
100,000	Coodahtew kesahmewahk.
1,000,000	Beetoo omewahk.
2,000,000	Nees beetoo-omewahk.
3,000,000	Neehee beetoo-omewahk.
10,000,000	N'coodinsc beetoo-omewahk.
20,000,000	Neesinsc beetoo-omewahk.
30,000,000	N'sinsc beetoo-omewahk.
40,000,000	Naiooinsk beetoo-omewahk.
50,000,000	Nahninsc beetoo-omewahk.
60,000,000	Cahmachin kesinsc beetoo-omewahk
70,000,000	Elooigunuk kesinsc beetoo-omewahk
80,000,000	Oogumulchin kesinsc beetoo-omewa'k
90,000,000	Escoonahduc kesinsc beetoo-omewa'k.
100,000,000	N'coodatew beetoo-omewahk.
200,000,000	Neesahtew beetoo-omewahk.
300,000,000	N'sahtew beetoo-omewahk.
1,000,000,000	Beetoo-omewahk beetoo-omewahk.

S. T. RAND,

Protestant Missionary to the Indians of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, &c.

HALIFAX, Dec. 14, 1853.

INDIAN ART.

20. STATE OF ARTS AND MANUFACTURES, WITH THE CREEK INDIANS, IN 1791. MAJ. C. SWAN.

THE Creeks are poor, proud, and self-conceited; they would ridicule and laugh at the man who should advise them to build better houses than they have at present, or alter their long-established customs and habits of living.

When the British had possession of their country, they were allowed, in order to aid them as hunters, a gunsmith in the Coweta district — one at the Oakfuskies, and one near Little Tallassie; each on a salary from government of £25 per annum, and under the direction of the superintendent and commissaries: these armourers remained in the country, and worked for them many years. Although the Indians are well convinced of the utility of a blacksmith among them, it does not appear that one of them ever attempted to learn the art, notwithstanding the necessity and example were constantly before their eyes.

If game should become scarce in their country, and a saddler, blacksmith, miller, and potter, (the most useful artizans that could be placed there,) were established and protected in the nation, some of the Indians might possibly be persuaded into imitation, and turned from hunting, to agriculture and the pursuit of mechanic arts. But there is reason to conjecture, that a majority of them will never forsake their delightful, and as they think, profitable amusements of hunting and war, so long as wilds and woods remain for them to range in, between the Mississippi and Western Ocean.

Wm. Walker, M'Gillivray's overseer, is a blacksmith, he had procured a small anvil, which, in that country, might be estimated as almost worth its weight in gold. An Indian chief demanded of Walker, that he should mend his gun without receiving pay for it, alleging that he and his children lived upon the milk of the beloved man's cows, and were indulged to stay in the country without trading, which was pay enough, and more too. Walker still refused to mend the gun without such compensation as had been made to him in common, for his work; upon which the chief took a sledge hammer, and dashed the anvil to pieces. By this blow, the chief deprived himself of subsistence, and distressed nearly a third part of the nation. The Indians have as little consideration as gratitude.

The following are the only articles of their own manufacturing, now used in the nation, which, (except the smoking-pipes,) are made altogether by the women, and executed with tolerable neatness, viz:—

Earthern pots and pans of various sizes, from one pint up to six gallons. But in these, they betray a great want of taste and invention, they have no variety of fashion; these vessels are all without handles, and are drawn so nearly to a point at the bottom, that they will not stand alone. Therefore, whenever they are set for use, they have to be propped up on three sides with sticks or stones.

The method of fabrication, is by rolling the clay between the hands, and placing one upon the other, circularly, cementing them at the same time, until the vessel nearly resembles a neat coil of small rope, it is then pressed inside and out, until it has its proper shape, the surfaces are next smoothed, it is then dried in the shade, burned over a blazing fire, scraped, and becomes fit for use.

Baskets for gathering, and fanners for cleaning corn, and other uses, are made of cane splinters of various sizes, but all of one shape. The workmanship of these is neat and well executed, except that they have neither covers nor handles.

Horse ropes or halters, are commonly made of twisted bark, but they have a superior kind made of silk grass, a species peculiar to the country, which, after being dried, resembles coarse flax.

Smoked leather is universally used among them for moccasins, stockings, boots, and often for shirts. It is dressed with the brains of the deer, with which the skin is first impregnated, and afterwards, confined from the air, is softened and finished by the smoke of rotten wood.

Black marble pipes are made with great patience and labour, by one person only, throughout the whole nation. He lives at the Natchez, and being the only man that knows where the stone can be found, monopolizes the business entirely, and sell his common pipes at half the price of a blanket.

Wooden spoons are made — very large and simple in their form. One serves a whole family, who use it round by turns.

Oil, of which all the natives are excessively fond, is extracted by them in small quantities from acorns, hickory-nuts and chestnuts, by a dirty process of pounding and baking in their pans. The acorn oil is of a beautiful deep orange colour; being soft and delicious, it is esteemed by them to be the richest and best.

The houses they occupy are but pitiful small huts, commonly from twelve to eighteen or twenty feet long, and from ten to fifteen feet wide; the floors are of earth; the walls, six, seven and eight feet high, supported by poles driven into the ground, and lathed across with canes tied slightly on, and filled in with clay, which they always dig for, and find near the spot whereon they build. The roofs are pitched from a ridge pole over the centre, which is covered with large tufts of the bark of trees. The roofs are covered with four or five layers of rough shingles, laid upon rafters of round poles, the whole secured on the outside from being blown away, by long heavy poles laid across them, and tied with bark or withes at each end of the house. In putting on these curious roofs, they seem to observe an uniformity in all their different towns; which, upon the approach of a stranger, exhibit a grotesque appearance of rudeness, not so easily to be described with the pen, as it might be with the pencil. The chimneys are made of poles and clay, and are built up at one end, and on the outside of the houses. On each side of the fire-place, they have small cane-racks or platforms, with skins whereon they sleep; but many of them, too lazy to make these platforms, sleep on the floor, in the midst of much dirt.

They have but one door at the side and near the centre of the house; this, although nothing remains inside to be stolen, is barricaded by large heavy pieces of wood, whenever they quit the house to go out a hunting.

Their houses being but slightly made, seldom resist the weather more than one or two years, before they fall to pieces. They then erect new ones, on new plots of ground; thus, by continually shifting from one place to another, the bulk of some of their largest towns are removed three or four miles from where they stood three or four years before, and no vestiges remain of their former habitations.

CALEB SWAN.

21. EMBALMING BY THE INDIANS OF OREGON.

By whatever process it is effected, this art appears to exist among the Chinooks and Flatheads of the Pacific coast. Bodies thus prepared are frequently found deposited in secret places. They are generally placed, with the implements they used in life, in canoes, on elevated ground. A correspondent writes as follows:— "At the famous depository for the farmers of California, on Montgomery street, are two specimens which are well calculated to arouse the attention of the reflecting, and to show how intimate, after all, are the relations of the past and the future. The former of these is a Flathead mummy, found in his canoe on the shores of Puget Sound, in a perfect state of preservation. Those who have seen the Egyptian mummy, would be utterly astonished at the exact similitude, save in the conformation of the subject. The forehead of the skull has been evidently depressed by outward mechanical appliances; but, in all else, it is the mummy of the pyramid, in a perfect state of preservation. The eye-balls are still round under the lid; the teeth, the muscles, and tendons perfect, the veins injected with some preserving liquid, the bowels, stomach and liver dried up, but not decayed, all perfectly preserved. The very blanket that entwines him, made of some threads of bark and saturated with a pitchy substance, is entire. The inner canoe, in which he was found, was entirely decayed, and the outer one was nearly gone, yet the body was evidently just as it was prepared by the embalmer; and, although exposed now to the open air, it shows no sign of decomposition. It would seem as if prepared for all coming time. Where these wanderers of the desert learned this art, is a query over which the wise may ponder; and those who are skilled in such things will find food for thought in the strange specimen picked up near the disputed boundary on our western frontier.

PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS.

22. OUR NATION'S PROSPERITY. A. J. HARTLEY,

A MEMBER OF THE CHICKASAW NATION.

NEVER, probably, since we left our homes east of the Mississippi, have we, as a nation, enjoyed such prosperity and happiness as at the present time.

True it is, that for some time after we emigrated to this country, little or nothing was done either in agricultural or mechanical pursuits, while education was in a great measure neglected. A few there were, who never ceased in their efforts to enlighten their brethren, and turn their minds to the cultivation of the soil; but for awhile they labored apparently in vain. Our people (many of them against their will) had been driven away from their homes and firesides — the homes where they were born — where they had spent their early youth and manhood — and where they had expected to die—and compelled to make for themselves new homes in a strange country, could not, for a time, be persuaded to adopt any other occupation for a livelihood than that which their own wild, free natures prompted. Their minds *would* wander back to the green fields of their boyhood, to the hunting-grounds of their more mature years, and to the graves of their fathers; and in the excitement of the chase, the recollection of by-gone days was for a time forgotten. But with the lapse of time, early remembrances became obliterated from the mind, and new associations formed.

A great change has come over us, as a people and nation. The rifle and the hunting-knife have been laid aside for the implements of husbandry; our prairie lands and river bottoms teem with the fruits of industry; our sons and daughters placed in institutions of learning (schools which are second to none in the States), where they are acquiring a knowledge and refinement which is to qualify them for a still more advanced state of civilization; our wives and little ones contented and happy in the homes which industry has provided; while some of our more enterprising brethren are turning their attention to the modern improvements of the day, and are making the inventions of our more favoured white brethren subserve the interests of the hitherto despised and persecuted Indian, and adding to his comforts and future greatness.

We have four schools in successful operation, giving instruction to more than three hundred scholars, at a cost to the nation of about twenty-one thousand dollars per annum. One of them is a Manual Labor School for boys, located about ten miles from this place, under the management of the Rev. J. C. Robinson, and contains about one hundred and twenty scholars. One, a female seminary, located at Bloomfield, containing about forty scholars, under the superintendence of Rev. J. H. Carr, and one at Perryville, under the management of the Rev. E. Couch, of about fifty scholars. The above three are all under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Mission Board. The other, giving instruction to about one hundred scholars, is under the control of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, and is located at Wap-pa-nuck-a.

In addition to the four above mentioned, we understand that an appropriation has already been made for establishing another female Seminary, but at what place it is to be located, we have not yet learned.

This includes the Chickasaw District alone. Our brethren, and near neighbors, the Choctaws, are doing as much, if not more, in fitting their sons and daughters for high and honorable stations in life.

We have good and wholesome laws, which will compare very favourably with the statute laws of many of the States; and we are happy to say, that by the great majority of our people, they are respected and obeyed; and we have no hesitation in saying, that obedience to our laws by our *own people*, would be universal, were it not for the use of *bad whiskey*, furnished by white men, whose principles are even *worse* than their poisonous drugs. We venture to assert that out of every ten cases of capital crimes committed by our people, nine of them are caused by intoxicating drinks. Deliver us from the white man's *fire-water*, and peace, industry, prosperity, and plenty will prevail universally throughout the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations.

How often do we hear the remark, 'Injun will be Injun?' and we not only *hear* it from the lips of those ignorant of the Indian character, but we are sometimes compelled to *read* it in our exchanges. If by the remark is meant that the Indian cannot be brought to disown his race, and despise his origin, then the remark is true and proper; for we are proud of our origin, and glory in our race. But if by the remark is meant that the Indian is incapable of acquiring and retaining knowledge; that he is deficient in energy, or that he cannot be made to appreciate and enjoy the blessings peculiar to civilized life, a short sojourn in our nation would give the lie to such an assertion, and convert the author to a more charitable opinion of our character as a people.

Our laws furnish abundant evidence that our legislators, who framed them, were men of education and talent; and the impartiality with which those laws are administered, is proof of the honesty and integrity of our judges. Our fields, waving with the golden harvest, evince the industry of the husbandman; and our neat and comfortable dwellings will satisfy any one that our wives and daughters are neat, frugal, and industrious. The shrill whistle of the steam-engine, as it is heard echoing along the hills, and through the woods of the Washita, bespeaks for our people an enterprise, energy, and perseverance worthy of all praise.

Add to this, that we have a weekly paper of our own, perused by over three hundred subscribers among our own people — a paper brought into existence by Indian enterprise, and sustained mainly by Indian liberality; and we think that our white brethren *ought* to be convinced that, although 'Injun will be Injun,' his course is 'onward and upward.'

FORT WASHITA, *April* 14, 1855.

23. PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE APACHEES.

T. C. HENRY, M.D.

Thus far, their contact with civilization *has* not much improved the Apachee character. They seem to have contracted from the white man all his vices, but acquired none of his virtues. Their present geographical position seems unfit to try upon them the experiment of civilization. Should it be attempted, they should be removed to another spot for the following reasons. To bring to a permanent settlement a nation of their wild disposition, they should be removed to some fertile plains, where ample crops furnish for their labour an unlooked-for compensation. True, the banks of the Gila and Mimbres are susceptible of cultivation, and will yield fair returns; still, their proximity to the rugged mountains of the Sierra Madre, will always invite the Apachees back to their old roving habits. Besides, those valleys are only made to yield crops by experimental farmers, and by means of ample artificial irrigation, and they would be most likely to prove a failure in the hands of the Apachees.

Should this nation be removed to the fertile plains of Mexico or the Pacific, they would settle more readily, and soon forget their old haunts and habits; while the country they now inhabit would become more useful, by being settled by a race well advanced in civilization, who would develope the full riches of its mines, and by a properly directed mode of tillage, the fertility of its soil.

In general, the health of this nation is good, free from many diseases rife among the whites. But soon, they must gradually become extinct, unless intermingled with Mexican blood, or provided for by the United States Government. Their entire number is not great, and is estimated at about three thousand souls; not being able to muster more than five hundred, if as many, capable of bearing arms, or taking the field.

If they should ever be persuaded upon to settle, a great difficulty to encounter, unfriendly to success or the accomplishment of much in agricultural pursuits, is, that the men naturally despise every kind of work, and impose the whole of it upon the women. An experiment was made with the Mimbres tribe in the summer of '53, agricultural implements were furnished, and ground allotted for a farm. The women were made to do the whole breaking of the ground and the digging of the irrigating ditches. The men could not be persuaded to bear a hand for any length of time. The whole work was performed by the squaws. Meanwhile, their lords were either engaged in hunting, or far more frequently, in lounging about in inglorious ease, or prancing their steeds around on every side during the day, and carousing at night.

At that time, regular rations were issued to them by a government agent. Perhaps of all our Indian tribes, it may be truly be said of this one, as of the maniac in the Gospel, "no man can tame him."

At the period corn was issued to them, three-fourths of it were employed in making a peculiar species of fermented intoxicating beverage, called by them the "p'tis wing;" thus converting what would have been good healthful nutriment, into an enervating injurious beverage.

Reclaiming them by means of missions. Protestant missions have not, it is probable, yet been tried, but their ultimate success may be doubted much.

For the poor degraded Apachee then, as every year rolls in its yearly course, naught seems to be left but a gradual extinction. For the wild child of the mountains, whose mind seems far the least active portion of his being—corrupted by vices, starved by indolence, persecuted for thefts—there seems no bright future to which to look forward, no goal to which to hasten with joyful steps, no pleasure but in the intoxicating bowl. Nothing, nothing left but extermination, death, total, absolute extinction.

T. C. HENRY, M.D.

24. EDUCATION AMONG THE DAKOTAHS.

Number 1.

Sir:—In a number of your paper last summer, there appeared an article in the St. Paul Chronicle and Register, headed, "Justice to the Dakotahs." In your editorial you called the attention of your readers to that communication, as having been written by an intelligent native of the tribe of Dakotahs. It is not yet true that any native Dakotah can write such an article in the English language, but possibly it may be true some years hence.

It will be my object in this and following communications, to relate briefly some things that may be told in regard to *Education among the Dakotahs.*

Fifteen years ago the Dakotahs were without a written language. Whatever has been accomplished in making books in this language has been done by the mission. And a work of no small magnitude is it, to gather up the floating forms of thought which have hitherto been only addressed to the ear, and make them speak to the eye! Then Lieut. and now Capt. Ogden, of the Army, had, with the assistance of interpreters, prepared a vocabulary written according to the English orthography. But the days and years of plodding that some of the first missionaries spent, picking up a word here and another there, writing and re-writing, correcting and re-correcting, learning the meaning of a word to-day and forgetting it to-morrow, and again learning it next year, can hardly be realized by any who have not had some experience of like kind. A strictly phonetic method of writing the language was adopted, in which each character represented but a single sound.

A grammar of the language has been written, still doubtless imperfect, and lexicons have been made which now contain some fifteen thousand words. In many respects the Dakotah language cannot but be defective. A stream cannot rise higher than its fountain. A language cannot express more than the thoughts of the people, and all human languages fall short of expressing the whole of a nation's thoughts. There are many abstract ideas, such as colour, space and time, which the Dakotahs have no words to express. Roving in their habits, their affections are not permitted to grow up around any fixed abode, and, of course, they have no word answering exactly to our English word "home." It is defective, too, in its power of expressing many such ideas, as holiness, chastity, &c., because they are not such as the Dakotah mind has been conversant with. But still it is, in some of its aspects, to be regarded as a noble language, fully adequate to all the felt wants of the nation, and capable of being enlarged, cultivated and enriched, by the introduction of foreign stores of thought. Nothing can be found any where more full and flexible than the Dakotah verb. The affixes and reduplications, and pronouns and prepositions, all come in to make of it such a stately pile of thought as is, to my knowledge, found no where else. A single paradigm presents more than a thousand variations.

An effort was made by the missionaries to have printed books. Two small books of a dozen pages each were prepared and printed in 1836. But at that time, and for a good while after, lessons prepared with hand type were the chief dependence in instructing the natives.

During many years, Mr. Renville was of incalculable advantage to the mission, in affording facilities for learning the language and in making translations, as well as by influencing many young men at the beginning to learn to read. The translations were made from the French, which was read to Mr. Bonville by the verse or sentence, and the Dakotah was written down as he translated it. Whether Mr. Renville could read or not, was the subject of many debates among the Indians, and was never decided satisfactorily. But, in many respects, he was a remarkable man, and his translations, especially those made after he had some experience in the work, and his knowledge of the word of God had become more correct, although not perfect, possess, for the most part, a perspicuity and beauty that one admires more and more as he becomes more thoroughly acquainted with the language. The gospel of Mark, and some chapters from other parts of the Scriptures, were thus prepared; and also a small book containing the history of Joseph, and some reading and spelling lessons, were printed in the winter of 1838-9.

In that and the following years we succeeded in obtaining from Mr. Renville a translation of the gospel by John, which is undoubtedly his best performance. This, with the book of Genesis and a part of the Psalms, the gospel by Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of Paul, and the Revelations of John, were prepared for the press. These, with a Dakotah hymn book and two school books, were printed in the summer of 1842, and the winter following. Another school book is in press this winter.

From this statement of facts it will be seen that the missionaries have prosecuted this department of their work with some energy and success. In my next, I will speak particularly of our efforts in teaching.

Yours truly,
S. R. RIGGS.

LAC-QUI-PARLE, *Oct.* 30, 1849.

Number 2.

From the commencement of the mission, efforts have been made to teach the Dakotahs to read and write their own language. At the same time, the idea of teaching English has been at various times cherished and acted upon, as far as it seemed in the circumstances practicable. This, we believe, was the great idea intended to be developed by the Methodist Mission at Kaposia and Red Rock. But the time had not then come for acting successfully in this way on the Dakotahs generally.

For several years, the station at Lake Harriet sustained a small boarding school, chiefly composed of girls, whose fathers were Americans; and by this means they were prepared to take a much higher rank in society, and to exert a much more valuable influence than they could otherwise have done. At Lac-qui-Parle, Mr. Renville was ever anxious to have his family learn English; but as they boarded at home, and only came to the mission to read, and were surrounded by their Dakotah relatives, it was impossible to prevail upon them to try to talk it. They learned to read so as to be understood, and could themselves understand a little. Some full blood Indians followed their example. Two of the then young men, who visited Ohio in 1842, learned to talk considerably.

The time has now come, when, in regard to a part of this tribe, efforts ought to be made, and might be made successfully and extensively, if it were not for the unmanly opposition, to teach them our language. As their intercourse with the white people increases, their felt need of a knowledge of the English language will increase, and their repugnance to trying to speak it will decrease.

But hitherto the efforts of the mission have been almost entirely spent in teaching them in the native tongue. At Lake Calhoun, one young man soon learned to read and write, about thirteen years ago. What success attended the Swiss missionaries, at Red Wing's village, we are unable to state. At various times, they have had quite a promising school, which might have resulted in the education of the rising generation, if it had not as often been broken up by the hue and cry that the missionaries were seeking their money.

At the commencement of the mission at Lac-qui-Parle, a number of young men made an effort to learn to read. In this, although both teachers and taught laboured under many disadvantages, they were quite successful. As yet, they understood not the advantages of education. But it was a new thing, and the prejudices of the people were not arrayed against it. The average attendance, during the winter of 1838–'9, was more than thirty, and the whole number enrolled over one hundred. In the winter of 1841–'2, it is thought, more was accomplished in classifying and governing the school than before or since. Writing has generally been taught on slates. In addition to reading and writing, some fifteen or twenty young men have made some progress in the first rules of arithmetic. Since the year 1842, various causes combined have rendered teaching a more difficult business, and the progress made less. Some of these causes we shall attempt to state hereafter. Still, at all the stations, more or less teaching has been done, and with some success. The whole number living, who are able to read their own language, may be safely set down at about one hundred.

Some of us have entertained the opinion, that, whatever the missionaries are enabled to accomplish personally, the great body of the Dakotahs must be taught to read, if taught at all, by teachers raised up from among themselves. The schoolmaster must be abroad in the land, before education becomes general. Hence, we have at various times employed young men to teach, both at the missionary stations and at other villages, and with a reasonable amount of success.

Many of the difficulties with which the missionaries have had to contend, have arisen from the ignorance of the Indians. Our being anxious to teach them without pay, has made them feel that in some way or another it must be a matter of personal advantage to us; and hence the idea that they ought to be paid for learning. For many years, the mission acted on the principle of giving to scholars sometimes articles of clothing, when they were needy, or a few turnips, and sometimes a kettle of boiled potatoes. This was done, not as *pay*, but because they were often in want; and besides, we were not unwilling thus to testify our interest in their happiness, and at the same time secure their regular attendance at school. But it was found, that everything of this kind was regarded as *paying the scholars*, and it has been felt necessary even to restrain our benevolent feelings, rather than countenance in their minds such a wrong principle.

That they should not at first understand the advantages of education, was to be expected. But their perversions were sometimes very amusing, as well as vexatious. They were told, as one advantage, that the books did not lie; meaning, that at whatever distance of time or place, it told its story without alteration. They immediately conceived the idea, that whatever was within them must be true; and the next corollary was, that whatever one chose to demand by means of writing must be forthcoming; if not, the book lied. It is not saying much, to say, that among most of those who have learned to read, as well as many others, more just notions now prevail. Some begin to realize, in some good degree, the importance of the little education they have acquired, and feel their need of more. I would that this feeling were universal. If that were the case, we might hope that a better day for the Dakotahs would soon come.

Yours truly,

S. R. RIGGS.

LAC-QUI-PARLE, Oct. 31, 1849.

25. NATIVE CHURCHES.

BAPTIST MISSION ROOMS, *Boston*, August 10th, 1855.

DEAR SIR: — In reply to your communication of July 3d, inquiring "how many Indians have accepted the offers of Christianity" in the missions of the American Baptist Missionary Union in the West, and "also, how many Indian children are taught," I have the pleasure to state: —

1. Among the Ojibwas there is a mission church, containing at the present time twenty-three (23) members; among the Shawanoes, Delawares, and Ottowas, each one church, with an aggregate of one hundred (100) members; and among the Cherokees ten (10) churches, with thirteen hundred and fifty-five (1355) members; making a total of 14 churches and nearly 1500 members. As missionary labours have been prosecuted among these tribes from twenty to thirty years in some cases, it is safe to estimate an equal number to have died, who had "accepted the offers of Christianity," and were members of the mission churches at the time of their decease.

Missionaries of the Union have also laboured, in former years, among the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, the Putawatomies, the Otoes, the Omehas, the Creeks, and the Choctaws, with generally like success. The number received into mission churches, while in charge of the Union, among these tribes, may be safely computed at 2000, chiefly Creeks and Choctaws.

2. In their educational efforts, the missionaries of the Union, in common with those of other Societies, have had to contend with many embarrassments, owing partly to the peculiar habits of the Indians, and their want of appreciation of the value of education. In some instances, where schools had been commenced, and from these causes were thinly attended, missionaries have followed the people to their huts, and by their own firesides taught them the rudiments of learning. The number of pupils from year to year, in all the *schools*, has averaged from 150 to 200. In one year it exceeded three hundred. During the last year, the number, in four schools, was 178. As regards results, as early as 1826, a missionary among the Cherokees wrote, that "hundreds of young men had been taught to read and write their own language." And considering the increased ratio of success which has followed these efforts in later years, it is not too much to say, that some thousands of the people of different tribes have been taught by the missions of the Union to read and write their respective languages.

Instruction has also been given, in some instances, in the English language, and considerable attention given to husbandry and the mechanic arts.

Very respectfully, &c.,

S. PECK,

Corresponding Secretary, &c.

MISSION HOUSE, 23 *Centre St., N. Y.*, June 28th, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR: — Yours of the 27th inst. has been received. I send you, by to-day's mail, a copy of our Annual Report; by examining the statistical table on the 92d page, you will get all the particulars you desire, as to the number of our missions among the Indians, the schools, pupils, communicants, &c. I cannot give you anything like an accurate statement of the number of persons of native blood who attend at our different missions, but the following statement may be regarded as an approximation to the number, and you can use it, with the necessary qualification: —

Choctaws,	650
Creeks,	600
Chickasaws,	400
Seminoles,	250
Iowas and Sacs,	250
Otoes and Omahas,	150
Chippewas and Ottawas,	375

A new female school is about to be opened, in the Choctaw country, at a place called Good Water, where there will be 44 pupils, and an audience of 250 Choctaws.

Two additional stations are to be commenced — one in Kansas, and the other in the Nebraska Territory.

Yours truly and sincerely,
J. LEIGHTON WILSON.

H. R. Schoolcraft, Esq.

Baltimore, July 5, 1855.

Dear Sir:—Our chief Indian Missions in the United States are entrusted to two Bishops with the title of Vicars Apostolic. One of them, Right Rev. Frederick Baraga, an Austrian by birth, has labored above twenty years among them, and published a grammar and dictionary in their tongue. He resides at Sault St. Marie, in Upper Michigan. At Lapointe, in Wisconsin, there is a mission and school. Right Rev. J. B. Miege, an Italian, is charged with the missions of the Indian territory east of the Rocky Mountains. At Potowatomie, Kansas, there is a mission, in which Indian and English are alternately used. At St. Joseph's chapel, near Shunganon creek, the sermon is in Indian, as also on Mission Creek. Above 50 Indian boys are boarded and educated in the Potowatomie Manual Labor School, by Jesuit fathers. From 70 to 75 Indian girls are boarded and educated by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart at the same place. The Osage mission is attended by the same fathers, who preach in Osage. The Miami Indians are visited once in two months; the Cherokees are also attended. Several other missions in those parts are in charge of the same fathers. From 45 to 50 boarders, Indian boys, are in the Manual Labor School attached to the Osage mission, Noosho river. About 40 girls are in charge of the Sisters of Loretto. There are likewise Indian missions in the diocese of St. Paul, Minnesota, which is governed by Rt. Rev. Joseph Cretin. A school at Long Prairie is attended by Winnebago Indians. About ninety children are in charge of the Sisters of St. Joseph. The mission of Pembina consists chiefly of half-breeds. At Mill Lake, several of the Ojibways are Catholics, as also at Sandy Lake and Sac Rapids, and Fond du Lac. Many Indians are in the diocess of Santa Fe, governed by Rt. Rev. Joseph Lamy. Four missions are among them. About a thousand Catholic Indians of the Menomonee tribe, are in the diocese of Milwaukie, near the east bank of the Wolf. Eighty pupils are in the male and female schools. A lady teaches the girls and their mothers knitting, sewing, &c. In Maine, many of the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians are under charge of Jesuit fathers.

These are the chief particulars known to me, and gathered from the Catholic Almanac. Oregon contains many Indian missions besides. You may obtain more satisfactory details on many points by addressing Rev. Charles Stonestreet, Provincial of the Jesuits at Georgetown, or any of the prelates above mentioned. Rt. Rev. M. Odin, of Galveston, can give information regarding the Texan Indians. Most Rev. A. Blanchet, of Oregon, can furnish details concerning those of his diocese. I regret my inability to give more precise information.

With great respect, I remain, dear sir, your obedient servant,
FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A. B.

Henry R. Schoolcraft, Esq., Washington.

Home Missionary Rooms,
New York, June 29, 1855.

Henry R. Schoolcraft, Esq.

Dear Sir:—Your favor of the 27th inst. is received. The number of children under instruction in the Missionary Stations of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, in Sunday Schools, is 10,614.

Our labors among the Indians are of recent date. Two or three Pueblos in New Mexico have been converted and baptized.

We had a station at Pembina, in Minnesota Territory last year, where our missionary reported some three conversions; but it was broken up in consequence of the hostility of the Sioux tribes, and our labors there are discontinued.

Among the Pueblos and Navajos of New Mexico, there is much interest taken in the teaching and preaching of our missionaries, amounting in many instances to great anxiety for those advantages.

Any other information I possess is at your command whenever desired.

Yours, respectfully,
BENJAMIN M. HILL,
Corresponding Secretary A. B. H. M. Society.

P. S. At Pembina our school consisted of five regular scholars (Indian children) at the time of its discontinuance.

MISSION ROOMS, METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
New York, June 29, 1855.

H. R. SCHOOLCRAFT, ESQ.

DEAR SIR:—An examination of our reports show that in Missouri, Wisconsin, Michigan, and New York, we have in our Indian Missions, *twelve hundred and seventy-eight* church members, and *five hundred and fifty-six* Indian children in our schools.

Very respectfully,
For J. P. DURBIN, Cor. Secretary, and
THOMAS CARLTON, Treasurer.
DAVID TERRY,
200 Mulberry street, New York.

TUSCARORA MISSIONS, *June* 30th, 1855.

HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT, ESQ.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 27th inst. is received. I most cheerfully give you the desired information in relation to our schools and the church.

We have two schools—one a day school, and the other a day and boarding school connected. The boarding school is for girls, sustained in part by the Indians, but mainly by the American Board. At present there are 14 girls in the school, from 5 to 14 years of age. It has been in operation about two years, and promises well. Day scholars also attend this school. The number the past year has been 50, including the boarding scholars. In the other school, 21 have attended. Whole number of Indian scholars in both schools, 71.

The present number who profess Christianity, that is, who are members of the church, is 85; and about 80 of the people are in the habit of attending meetings on the Sabbath. At times there are more present. We have had, on some occasions, nearly or quite an hundred.

With respect, yours truly,
GILBERT ROCKWOOD.

P. S. My Post Office is Pekin, Niagara county, N. Y.

STATISTICS.

26. THE INDIAN TRIBES OF OREGON. A. DE HARLEY.

I HAVE been collecting the statistics of the Indian tribes in this region of country, and send you the following:—

1st. The *Makaw*, or Cape Flattery Indians, are warlike, occupying the country about Cape Flattery and the coast for some distance to the southward, and eastward to the boundary of the Halam or Noostlalum lands. They number about 1000 souls. They live by fishing, hunting, and the cultivation of the potato.

2d. The *Noostlalums* consist of eleven tribes or septs, living about the entrance of Hood's canal, Dungeness, Port Discovery, and the coast to the westward. They are warlike, and their relations with the white inhabitants of Oregon and with the Hudson's Bay Company are doubtful. They live by fishing, hunting, and the cultivation of the potato. Their numbers are—males, 517; females, 461; children under twelve years, 467; slaves, 40; total, 1485.

3d. The *Soquamish* are a warlike tribe of Indians, whose relations with the whites and with the Hudson's Bay Company are friendly. They occupy the country about Port Orchard and neighbourhood, and the west side of Whitby's Island. Males, 150; females, 95; children under twelve years, 210; slaves, 64; total, 519. They live by labour.

4th. The *Homamish*, *Hotlimamish*, *Squahsinawmish*, *Sayhaywamish*, and *Stitchassamish*, are peaceable tribes numbering about 500, who subsist by fishing and labour. They reside in the country from the Narrows along the western shore of Puget's Sound to New Market.

5th. The *Tuanoh* and *Skokomish* tribes reside along the shores of Hood's canal. They number about 200; are peaceable, and subsist by fishing and labour.

6th. The *Squallyamish* and *Pugallipamish* are situated in the country about Nesqually, Pugallippi, and Sinnomish rivers. Males, 200; females 220; children under twelve years, 190; slaves, 40; total, 650. They are peaceable and friendly, and live by labour and fishing.

7th. The *Sinahemish* is a peaceable and friendly tribe, subsisting by labor, fishing, and hunting. They live on the Sinahemish river (falling into Possession Sound) and the southern extremity of Whitby's Island. Males, 95; females, 98; children under 12 years, 110; slaves, 30; total, 333.

8th. The *Snoqualimich* are a warlike tribe, part of whom are hostile to the whites. They occupy the country along the Snoqualimich river and the south branch of the Sinahemish river. They subsist by fishing and hunting. Males, 110; females, 140; children under 12 years, 90; slaves, 8; total, 348.

9th. The *Skeysehamish* occupy the country along the Skeysehamish river and the north branch of the Sinahemish. They number about 450; are peaceable and friendly, and subsist by fishing and hunting.

10. The *Skadjets* are a peaceable and friendly tribe, living by farming, fishing, and hunting. They reside in the country on both sides of the Skadjet river, and on the north end of Whitby's Island. Males, 160; females, 160; children under 12 years of age, 180; slaves, 10; total, 506.

11. The *Nooklummie* live around Bellingham's Bay. They are a warlike people, subsisting by farming, fishing, and hunting; and their relations with the white inhabitants of Oregon and the Hudson's Bay Company are doubtful. Males, 60; females, 50; children under 12 years, 90; slaves, 22; total, 222.

12. The *Staktomish* inhabit the country between Nisqually and Cowlitz, and the head waters of Chebaylis river. Males, 50; females, 56; children under 12 years of age, 80; slaves, 18; total, 204. This tribe is peaceable and friendly, and subsist upon roots and fish.

I had prepared a series of notes upon the subject of the character and destiny of the Indians of North America, but they are perhaps not suited to your paper. I will only say here that the Indians of this country are wasting away, and that the time is probably not very far remote when they will be extinct.

Very respectfully,
Your obed't servant,
ACHILLES DE HARLEY.

27. SIOUX POPULATION OF THE SEVEN MISSISSIPPI BANDS. RETURNS OF 1850. REVISED BY P. PRESCOTT.

Total of men, women and children, of the seven Minnesota bands	2,250
Men	534
Women	573
Children	1,143
Living by the chase and agriculture, combined	2,250
Number of male children at school	41
" of female children at school	31
" of children who can speak English	2
" of males who can read and write	10
" of females who can read and write	20
" of females who can spin and knit	16
" of pairs of stockings knit, (last year)	21
" of acres cultivated	397
" of bushels of corn raised	11,684
" of log cabins	17
" of leading or executive chiefs	7
" of warriors fit to take the field	300
" of the native priesthood	50

Number who profess medical knowledge	100
“ of sub-agents	1
“ of interpreters	1
“ of blacksmiths and assistants	4
“ of farmers and assistants	8
“ of teachers	2
“ of school houses	2
“ of council houses	1
“ of missionary houses	6
“ of churches	1
“ of licensed traders, under the law of Congress	10
“ of printing presses employed by missionaries, &c	6
“ of mercantile employers and clerks engaged in trade	10
Estimated value of agricultural implements	$300
“ value of all public buildings	$2000
“ gross capital employed	$60,000
Value of the technical “skin” of the fur trade	$3.00
Total estimated value of the hunt to each man	$15.00
Amount of annuities paid in corn	$10,000
“ of annuities paid in merchandize	$10,000
“ of annuities paid in provisions	$5,500
“ of annuities paid in tobacco	$100
“ set apart for educational purposes	$5,000
“ expended for cattle, stock and agricultural implements	$8,250
“ expended for iron, steel and coal	$700
“ expended for official agency by U. S.	$5,450

P. PRESCOTT,
U. S. Farmer. [1851.]

28. CENSUS OF THE TRIBES OF SOUTHWESTERN TEXAS IN 1854.

W. B. PARKER.

Comanches, men, women, and children	10,000
Caddos Ionies Ah-nau-dah-kas } men, women, and children	750
Wacos—men 65, women 88, children 72	205
To-wac-o-nies—men 51, women 63, children 55	189
Witchetaws—men 80, women 112, children 122	314
Bolixes, Paluxies—men, women, and children	60
Kechies—men (no count of women and children)	100
Quapas—men (no count of women and children)	25
	11,643

March 14th, 1855.

29. ESTIMATE OF INDIAN TRIBES IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY, WEST OF THE CASCADE MOUNTAINS, BY GOV. I. I. STEVENS, JANUARY, 1854.

Names of tribes and bands.	Where located.	Men.	Women.	Total bands.	Total tribes.	Remarks.
Upper Chinooks, five bands, not including the Cascade band	Columbia river, above the Cowlitz				200	Estimate. The upper of these bands are mixed with the Klikatats; the lower with the Cowlitz.
Lower Chinooks— Chinook band	Columbia river, below the Cowlitz	32	34	66		One of these is intermarried with the Cowlitz; the rest with the Chihalis.
Four others (estimate)	Shoalwater bay			50		
					116	
Chihalis	Gray's harbor, and Lower Chihalis river			100		Estimate.
Do.	Northern Forks, Chihalis river			200		"
					300	
Cowlitz and Upper Chihalis	On Cowlitz river, and the Chihalis, above the Satsop				165	The two have become altogether intermarried.
Tai-tin-a pam	Base of mountains on Cowlitz, &c				75	Estimate.
Quin-aitle, &c	Coast from Gray's harbor, northward				500	"
Makáhs	Cape Flattery and vicinity				150	"
S'Klallams	Straits of Fuca					
Kahtai	Port Townsend	67	88	155		
Ka-quaith	Port Discovery	24	26	50		
Stehl-lum	New Dungeness	79	91	170		
All others	False Dungeness, &c., westward			475		Estimated.
					850	
Chima-kum	Port Townsend				70	
To-án-hooch	Hood's canal	123	100	265		Some of the women omitted in the count; but estimated.
Sho-ko-mish	Hood's canal, upper end			200		Sko-ko-mish estimated.
					465	
Quák-s'n-a-mish	Case's inlet, &c	19	21	40		
S'Hotle-ma-mish	Carr's inlet, &c	14	13	27		
Sa-héh-wa-mish	Hammersly's inlet, &c	11	12	23		
Sa-wá-mish	Totten's inlet, &c	2	1	3		
Squai-aitl	Eld's inlet, &c	22	23	45		
Stéh-cha-sá-mish	Budd's inlet, &c			20		Estimate
Noo-seh-chatl	South bay			12		"
					170	
Squalli-ah-mish, 6 bands	Nisqually river and vicinity	84	100	184		
Steila-coom-a-mish	Steilacoom creek and vicinity			25		
					209	
Puyallup-a-mish	Mouth of Puyallup river, &c			50		"
T'qua-qua-mish	Heads of "			50		"
					100	
Su-qua-mish	Peninsula between Hood's canal and Admiralty inlet	215	270	485		
S'Ho-má-mish	Vashon's island	16	15	33		
					518	
Dwa-mish	Lake Fork, Dwamish river	89	73	162		
Sa-ma-mish S'ke-tēhl-mish	Dwamish lake, &c	71	30	101		
Smel-ká-mish	Head of White river			8		
Skope-áh-mish	Head of Green river			50		
St-ká-mish	Main White river			30		
					351	
Carried forward					4,239	

A.—*Continued.*

Names of tribes and bands.	Where located.	Men.	Women.	Total bands.	Total tribes.	Remarks.
Brought forward......	......	......	......	......	4,239	
Sin-a-ho-mish	South end of Whitby's island, Sinahomish river......	161	138	350	......	Part of the women omitted; but included in the total.
N'quutl-ma-mish ...... Sky-wha-mish...... Sk-tah-le-jum	Upper branches, north side Sinahomish river......	......	......	300	......	Estimate.
Sno-qual-mook......	South fork, Sinahomish river	......	......	195		
					845	
Sto-luch-wá-mish......	Sto-luch-wá-mish river, &c.	......	......	200		
Kikiallis	Kik-i-allis river, and Whitby's island......	......	......	75		
					275	
Skagit......	Skagit river, and Penn's cove	......	......	300	......	"
N'qua-cha-mish...... Sma-lèh-hu ...... Mis-kai-whu...... Sa-ku-mé-hu	Branches of Skagit river....	......	......	300	......	"
					600	
Squi-ná-mish...... Swo-dá-mish...... Sin-a-ah-mish......	North end Whitby's island, canoe passage, and Sinamish river......	......	......	......	300	"
Samish	Samish river, and Bellingham bay......	......	......	......	150	"
Nook-sáak......	South fork, Lummi river....	......	......	......	450	"
Lummi	Lummi river, and peninsula.	......	......	......	450	"
Shim-i-ah-moo......	Between Lummi Point and Fraser's river......	......	......	......	250	"
Total......	......	......	......	......	7,559	

CENSUS OF VARIOUS INDIAN TRIBES LIVING ON, OR NEAR PUGET'S SOUND, N. W. AMERICA, TAKEN BY W. F. TOLMIE, IN THE AUTUMN OF 1844.

Names of Tribes.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Slaves.	Total Population.	Horses.	Canoes.	Guns.	Remarks.
Stak ta mish	62	62	39	21	23	207	89	27	13	Between Olympia and Na wau kum river.
Squak s'na mish......	33	44	28	26	4	135	5	17	7	
Se heh wa mish......	29	23	7	30	3	92	...	14	7	
Squalli a mish......	138	162	75	66	30	471	190	92	48	
Pu yal lup a mish......	69	81	37	33	7	207	...	...	...	
S'ho ma mish......	34	22	34	28	7	118	...	34	14	
Su qua mish	158	102	113	97	64	525	5	160	93	
Sin a ho mish......	102	100	61	50	...	322	...	61	28	
Sno qual mook	122	153	65	25	8	373	...	36	27	
Sina ah mish	78	37	47	22	11	195	...	36	8	
Nook lum mi......	65	57	52	47	23	244	...	60	15	
Totals	......	......	......	......	......	2,689	......	......	......	

CAPTAIN WILKES'S ESTIMATE, 1841.

Tribes and Localities.	Population.
Chinooks	209
Pillar Rock, Oak Point, and Columbia river	300
Cowlitz	350
Chihalis and Puget's Sound	700
Nisqually	200
Port Orchard	150
Penn's Cove, Whitby's Island, including the main land (Scatchat tribe)	650
Birch bay	300
Clallams, at Port Discovery, New Dungeness, &c	350
Port Townsend	70
Hood's Canal (Suquamish and Toanda tribe)	500
Total	3,779

Enumeration of the Indian Tribes in Washington Territory, east of the Cascades. **B.**

ESTIMATE OF 1853, BY GOV. I. I. STEVENS.

Names of Tribes, &c.	Lodges.	Population.
Flatheads	60	350
Cootenays and Flatboys		400
Pend d'Oreilles of Upper Lake	40	280
Pend d'Oreilles of Lower Lake	60	420
Cœur d'Alenes	70	500
Spokanes		600
Nez Percés		1,700
Pelouses	100	500
Cayuses		120
Walla-wallas		300
Dalles Bands		200
Cascades		36
Klikatats		300
Yakamas		600
Pisquouse and Okinakanes		550
Schwo-Yelpi, or Colville		500
Total		7,356

Undoubtedly, a large majority of the Nez Percés are in Washington Territory; but the major part of the Cayuses, Walla-wallas, and the Dalles Indians, are in Oregon.

LEWIS AND CLARKE'S ESTIMATE, 1806-7.

Names of Tribes.	Corresponding Names.	Population.
Wollah wollah	Walla walla	2,600
Wah how pum	John Day's river	1,000
E ne shur	Des Chutes river	1,200
Se wat palla	Pelouse	3,000
So kulk	Priest's Rapids	3,000
Chan wap pan	Lower Yakama	400
Shal lat tos	"	200
Squam a cross	"	200
Skad dals	"	400
Chim nah pan	Upper Yakama	2,000
Shal la la	Cascades; Upper Chinooks	1,000
E che loot	"	1,000
Chilluk kit e quaw	Dalles	2,400
Smak shop	"	200
Cut sa nim	Okin a kanes	2,400
He high e nim mo	Sans Puelles	1,500
Whe el po	Schwo yel pi	3,500
Lar lie lo	Spokanes	900
Sket so mish	Skit mish	2,600
Mick suck seal tom	Pend d'Oreilles	800
Ho pil po	Flatheads	600
Tush epah	Kootamies	300
Chopemnish	Nez Percés	8,000
Wille wah	Grande Rondo	1,000
Willet pos	Wait lat pu	....
Total		40,200

CAPTAIN WILKES'S ESTIMATE, 1841.

Names of Tribes.	Population.
Cascades	150
Dalles	250
Yakama	100
Okonegan	300
Colville and Spokane	450
Des Chutes, &c.	300
Walla walla	1,100
Total population	2,650

The above furnishes a very incorrect statement even of the tribes that are given, and some of the most important are omitted altogether. No conclusion can be drawn from it whatever. A more general one is contained in Captain Wilkes's pamphlet on Western America, as follows:

Names of Tribes.	Population.
Kitunaha	400
Flatheads	3,000
Nez Percés	2,000
Walla wallas	2,200
Total population	7,600

Which is also much less than the actual number at that time. Yet more incorrect is the estimate of Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, R. N., published in Martin's "Hudson's Bay Territories, &c.," in 1849 though as regards this part of the Territory, it is not so bad as the rest.

ESTIMATE OF LIEUTS. WARRE AND VAVASOUR.

Names of Tribes.	Population.
Walla wallas, Nez Percés, Snakes, &c	3,000
Colville and Spokane	450
Okonagon, several tribes	300
Kullas Palus (Kah lis pelm), several tribes	300
Kootoonais, several tribes	450
Total population	4,500

DR. DART'S ESTIMATE, 1851.

Names of Tribes	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
Walla walla	52	40	38	130
Des Chutes	95	115	90	300
Dalles	129	206	147	482
Pelouse	60	62	59	181
Klikatat	297	195	......	492
Yakama (estimate)	......	......	......	1,000
Rock Island	......	......	......	300
Okonagan	......	......	......	250
Colville	......	......	......	320
Sin hu ma nish (Spokane)	......	......	.....	232
Cœur d'Alene	......	......	......	200
Lower Pend d'Oreilles	......	......	......	520
Upper Pend d'Oreilles	......	......	......	480
Mission	......	......	......	210
Nez Percés	698	1,182	......	1,880
Cayuse	38	48	40	126
Total population[1]	......	......	......	7,103

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[1] The Pisquouse and Koutaines are omitted, and the band of Upper Chinooks at the Dalles included with the Walla-wallas.

30. INDUSTRY OF THE OTTAWAS.

By the census of the Indian tribes, which is now in process of being taken, it is shown that the seven small bands of Ottowas about Michilimackinac, numbering about 700 souls, who rely wholly on agriculture for a subsistence, have raised, during the last season, 25,000 bushels of corn, and 40,000 bushels of potatoes. They also made, the past spring, 325,000 pounds, or over 147 tons, of *maple sugar;* which is worth, at the Mackinac market, seven cents per pound — making $22,750 on sugar alone. Corn is worth, at the same place, fifty cents, and potatoes thirty-seven and a half cents, per bushel. This single example shows what the Indian tribes could do *for themselves*, were they all to make a bold appeal to agriculture for a living, and abandon the chase.

31. ESTIMATE OF THE NUMBER OF INDIANS IN THE NORTHWEST, ON THE BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR OF 1812.

	Warriors.	Souls.
Wyandots of Ohio and Michigan	600	2500
Shawnees of Ohio and Indiana	120	600
Senecas of Sandusky	100	500
Delawares of Indiana	150	750
Ottawas of Maumee	80	400
Ottawas of the Peninsula of Michigan	400	2000
Saganaws	240	1200
Pottawatomies of St. Joseph and the Huron	100	500
Pottawatomies of Chicago and Illinois, at large	400	2000
Chippewas of lakes St. Clair and Huron, and the precincts of Michilimackinac	1000	5000
Chippewas of Lake Superior, and the region north, to the Lake of the Woods, and head of the Mississippi	2000	10000
Menomonies of Green Bay and Fox River	600	3000
Winnebagoes of Western Michigan, now Wisconsin	1000	5500
Miamis, Weas, and Piankeshaws of the Wabash	900	4500
Sioux and other bands from the west of the Mississippi, and visiting or roving Indians, at large	600	3000
	8,390	41,400

The rule is, to allow five souls to one warrior.

LITERATURE OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGE.

32. ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD OREGON.

FORT VANCOUVER, August 4th, 1854.

SIR: — Desirous to acknowledge the receipt of the volumes and the illustrations you had the kindness to send Mr. Bonnevillle — who, by the by, thinks them perfection — I thought I might as well try and answer your inquiry (304), "Is the term Oregon an Indian word?" &c. &c.

The oldest mountain men say, that *Oregon* is the name given to the country by the Spaniards, from its growth of artemisia, absinthium, wild or bastard marjorum, called by us sage, wormwood, &c.

I am not aware that this term was used by writers prior to Carver. This, however, can be readily ascertained by consulting old Spanish writers, or the reports made by commandants of their colonies.

Supposing this derivation to be correct, it must have been given by their hunters in the interior, and not by their navigators, as there is not one stalk of this plant from the Cascade Mountains to the coast, a distance of two hundred miles; whereas from this range, extending eastwardly, it is one vast field of sage, covering the whole region to the Black Hill of the Upper Platte river. It may well be looked upon as giving a decided character to the country.

Santa Fé, I suppose, was the advanced post of the Spanish traders, where parties were equipped for distant hunting grounds, returning once a year to refit. By these expeditions the country became known as *Orégano.*

In 1832 and 1833, I met parties of Mexicans in the Rocky Mountains; these appeared to be well acquainted with the desert between Santa Fé and California, which at that time was entirely unknown to us.

Yours, &c.,
B. L. E. BONNEVILLE.

33. SPECIMENS OF THE CADDO AND WITCHITA LANGUAGES.
CAPT. R. B. MARCY, U. S. A.

New York, February 26th, 1855.

Sir: — Inclosed I send you the vocabularies of the Caddo and Witchita languages, with a few brief remarks relative to them, which you will find in the pamphlet.

It will be observed, that after some one syllable, in every compound word, there is a mark which indicates where the accent is to be placed.

I am, very truly, yours,
R. B. MARCY.

	Caddo.	*Witchita.*
God		Ne kit′ ats uck e.
Devil		(No name.)
Man	Show′ we	
Woman	Nut′ te	
Infant or child	He o te te	
Father, my.	Ugh′ ugh (2 grunts)	Nut ta osh′ he ke.
Mother	E′ much.	Nut ti co hay′ he.
Husband	Den nigh′ he	Nut ti ōke′ ke.
Wife	Tan ar′ ha	Nut ti oke hay′ he.
Son	Hun′ niu	Me ōs′ shucks.
Daughter	Hun nin′ e	She ōt eks.
Brother	Kin′ sick	Taw dautch′ e.
Sister	Yah′ hiegh	Une tud e hatch′ e.
An Indian	Hah see′ nigh	
A white man	In kin′ nis	
Head	Cun′ do	Ets′ kase.
Hair	Be un′ no	De′ odske.
Ear	Ock ko bis′ tee	
Eye	Nock ko′ chun	Kid ah′ kuck.
Nose	Sol	Duts tis′ toe.
Mouth	No woe′ se	Hāw′ koo.
Tongue	Ock to tun′ na	Hutske.
Tooth	Ock to de′ ta	Awk.
Beard	Och ko wunk coo′ sah	Duts kid′ o wigs.

	Caddo.	*Witchita.*
Neck	Ock kun no che′ hah	Duts kid′ itske.
Arm	Ma′ so	
Shoulder		Duts′ cogs.
Back	Ock kun na ba′ to.	
Hand	Ock ko′ see	Sim he′ ho.
Finger	Sim bit′ to	Duts ets kats′ ke.
Nail	Sook′ to	
Breast	Dun to	
Body	Cot′ toe	Duts dutske āh′hos.
Leg	Car′ son	Dāts′ coske.
Knee	Bu co	
Foot	Nar′ son	Dats′ oske.
Bone	Na hah′ co	Gaske.
Heart	Kah hah′ yole	Shē′ kits.
Windpipe	Dun′ to	
Stomach	Ben′ no	
Blood	Pah ah′ ho	
Skin	Nosh′ toe.	
Town		Did ot chow hah′ rah.
House	Tah′ how	Uck′ coke.
Door		De or hock′ ke.
Lodge	San ā no	Uck′ coke.
Chief	Kah hah′ tee	Ah du ot′ te.
Friend	Ti e′ shuck	

	Caddo.	*Witchita.*
Kettle	Ot to' toe	Us' pe.
Arrow	Bark	
Bow	Chaw' ey	
Spear		Good nick' shus.
Axe	Quin nah' o.	Taw haw' kis.
Gun	Tah hat' to	Ke' sha ets.
Knife		Daco' hock.
Flint		A cun' shis.
Boat	Ache' chah	
Shoe	Ye, pronounced like the letter Y	Ash' shade.
Legging	Kay kun' shus	Nats ah kah' what.
Coat	Cap pote'	Ack' kawd.
Shirt	Nick ka kah sun-dun coach' e	Ack ah' what.
Pipe	Tong' ko	Naw haw' katts.
Wampum		Maw haw' kah.
Tobacco	Tah' ha	
Sun	Sac' co	
Moon	Nishe	
Star	Choke' us	
Day	Wis che sack' ko	
Night	Da co' nah	
Morning	Sah nar' ty	
Evening	Ner say' coon	
Mid-day	Disk' er	
Spring	Kock ki ah dutch' e	Kitts scud' as.
Summer	He' ah	Mah rats cod ah ginte ah' kaw.
Winter	Ack ko' to	Kitts tah' yah.
Lightning		De kock e skid' e os.
Thunder		I e kin' nix.
Rain	Ack kaw' wis	Taw hud' e os.
Snow	He na ach kaw' wis	
Fire	Nick' ko	
Water	Ko' ko	
Cloud	Cars cha ho	
Earth	Wah dut' te	
River	Nick ke ti' e	
Mountain	E nick' ko	
Stone	Sick' ko	Eck kaw.
Silver		Awe bit es' cots.
Copper		Wick ashe' e os.
Maize (corn)	Kee' sick	
Potatoe	Ech (very short)	
Bean	Ta bah' see	Os' ta ets.
Watermelon.	Ko no wa sa wa' he	Gas ke' quat.
Squash	Cosh' o but	
Tree	He ack' keo	
Leaf	Kok' ko	
Grass	Co' hoot	
Bread	Es' cat	Kit ats' ke.
Deer	Noutch' see	Dock.
Bison, buffalo	Ta' ak	Dort.
Bear	Now a' che	

	Caddo.	*Witchita.*
Wolf	Tah sha' ah	
Dog	Chine tush' co	
Squirrel	She' wah	
Opossum	Nar' cush	
Coon	Oat	
Panther	Key' she	
Puppy	De a' tit	
Mule	Sa car' dip	
Calf	Wer cus' ty	
Cat	Me' ow	
Hog	Nak' coshe	
Horse	Da tun' mah	
Cow	Wah cus du' no	Waw' cuts.
Sheep	High ne' wah	
Bull	Wah cus sas' see	Narry' tit.
Snake	How o' so	
Bird	Ber' nit	
Goose	Kie (very short)	Kat te head ach' es.
Duck	Kee' nuck	Shunks e' kits.
Turkey	Noo	Dah' batts.
Hen	Kap pack sas' see	
Eggs	Kap pack' che nos po	
Fish	Ba' tah	
Paint	Si' til	
White	Hock kah' yo	Uds tit ah cots' ke.
Black	Ah dick' ko	
Red	Ot tin' no	Kid' o pah.
Green	Os sah' co	Ne ods kits' te.
Blue	Os sah' co	[The same as green.]
Yellow	Os ki e' co	Nud e shis' te.
Great	Hi e' mi	
Small	Hi ack' tick	
Good	Hah' hut	
Bad	Hup pun' nah	
Hands'e girl	Ah kut nut' te	Uts' ta hos.
Ugly girl	Naw ah' te hos	
Dead	Kee un' dashe	
Cold	Ack ko' to (same as winter)	
Hot	Ack ta' to	
Sour	Kah bash' co	Daw' kats.
Sweet	Dish ah bit' o	Kit at kats' hits.
Salt	We' disht	Kaw' hats.
I	Ka ach' che	Da' dutske.
Thou	Nock ka e' yah	Nush' shag.
This object or thing, inanim'e	De' he	Tah' hah.
That object or thing, inanim'e	Co ho' te	Haw' de.
All	Wun' te	
Near	Be' te	Tun tah' abe.
Far off!	Ta' ka	Ke uts ta' abe.
To-day	Toh he' ah	Da de shaw kid' de.

	Caddo.	*Witchita.*
To-morrow	Che a he' a	Ka hun te.
Yesterday	Se' cote	Da de shaw kid' ak-rash.
Yes	Ah' hic	Ah hay (also a sound like clu cling, to a horse).
No	Ho' nuh	
Perhaps		Has cats a dis' ke.
On the tree out doors	Bit' te	Its ah a wuts' e.
In the house	Kah na' kah	Nuck kaw hod' de.
To eat	Di yah' now	Kaw kid de its' cats.
To drink	Di yah' cun	Its a ah kit' ah.
To laugh	Ack ko no' see	Do kud' e bus.
To cry	Ack chick ka kas' sa	Ta dah' hitch.
To love	Chin turn' me nut.	Uts ta' de os.
To hate	Whit ta na' ut	Naw äh te ta' de os.
To walk	Cah hah see e' agh	Nav e ors' to.
To see	High chun' nie	Ke o ta' ashe.
To hear	Ack cho hi' bah	
To speak	Dog on' er	
To strike	To i tar' sa	Ud e ah hid' awe.
To think	Tick ki ah cho' chos	Kuts' its koshe.
To curse	Ho o be no' so	
To smell	Ach cho hi' bah	
To hunt	Chi e wat' te	

	Caddo.	*Witchita.*
To fight	Dah tro o tos' see .	
To sing	Ta na' oh	Da kit' oshe.
To dance	Ta we' shun	Datts' hushe.
To die	Pak ki' er	
To smoke	Och cho ka' he	Ets bag' ake.
To kill	Chick' kee	Ud' ok ke.
To ride	Chick a tow nöüs' ke	Da do' cub.
To shoot	To we' cha	
To steal		Ke ud ad as' tick.
Paper	No ash' to	
Book	No ash to ha to' no	
Box	Ta' ko	
Blanket	Hi' ne o	
Lariet	Bart	
Keg	Toe ko' neh	
Doctor	Koo' nah	Da kib' e dor.
Gum	Doyt	
Saddle	Nah a hon nock' char	
Hat	Bish' to	
Wagon	Car so' e	
Apple	Car' us	
Whiskey	Cun no hah co' o so	
Pumpkin	Cor' no	
Bridle	No ho co ne' she	
Saddle-bags	Bach' to	
Chair	Nar ke' e to	

NUMERALS.

	Caddo.	*Witchita.*
1	Whis' te	Cherche.
2	Bit	Mitch.
3	Dow' oh	Daub.
4	He a' weh	Daw' quats.
5	Dis' sick kah	Es' quats.
6	Dunk' kee	Ke' hass.
7	Bis' sick ah	Ke' o pits.
8	Dow sick' ah	Ke' o tope.
9	He we sick' ah	Sherche kui' te.
10	Bin' nah	Skid' o rash.
11	Whiste cut' es	She osh te kit' uck.
12	Bin nah bit' cut es	Mitch skid' o rash.
13	Bin nah dow ah	Daub “ “ “
14	“ “ he aweh	Daw quats “ “
15	“ “ des sick ah	Es quats “ “
16	“ “ dunk kee	Ke hass “ “
17	“ “ bis sick ah	Ke o pits “ “
18	“ “ dow sick ah	Ke o tope “ “
19	“ “ he we sick ah	Sherche kim te “
20	Bin nah bit te	Es tah ets she she.
21		Mitch es tah ets ake' she.

	Caddo.	*Witchita.*
22		Cherche es tah ets, &c.
23		Daub “ “ “ “
24		Daw' quats “ “ “
25		Es' quats “ “ “ “
26		Ke' hass “ “ “ “
27		Ke' o pits “ “ “ “
28		Ke' o tope “ “ “
29		Scherche kui' te “ “
30	Bin nah dow' o	Es tah ets ske she' daub.
40	Bin nah he' we	Es tah ets ske she' daw' quats.
50	Bin nah dis sick' kah.	Es tah ets ske she' es' quats.
60		Es tah ets ske she' ke' hass.
70		Es tah ets ske she' ke' o pits.
80		Es tah ets ske she' ke' o tope.
90		Es tah ets ake she' sherche kui' te.

	Caddo.
Come here	Dah' tah.
Go there	Co hah nah de' er.
Look here	Di e' pot.
Stop	Chunk' tie.
Fill	Ki e tun' ne.
Table	Nock kee es e no' wah.

Caddo.

Glass	Kun chi e' ba.	Anger	Cow we sa' ha.
Gold	So no hi e' ce.	Merry	Cow we ni' a.
Silver	So no hock hi' o.	Negro	Hah duck' es.
Iron	Noh e nah' sick.	Chickasaw	Chick' a shaw.
Who is that?	Te de cut' tun.	Comanche	Sont' to.
Pipe	Songue' go.	Choctaw	Chat' taw.

NOTE.—The "Witchitas," "Wacos," and "Yo-woc-o-nees," all speak the same language. They live together upon Rush Creek, a tributary of the Washita river, in the Choctaw Territory, about fifty miles west of Fort Arbuckle, and number as follows:—

Witchitas, men, 80; women, 112; children, 122. *Towockonies*, men, 51; women, 63; children, 55. *Wacoes*, men, 65; women, 88; children, 72.

The *Ionies*, *An-a-dak-kas*, and *Caddoes*, all speak the Caddo language. They live near each other, upon the Brazos river, below Fort Belknap, in Texas. They probably number about seven hundred souls.

These Indians all live in permanent villages, where they plant corn, peas, beans, and melons. They, however, live for a great portion of the year upon the fruits of the chase, are well armed with fire-arms, but also make use of the bow and arrow.

The Witchitas have given much trouble to the frontier settlers in Texas for many years, and many of the depredations committed along the borders, have been traced directly to them, and I look upon them as the most arrant freebooters in the south-west.

The Ionies, Anadakkas and Caddoes, have heretofore been engaged in hostilities with the Texans, but are now quiet and friendly, and are already availing themselves of the opportunity extended to them by the Government, of settling upon the lands donated by the State of Texas for their use.

They are commanded by a very sensible old chief, called "*José Marie*," who feels a deep interest in the welfare of his people; and is doing every thing in his power to better their condition.

R. B. MARCY, Captain U. S. Army.

34. INDIAN NUMERALS.

Some singular developments appear on this subject in the inquiries which are making under the authority of Congress at the Indian Bureau. It is found that while we are paying large annuities to many of the tribes who are still in the mere hunter or barbaric state, these tribes do not comprehend the simplest rules of addition and division. None of them have the slightest idea of *mental arithmetic*. They cannot multiply or divide a figure. And they have no clear appreciation of even moderate sums, of say five or ten thousand dollars, unless the pieces of coin are spread out before them. But for all large sums they are in the dark, and are entirely unable to understand a *mental divisor*. Some of them cannot count a thousand. Bundles of small sticks, tied up, are the ordinary mode of counting.

Their arithmetical root is clearly decimal. Five fingers on each hand, held up, is a decimal; five toes on each foot, appealed to, converts this into a vingtigesimal. There are separate words for the digits, from one to ten. The nine former are then added after the latter to nineteen. Twenty is denoted by a new term. The digits from one to nine are then added to this word till twenty-nine. Thirty is a compound, meaning three tens; forty, four tens, and so on, to ninety-nine. One hundred is a new term, in *twauk*. The terms one, two, three, &c., uttered before this, render the count exact to one thousand, which is called *a great twauk*, and the same prefixture of the names for the digits can be repeated to ten thousand. This is the Algonquin mode. But the pieces of money, or things of any kind, must be shown, to enable them to understand the sum. There is no rule for multiplication, division, &c. There is absolutely no *mental* appreciation of sums. This denotes how carefully, *how simply* and *pains-takingly* money transactions should be conducted with the Indians, and how liable they are to misunderstand offers made for their lands, and to misapprehension or deception.

The more advanced tribes are better arithmeticians. They have profited by education, and more by intermixture of races. The Choctaws have native terms to *ten hundred thousand*. By adopting, at this point, the English terms "million" and "billion," with a peculiar orthography, they can compute higher. The agent for the Cherokees reports original terms for very high sums—which, however, there is reason to believe, not one in a thousand of the common people understand.

S.

END OF PART FIFTH.